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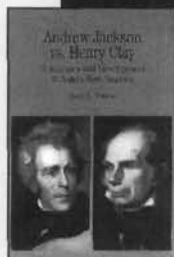
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## In This Issue

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This issue contains four articles and a review essay. France serves as a common denominator among the articles. It is the explicit setting for two of the articles, a study of gender and poverty in thirteenth-century Paris and one of World War I French commemorations. In the other two articles, France also figures rather prominently as both the subject of a study of cultural imperialism in Africa and the source of debates in the United States about medical breakthroughs. The review essay includes France in a global analysis of recent studies of eugenics. Finally, the issue contains a full complement of book and film reviews.

### Articles

**Sharon Farmer** uses stories about the lives of poor urban women in the high Middle Ages to add their experiences to the history of poverty in medieval Europe. Drawing on a cache of stories of miracles, she argues that poor women survived long-term disability with varying combinations of assistance from family members, charitable institutions, employers, neighbors, close companions, and informal alms. Farmer reveals that women received less assistance from craft guilds than did men, but that employers sometimes assisted both their male and female employees during episodes of prolonged illness or disability. She also surmises that single women were more likely to assist each other through hard times than were single men. Indeed, Farmer contends that, among the working poor, married women did not necessarily fare better than did single women when faced with periods of prolonged illness or disability. Farmer's imaginative use of the miracle tales illuminates the lives of the poor and the poorly documented people and underscores the fundamentally gendered nature of poverty in the past as in the present. In doing so, she has crafted a compelling analysis of how people on the margins of society survive in times of crisis.

**Bert Hansen** reconstructs the frenzied reception in the United States of Louis Pasteur's new inoculation treatment for rabies in an effort to understand the sources of popular enthusiasm for medical advances. He explains that, even though rabies was an uncommon disease, a combination of circumstances in 1885 propelled Pasteur to heroic stature and celebrity status in the United States and produced an unprecedented frenzy of words and pictures that captured the public imagination.

And he argues that, despite the popular fascination with the achievements of laboratory science that the rabies treatment produced at the time, it has been largely ignored in the grand narratives of medical history. Hansen redresses this neglect by asserting that the reception of Pasteur's rabies treatment in America should be considered a founding episode in popular understanding of medical breakthroughs. It initiated the kinds of headlines about medical discoveries that became commonplace after the turn of the twentieth century and helped plant in popular consciousness the expectation that laboratory science could provide widespread benefits. Hansen also contends that this episode became a template for media coverage of subsequent breakthroughs. His persuasive analysis of this fascinating story suggests that understanding public enthusiasm for medical research is critical for historians who seek to discern the ways that popular attitudes affect philanthropy, government funding, and scientists' engagement with the media.

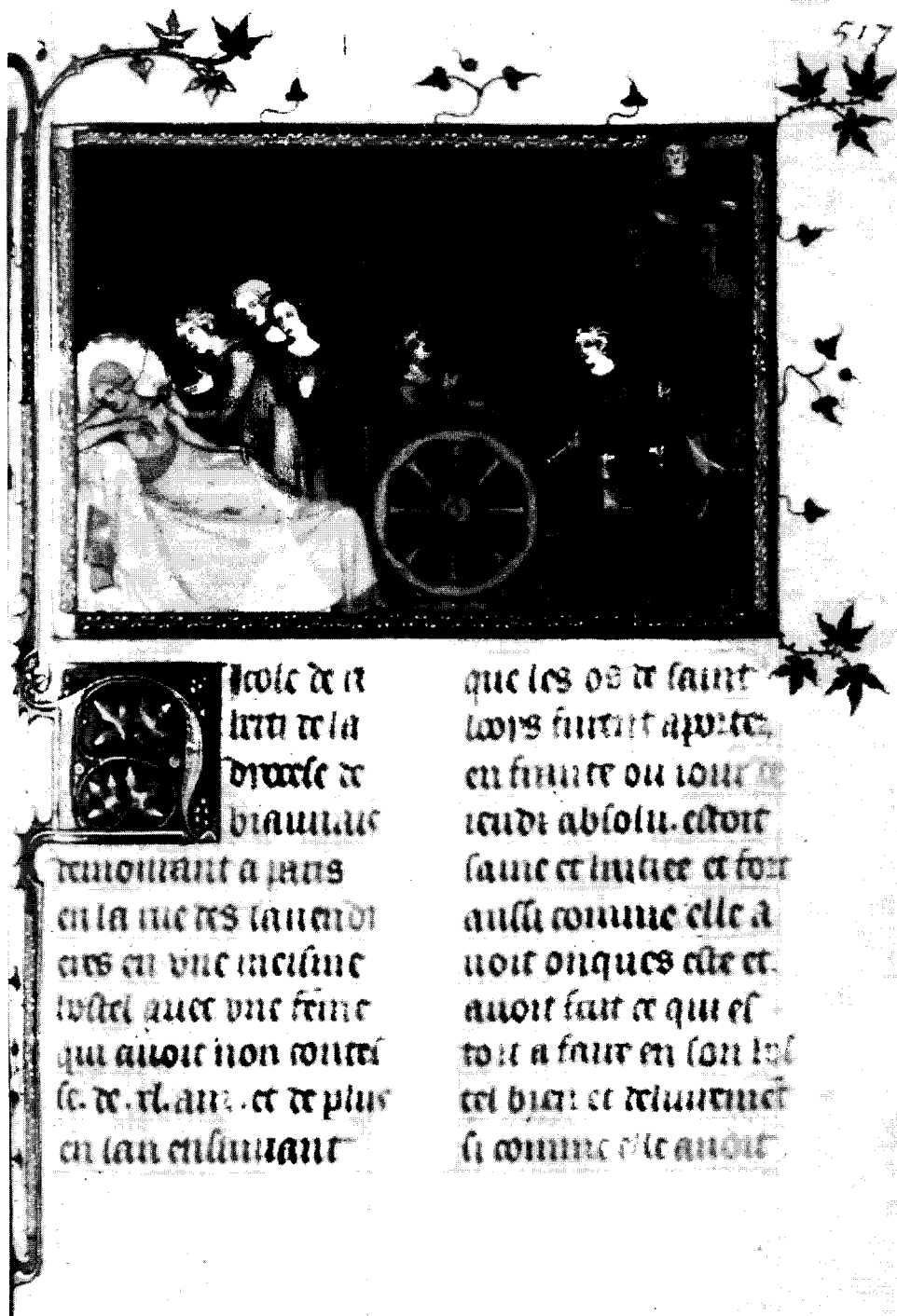
**Alice L. Conklin** reopens the question of the role that French universalist notions played in rationalizing the violence of modern colonialism. She contends that, however helpful the current critique of such totalizing systems as Orientalism has been in challenging Western hegemony (past and present), it has not fully explained the relationship between imperialism and democracy in the early twentieth century. Conklin uses a close examination of republican discourse and actions in West Africa between 1895 and 1914 to argue that French colonial policy was as influenced by a vision of what all humans had in common as by images of an irreducible African difference. At a time of ascendant liberalism at home, republican elites maintained that Africans should be freed from the material and moral want that had once oppressed the French nation. Africans were still to evolve within their own—different—cultures, but they were to do so in a way that respected the universal rights of all individuals. French policy in West Africa, in realms as different as education and forced labor, sufficiently expressed these beliefs to convince committed democrats that colonialism was actually advancing the cause of human liberation, when it was in fact depriving Africans of their basic freedoms. Conklin's thoughtful analysis suggests that if historians wish to disentangle racializing images of an external Other from a genuine respect for human rights in the present and future, then they must be more attentive to all the discourses deployed by modern colonialism, the ways in which these discourses interacted, and the specific circumstances that produced them.

**Daniel J. Sherman** examines World War I as a key moment in the relationship between memory and identity. Taking Michel Foucault's notion of emergence as a starting point, he argues that the legacy of the postwar years was not a particular style of commemoration but a structural tension between different types of commemorative practice. Sherman focuses his argument on the commemoration of the war in France and in particular on the competing claims of the state, the Catholic church, and local communities to both the physical and the discursive remains of the war dead. He explains why much of this contestation centered on the great battlefield ossuaries of Notre Dame de Lorette, near Arras, and Douaumont,

near Verdun, where church groups attempted to appropriate fragmentary remains and to replicate local commemorative practices. Since local commemoration had often privileged the listing of the names of the dead as a substitution for absent bodies, both national and local commemoration came to revolve around the relationship between bodies and names as signifiers and the diverse, often contradictory meanings that could be attached to them. Sherman's compelling analysis raises important questions about the politics of commemoration and the history of representation.

### ***Review Essay***

**Frank Dikötter** assesses an emerging global body of work on the history of eugenics that moves beyond the relatively well-known cases of Germany, Great Britain, and the United States. He argues that historians can benefit from the breadth of this literature because a broader focus of analysis highlights the range of eugenic practices in various contexts and in the variety of countries, particularly non-European states, affected by eugenics. Dikötter's insightful analysis of this literature emphasizes the pervasive yet dispersed nature of eugenics and suggests that eugenics belonged to the political vocabulary of many significant modernizing movements between the two world wars and thus was not merely a conservative cause. He also notes that recent studies of France and Latin America reveal how neo-Lamarckian models of eugenics were at times more influential than the Mendelian beliefs dominant in England and Germany. Dikötter points out as well that particular eugenic experiences, such as that of the American South, demonstrate that direct engagement with scientific research was not necessarily a prerequisite for the spread of eugenic practices. He concludes his broad-ranging review by asserting that eugenics was not so much a clear set of scientific principles as a "modern way" of talking about social problems in biologizing terms that could be selectively appropriated by individuals and groups with very different goals and beliefs. His assessment of the literature demonstrates that, from Finland to China, eugenics promoted visions of society in which the reproductive rights of individuals were subordinated to the rights of an abstract organic collectivity.



Orenge of Fontenay was a single woman who migrated to Paris from the diocese of Bayeux. After living for twenty years in the house of Maurice the Weaver, for whom she carded wool, Orenge developed an inflammation in her right arm that prevented her from working for the next four years. She apparently continued to live in her employer's house throughout those years, and it was probably Maurice's wife who cared for her. Orenge is shown here in the center, with her discolored right arm, holding in her left hand a votive offering in the shape of that arm. On the right, she is shown kneeling at the tomb of King Louis, where she was cured. A votive arm, crutches, and a rolled-up votive candle are hung over the tomb. Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *La vie et les miracles de Saint Louis*, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 5716, p. 629. Copyright Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

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## Down and Out and Female in Thirteenth-Century Paris

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SHARON FARMER

ON THE MORNING OF GOOD FRIDAY (April 22) in 1272, Nicole of Rubercy, a forty-two-year-old laundress who had immigrated to Paris from the diocese of Bayeux in Normandy a number of years earlier, fell victim to a paralysis. Her head twisted to one side, her lips trembled, and she lost the senses of touch, taste, and smell. For two days, she could neither speak nor eat, and once she started eating again she could tolerate only soft foods.<sup>1</sup> Before she fell victim to what appears to have been a stroke, Nicole belonged to the mass of Parisian working poor—many of them single women immigrants—who lived on the brink of destitution. Deprived of her own laboring capacity, with no family to help her, Nicole was poised to fall into that abyss. Her close female associates saved her.

One was a widow named Contesse, who resided in Nicole's hostel on the Rue des Lavandières in the parish of St.-Germain on the right bank of the Seine.<sup>2</sup> Contesse, who "loved Nicole very much," cared for her friend over the next two months, dressing her, helping her to eat, and taking her to the public baths in the hope that the hot water and air might help her recover. Contesse even sought miraculous cures for her friend: ten days into the illness, the two women traveled to the tomb of Louis IX (1226–1270), the soon-to-be canonized king of France who lay buried a few miles north of Paris, in the basilica of St.-Denis in the town of St.-Denis. The two women spent nine days at the tomb, retiring each night to a nearby hostel, but their trip was not successful. Seven weeks later, however, they returned, and Nicole was cured.

I wish to thank Michael Burger, Paul Freedman, Lisa Kallet, Carol Lansing, Alice O'Connor, Amy Remensnyder, Jeffrey Russell, and the anonymous readers for the *AHR* for their comments on earlier versions of this article.

<sup>1</sup> Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, Confesseur de la Reine Marguerite, *Les miracles de Saint Louis*, Percival B. Fay, ed. (Paris, 1931), no. 39. I have consulted two of the principal manuscripts on which Fay based his edition (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 4976, and ms. fr. 5716), and I have found Fay's edition and his attention to manuscript variations to be meticulously accurate.

<sup>2</sup> The two women were living in this hostel at the time of the inquest, but they may have been living together in the parish of St. Nicolas in 1272. We are told that Nicole was a parishioner there at the time she was cured. I use "hostel" because that is the term employed by Guillaume de Saint-Pathus. In miracle no. 2 (see text below after n. 96), he simply indicated that three women sought lodgings in the "house" of another. Probably the best modern equivalent in both these cases would be a crowded boarding house. How many people inhabited such rooms remains a mystery, but it is reasonable to assume that women like Nicole shared their rooms, and even their beds: see text below after n. 98. On the difficulty of determining how many people occupied Parisian lodgings, see Simone Roux, "L'habitat urbain au moyen âge: Le quartier de l'Université de Paris," *Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations* 24 (1969): 1196–1219.



Contesse, who was probably as poor as her friend, was not the only woman who helped Nicole. Perronnele the Smith, who owned the yard where Nicole had hung her laundry, paid for the cart that carried Nicole to St.-Denis on her two trips, and she accompanied Nicole and Contesse on the first day of the first pilgrimage. She probably accompanied them on the second trip as well, for we are told that, after her cure, Nicole walked home with the "women"—presumably, Contesse and Perronnele—who had accompanied her to Louis' tomb.<sup>3</sup>

Nicole's story of survival and recovery was recounted by Guillaume de Saint-Pathus in the *Miracles of Saint Louis*. This source, along with the others concerning these miracles, provides some of the most reliable information on pre-plague male and female immigration to a major Western European city and to one of its "satellites," the nearby town of St.-Denis, as well.<sup>4</sup> More important to my purposes, these sources draw us into a milieu of poor urban women that medieval historians have generally been unable to unveil. The stories in these sources move beyond the bare outlines of urban women's social networks that a few late medieval historians have gleaned from tax records, court records, and wills. They serve as an important corrective to some of the more negative images of women's social relations conveyed through late medieval and early modern criminal, inquisitorial, and witch trial records.<sup>5</sup> Like the rich evidence discussed by several historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, these stories enable us to reconstruct poor women's social solidarities.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, because these stories depict the ways in

<sup>3</sup> Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*, no. 39.

<sup>4</sup> I know of only two earlier analyses of sex ratios among immigrants in pre-plague towns: David Herlihy, *Opera Muliebra: Women and Work in Medieval Europe* (New York, 1990), 131–42, which analyzed the tax assessments of late thirteenth and early fourteenth-century Paris; and Rodney Hilton, "Lords, Burgesses and Hucksters," in Hilton, *Class Conflict and the Crisis of Feudalism: Essays in Medieval Social History* (London, 1985), 199–200, an analysis of the borough court records of Halesowen, a small monastic borough in England. Hilton argued that between 1272 and 1350 perhaps three-quarters of the immigrants to Halesowen were women. However, P. J. P. Goldberg has argued convincingly that Hilton's sources distort the immigration statistics in favor of women: Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy* (Oxford, 1992), 283, 288. Goldberg also suggests (p. 281) that it is problematic to attempt to derive immigration statistics from tax assessments because they favor male heads of household and fail to distinguish between surnames and places of origin. This objection applies to Herlihy's study of the Parisian tax assessments, as do the facts that those assessments leave out the lower end of the population, and a person's craft or personal affiliation often supplanted a surname indicating place of origin. See Karl Michaëlsson, "Les noms d'origine dans le rôle de la taille parisien de 1313," *Symbolae Philologicae Gotoburgenses*, Acta Universitatis Gotoburgensis 56 (1950): 357–400; Michaëlsson, *Etudes sur les noms de personnes français d'après les rôles de taille parisiens* (Uppsala, 1927); Caroline Bourlet, "L'anthroponymie à Paris à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après les rôles de la taille du règne de Philippe le Bel," *Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie moderne*, vol. II-2, Monique Bourin and Pascal Chareille, eds. (Tours, 1992), 9–44.

<sup>5</sup> Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, 305–24; Olwen Hufton, "Women without Men: Widows and Spinsters in Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Family History* (Winter 1984): 355–76; Pamela Sharpe, "Literally Spinsters: A New Interpretation of Local Economy and Demography in Croydon in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Economic History Review* 44 (1991): 46–65; Lyndal Roper, "Gendered Exchanges: Women and Communication in Sixteenth-Century Germany," *Kommunikation und Alltag in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungberichte, 596 (Vienna, 1992), 199–217. Drawing on the records of sixteenth-century witch trials, Roper argues persuasively that we should not romanticize women's networks and that their relations among themselves existed within and were shaped by patriarchal culture. She fails to acknowledge, however, the ways in which inquisitions and witch trials exacerbated and even created fissures within communities.

<sup>6</sup> Leslie Page Moch and Rachel G. Fuchs, "Getting Along: Poor Women's Networks in Nineteenth-Century Paris," *French Historical Studies* 18 (1993): 34–49; Michael B. Katz, *Improving Poor People: The*

which poor people helped each other and themselves, they provide an important addition to the predominant historiography of the medieval poor as well as a new perspective on the work by historians in later eras.

Unlike historians of more modern periods, only a handful of medieval historians have attempted to reconstruct the social networks of the working and non-working poor. Most of the historiography of the medieval poor, by contrast, has clustered into two kinds: studies on the perspectives and actions of the wealthier members of society or attempts to reconstruct standards of living. Historians in the first group have generated numerous studies of hospitals and hospices (which, from the thirteenth century on, were usually founded by wealthy urban dwellers), of charitable almsgiving in urban wills, of the charitable activities of confraternities, and of elite attitudes toward the poor.<sup>7</sup> Occasionally, but not often, studies of hospitals and confraternal charity offer a profile of the recipients of such charity, but they tell us nearly nothing about the daily lives of those recipients.<sup>8</sup>

Historians in the second group have employed tax records, account books, price lists, and archaeological data in an attempt to depict the wage and unemployment levels, buying power, diets, and housing conditions of the working and non-working poor in late medieval towns.<sup>9</sup> These studies point to a high percentage of urban

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*Welfare State, The "Underclass" and Urban Schools as History* (Princeton, N.J., 1995), chap. 4; Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York 1789–1860* (Urbana, Ill., 1987). See also two important collections of essays: *The "Underclass" Debate: Views from History*, Michael B. Katz, ed. (Princeton, 1993); and *The Uses of Charity: The Poor and Relief in the Nineteenth-Century Metropolis*, Peter Mandler, ed. (Philadelphia, 1990).

<sup>7</sup> Studies of hospitals and confraternal assistance to the poor include Michel Mollat, ed., *Etudes sur l'histoire de la pauvreté*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1974); Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (New Haven, Conn., 1986) (French edn., 1978); Miri Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1987); Nicole Gonthier, *Lyon et ses pauvres au moyen âge (1350–1500)* (Lyons, 1978); Alain Saint-Denis, *L'Hôtel-Dieu de Laon 1150–1300* (Nancy, 1983); John Henderson, ed., *Charity and the Poor in Medieval and Renaissance Europe, Continuity and Change* 3, no. 2 (1988); John Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence* (Oxford, 1994); M. J. Tits-Dieuaide, "Les tables des pauvres dans les anciennes principautés belges au moyen âge," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 88 (1975): 562–83. On Parisian hospitals, see below at nn. 49, 62–64. The best general study of French confraternities is Catherine Vincent, *Les confréries médiévales dans le royaume de France: XIII–XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1994). On Parisian confraternities, see below at nn. 72–75.

Studies of charitable bequests in wills include Jacques Chiffolleau, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà: Les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du moyen âge (vers 1320-vers 1480)* (Rome, 1980), 302–22; Gonthier, *Lyon et ses pauvres*, 161–66; Dennis Romano, "Charity and Community in Early Renaissance Venice," *Journal of Urban History* 11 (1984): 63–82; Stephen Epstein, *Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa, 1150–1250* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 167–200; P. Godding, "La pratique testamentaire en Flandre au 13<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 58 (1990): 281–300. Studies of attitudes toward the poor include Mollat, *Etudes*; Mollat, *The Poor*; Bronislaw Geremek, *Poverty: A History*, Agnieszka Kolakowska, trans. (Oxford, 1994); Jean-Louis Roch, "Le jeu de l'aumône au moyen âge," *Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations* (1989): 505–27; Richard Trexler, "Charity and the Defense of Urban Elites in the Italian Communes," in *The Rich, the Well Born and the Powerful: Elites and Upper Classes in History*, Frederic Cople Jaher, ed. (Urbana, Ill., 1973), 64–109.

<sup>8</sup> The confraternity of Orsanmichele in fourteenth-century Florence kept a list of the names and addresses of the recipients of its charity, thus enabling John Henderson to "provide one of the most detailed studies of the recipients of poor relief for medieval Europe": Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 11, and chaps. 7–8. There were similar charitable distributions in the Low Countries, Spain, and southern France, but I have seen no mention of lists of recipients: Tits-Dieuaide, "Les tables des pauvres," 562–63; Mollat, *The Poor*, 139–42. Nor have I seen any mention of patient or inmate records in the monographs on hospitals.

<sup>9</sup> The most extensive study of the relationship between wages, prices, and standards of living is Charles de la Roncière, *Prix et salaires à Florence au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, 1280–1380* (Rome, 1982). Others

households that fell below a working poverty line (which we might define, with the tax assessors of fourteenth-century Florence, as those without property and unable to work) and a large proportion of working households whose incomes could not support a family. In post-plague Florence, for which the best statistics are available, almost a third of the heads of household were defined, in 1355 and 1378, as destitute, and thus excluded from taxation.<sup>10</sup> Between 1290 and the end of the fourteenth century, moreover, the average Florentine salaried worker was able to meet the most basic needs of a family of four only during the 1360s. Wages were also inadequate in thirteenth-century England and presumably in France as well, where the buying power of wage earners declined throughout the century, especially toward its end.<sup>11</sup>

Studies of charitable activities and standards of living give some idea of who in society was at risk of falling into dire poverty and who within that group elites preferred to assist, but they reveal little about how the poor actually lived and survived.<sup>12</sup> We have virtually no comprehensive studies of the total number and the collective impact of the formal charitable institutions in a single community. Indeed, such a study would be nearly impossible, given the nature of the records that such institutions kept.<sup>13</sup> Those historians who have attempted to analyze the economic impact of formal charitable giving generally agree that it was far from adequate, and thus those propertyless individuals who were incapable of working for their living must have relied on non-institutional forms of charity—informal almsgiving and support from relatives, friends, and neighbors.<sup>14</sup>

Yet medieval historians have thus far uncovered only limited information about poor people's non-institutional social networks and forms of support.<sup>15</sup> It is

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include Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c. 1200–1520* (Cambridge, 1989), chap. 8; and Gérard Sivéry, *L'économie du royaume de France au siècle de Saint Louis (vers 1180–vers 1315)* (Lille, 1984).

<sup>10</sup> Alessandro Stella, *La révolte des Ciompi: Les hommes, les lieux, le travail* (Paris, 1993), 187. For other discussions of the "fiscal poor," see Gonthier, *Lyon et ses pauvres*, 39, 56–57, 91–127; Henri Dubois, "La pauvreté dans les premières 'cherches de feux' bourguignonnes," *Horizons marins, itinéraires spirituels (V<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Henri Dubois, Jean-Claude Hocquet, and André Vauchez, eds., 2 vols. (Paris, 1987), 1: 291–301. Unfortunately, many tax assessments, including those of Lyons, Burgundy, and Paris, did not list those who were too poor to pay taxes, thus the discussions of "fiscal poverty" that rely on these lists cannot tell us what proportion of the population fell below the working "poverty line." On the problems with various approaches to defining a "poverty line," see John Henderson and Richard Wall, "Introduction," in Henderson and Wall, eds., *Poor Women and Children in the European Past* (London, 1994), 1–4.

<sup>11</sup> La Roncière, *Prix et salaires*, 381–461; Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 226–29; Sivéry, *L'économie*, 133–48.

<sup>12</sup> Brian Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law: A Sketch of Canonical Theory and Its Application in England* (Berkeley, Calif., 1959), 15, 18; Trexler, "Charity," 64–109; Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 245; Stella, *La révolte des Ciompi*, 188; Charles de la Roncière, "Pauvres et pauvreté à Florence au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," in Mollat, *Etudes*, 661–745. La Roncière is especially effective in discussing the ways in which accepted categories of poverty—which were largely biblical—masked the realities of poverty among working men.

<sup>13</sup> Surveys of multiple sources of charity in single communities include Gonthier, *Lyon et ses pauvres*, 135–76; Bronisław Geremek, *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*, Jean Birrell, trans. (New York, 1987), 167–92; Rubin, *Charity and Community*, 99–147, 237–88.

<sup>14</sup> Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 240–57; John Henderson, "The Parish and the Poor in Florence at the Time of the Black Death: The Case of S. Frediano," in Henderson, *Charity and the Poor*; Tits-Dieuaide, "Les tables des pauvres."

<sup>15</sup> Bronisław Geremek, who was one of the first to look at the milieu of the lower strata of medieval

precisely this gap in knowledge of informal charity and strategies for survival among poor men and women that the sources for the miracles of St. Louis help to fill. The original source for the miracle stories was the transcript of an inquest conducted by a panel of papally appointed clerics, whose purpose was to inquire into the sanctity of King Louis IX. Between May of 1282 and March of 1283, the archbishop of Rouen, the bishop of Auxerre, and the bishop of Spoleto interviewed around 330 witnesses to sixty-three posthumous miracles.<sup>16</sup> Most of

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society, in a study of late medieval Paris, stressed the haphazard and non-enduring quality of the relationships among Parisian "marginals"—such as criminals and prostitutes. Geremek, *Margins*. However, the destitute and those suffering life-cycle poverty (as opposed to professional beggars) were not the subjects of Geremek's study, and his thesis concerning the absence of true social solidarities among those accused of crimes has been challenged in the more recent work of Claude Gauvard, "Violence citadine et réseaux de solidarité: L'exemple française au XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations* 48 (1993): 1113–26. Recently, Judith Bennett examined one type of mutual aid—help-ales and bride ales—that neighbors in late medieval and early modern England organized to help individuals who fell into economic difficulty or newly married couples who needed to set up households. Nevertheless, as she herself acknowledges, the truly destitute did not benefit from this form of mutual aid. Bennett, "Conviviality and Charity in Medieval and Early Modern England," *Past and Present* 134 (1992): 19–41. See also Maria Moisà and Judith Bennett, "Debate: Conviviality and Charity in Medieval and Early Modern England," *Past and Present* 154 (February 1997): 223–42. Drawing on manorial court records, Elaine Clark looked at mutual aid in the English countryside, but much of the aid that she discussed was initiated by the lords of manors, and her records tell us nothing about the survival of the urban poor. Clark, "Social Welfare and Mutual Aid in the Medieval Countryside," *Journal of British Studies* 33 (1984): 381–406.

Studies of Florentine neighborhoods and of the leaders of the Ciompi revolt of 1378 indicate that shared work experience reinforced solidarities among neighbors in the poorer sections of Florence, but we do not know if these political solidarities translated into assistance for individuals who experienced hard luck or life-cycle poverty. Like most studies of worker solidarities, these analyses tell us much more about men's than women's solidarities and more about solidarities among the working than the non-working poor. See Richard Trexler, "Neighbors and Comrades: The Revolutionaries of Florence, 1378," *Social Analysis: Journal of Cultural and Social Practice* 14 (December 1983): 53–106; Stella, *La révolte des Ciompi*, 79–97. For a discussion of the historiography of women's work solidarities (which often claims that such solidarities were either absent or weak), see Carol L. Loats, "Gender, Guilds, and Work Identity: Perspectives from Sixteenth-Century Paris," *French Historical Studies* 20 (1997): 15–30. Isabelle Chabot has found evidence for women's mutual aid in the Florentine Catasto of 1427, in which some widows, supporting their claims that they were too poor to pay taxes, indicated that they lived on alms or received free lodging from friends or fellow widows. However, Chabot cites only a few examples, and the brief notices in the tax records reveal neither the quality of the relationships between these women and the individuals who assisted them nor how long these women were able to rely on such support. Chabot, "Widowhood and Poverty in Late Medieval Florence," in Henderson, *Charity and the Poor*, 304 and nn. 65, 67, 68, 69. Goldberg has identified a pattern of "spinster clustering" in late medieval poll tax and court records from England, and he has surmised that such clustering must have fostered companionship and mutual aid among women. However, while his court records demonstrate that women often migrated to towns in clusters and sometimes shared lodgings and even beds, he has no direct evidence for women's mutual aid. Further, his study focuses on the period after the onset of the bubonic plague in 1348, when, he argues, women had greater employment opportunities, at least in the area of domestic service, than they had before 1348. Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, 305–23. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber argued for a parallel situation in Florence: "Women Servants in Florence during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in Barbara Hanawalt, ed., *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe* (Bloomington, Ind., 1986), 56–80. By contrast with opportunities in domestic service, women's role in the production of ale declined in England after the Black Death; and by the fifteenth century, their opportunities in the guilds tended to decline throughout Europe: Judith Bennett, *Ale, Beer, and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World, 1300–1600* (New York, 1996); Maryanne Kowaleski and Judith Bennett, "Crafts, Gilds, and Women in the Middle Ages: Fifty Years after Marian K. Dale," *Signs* 14 (1989): 486; Martha Howell, "Women, the Family Economy, and the Structures of Market Production during the Late Middle Ages," in Hanawalt, *Women and Work*, 198–222.

<sup>16</sup> A separate panel was probably sent to Parma to interview the witnesses to miracles 64 and 65,



those miracles were cures that had taken place at the king's tomb between 1271 and 1282.

Inquests such as the one that took place at St.-Denis became standard procedure for canonizations during the thirteenth century. They constituted part of the general development of inquisitorial method, which was elaborated in the thirteenth century and which has given us some of our richest sources for medieval social and social-cultural history.<sup>17</sup> To date, however, most social historians who have employed the canonization inquests have examined those sources—or a combination of those and other hagiographical sources—for information about religious belief and practice; very few historians have placed those sources within the context of a particular place at a particular time. My own approach is to examine the St. Louis sources along with all available sources on the working and non-working poor of thirteenth-century Paris.<sup>18</sup>

Unfortunately, only a fragment of the original transcript of the inquest at St.-Denis has survived.<sup>19</sup> However, Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, a Franciscan friar who had been the confessor of Louis' wife, and who wrote his *Life and Miracles of Saint Louis* around 1303 at the request of Louis' daughter Blanche, summarized the evidence from the inquest, and a comparison of his retellings with the surviving transcript indicates that he remained quite faithful to the original narratives.<sup>20</sup>

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which took place in southern Italy: "Fragments de l'enquête faite à Saint-Denis en 1282 en vue de la canonisation de Saint Louis," H.-François Delaborde, ed., *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France* 23 (1896): 4; Louis Carolus-Barré, *Le procès de canonisation de Saint Louis (1272-1297): Essai de reconstitution* (Rome, 1994), 20-21. The Vatican archivists have been unable to locate for me the original documents that Delaborde consulted.

<sup>17</sup> The most well-known work of medieval social history based on inquisitorial materials is Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error*, Barbara Bray, trans. (New York, 1978, French edn., 1975). André Vauchez, *La sainteté en occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge: D'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome, 1981), is still the authoritative work on the social history of sanctity, based on the canonization inquests. See Vauchez's comments on pp. 2-3 on the value and similarity of these two kinds of sources and 39-67 on the evolution of canonization inquests.

<sup>18</sup> Works of social history based on canonization inquests, or canonization inquests and other hagiographical sources, include Vauchez, *La sainteté*; Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (Totowa, N.J., 1977); Michael Goodich, *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century: Private Grief and Public Salvation* (Chicago, 1995); Christian Krötzel, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag: Formen des Verhaltens im skandinavischen Mittelalter* (Helsinki, 1994); Claudia Opitz, *Frauenalltag im Mittelalter: Biographien des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts* (Weinheim and Basel, 1985).

Most of the studies of the sources for the miracles of St. Louis have examined only Guillaume de Saint-Pathus' French version, in isolation from other sources, for what it can tell us about religious or medical *mentalités*: Jacques Le Goff, "Saint de l'église et saint du peuple: Les miracles officiels de Saint Louis entre sa mort et sa canonisation," *Histoire sociale, sensibilités collectives et mentalités: Mélanges Robert Mandrou* (Paris, 1985), 169-80; Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris, 1996), 844-56; Sharaf Chennaf and Odile Redon, "Les miracles de Saint Louis," in *Les miracles: Miroirs des corps*, Jacques Gelis and Odile Redon, eds. (Paris, 1983), 53-86. Didier Lett employed Guillaume de Saint-Pathus' miracle stories to analyze one set of relationships within the nuclear family, but he failed to consider the broader social context for the involvement of older sisters in the miracle dramas: "La sorella maggiore 'madre sostituta' nei 'Miracoli di San Luigi,'" *Quaderni storici* 83 (1993): 341-53. Raymond Cazelles employed Guillaume's miracle stories, but not the Latin fragment, to look at more traditional social historical issues such as immigration and employment, but he failed to ask questions about social relationships: "Le Parisien au temps de Saint Louis," *Septième centenaire de la mort de Saint Louis, Actes des Colloques de Royaumont et de Paris (21-27 mai 1970)* (Paris, 1976), 99.

<sup>19</sup> Delaborde, "Fragments de l'enquête."

<sup>20</sup> Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*; Carolus-Barré, *Le procès*, 24. Guillaume's *La vie et les miracles de Saint Louis* appear together in the manuscripts, but they were published separately (for the



Guillaume also retained much of the information about the civil status of the beneficiaries of the miracles: at the beginning of each testimony, the scribes at the inquest recorded each witness's or beneficiary's name, place of birth, place of current residence (often including the street name), and number of years residing in the current town or village. They also recorded the names of the female witness's spouses and, often, the occupations of the men. In many cases where occupations were not recorded in the opening section of the testimony, moreover, the witnesses revealed their occupations in the course of their narratives. Because of this detailed background of even the poorest witnesses and beneficiaries—not found in most canonization inquests—and because the narratives themselves are unusually rich, the St. Louis sources are extremely valuable for reconstructing the world of the working and non-working poor.

Thirty-four of the sixty-five miracles recounted by Guillaume concern people from Paris and St.-Denis, most of them from artisanal, laboring, and poor backgrounds. Almost half those miracles—fifteen out of thirty-four—concern adult women who fell ill and were later cured.<sup>21</sup> Although St.-Denis was not technically part of Paris, its laboring population had migrated from the same general catchment area, and some of its artisans apprenticed with artisans from Paris.<sup>22</sup> The St. Louis sources indicate that, in both St.-Denis and Paris, women's immigration

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*Vie*, see Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *La vie de Saint Louis*, H. François Delaborde, ed. [Paris, 1899]). Only the miracles provide information on the daily lives of the poor.

<sup>21</sup> I have left out of the total of thirty-four miracles no. 38, which involved a cleric, and nos. 26–27, which involved the children of the man cured in no. 25. Twenty-five of the thirty-four were artisans, laborers, or poor people, two were identified as “bourgeois,” a title that involved property ownership, and one was clearly elite. The status of one other is not spelled out in *Les miracles*, but she was probably the same “Anès, la buchière” who was assessed for a middle-level tax in 1292, 1296, and 1297. Her apparently deceased husband, Jean Clamart, may have been the same Jean Clamart who owned a vineyard in 1272–1276. The social status of the remaining five is unclear. Twelve of the thirty-four lived in St.-Denis; twenty-two lived in Paris. Seven of the thirty-four stories concerned men who were cured, twelve concerned children who were cured. Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*, nos. 1–5, 7, 9, 11, 16–20, 22–25, 30, 34–37, 39, 41–44, 48–49, 51–54, 58. On the Anès in the tax registers, see Hercule Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-le-Bel, d'après des documents originaux*, new edn. with introduction and index by Lucie Fossier and Caroline Bourlet (Tübingen, 1991), 75; Karl Michaëlsson, *Le livre de la taille de Paris, l'an 1296* (Göteborg, 1958), 113; Michaëlsson, *Le livre de la taille de Paris, l'an 1297* (Göteborg, 1962), 99. On Agnes's husband, see Anne Terroine, *Un bourgeois Parisien du XIII<sup>e</sup>: Geoffrey de Saint-Laurent, 1245?–1290*, Lucie Fossier, ed. (Paris, 1992), 220, 235.

<sup>22</sup> The sample is the same as that in n. 21, with the addition of the fourteen non-clerical witnesses in the Latin fragment who do not overlap with the individuals counted from Guillaume de Saint-Pathus; Delaborde, “Fragments de l'enquête.” I have not included clerics in this figure. For children who received a cure, I have counted only the parent who is first mentioned by Guillaume de Saint-Pathus. If no place of origin is clearly mentioned, I have counted the individual as a native—even if that person has a surname that could describe a place of origin. Information for the place of origin for miracle no. 4 comes from Guillaume de Nangis, *Vie de Saint Louis, Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* (hereafter, *RHGF*), vol. 20 (Paris, 1840), 462. Information for the place of residence for miracle no. 48 is in Guillaume de Chartres, *De vita et actibus regis Francorum Ludovici et de miraculis*, *RHGF* 20: 40. This is, admittedly, a limited sample: 48 individuals (28 female, 20 male) for about a forty-year period (ca. 1242–1282). However, Goldberg based his discussion of immigration statistics on a sample of 63 individuals for a 161-year period: “Marriage, Migration and Servanthood: The York Cause Paper Evidence,” in P. J. P. Goldberg, ed., *Woman Is a Worthy Wight: Women in English Society c. 1200–1500* (Wolfboro Falls, N.H., 1992), 10–12; *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, 282–87.

Immigrants to St.-Denis came from Normandy, England, the Beauce (the region around Chartres), and the Ile-de-France; those to Paris came from Normandy, England, the Ile-de-France, the diocese of Thérouanne (Artois), Burgundy, and Brittany. The catchment area in this sample confirms Michaëlsson's assertion (*Etudes sur les noms de personnes*) that immigrants to Paris tended to come from the

rates lagged behind men's, although in both cases immigrant women equaled or outnumbered native women.<sup>23</sup> Thus, for the purposes of my analysis, I have included the cases from St.-Denis. Because women were more at risk in the medieval economy, and because charitable literature and activities frequently focused on their plight, I will limit my discussion here to the evidence concerning poor women—their strategies for survival and the institutions and individuals to which they turned when they experienced ill-health and financial difficulty.

Before I turn to the stories themselves, I must pause briefly to discuss, first, the population and economy of late thirteenth-century Paris and, second, the obstacles that women encountered in high and late medieval cities. The largest city in Western Europe, Paris, like most other medieval cities, underwent its most rapid period of growth during the thirteenth century: from an estimated 160,000 in 1240, it grew to somewhere around 210,000 in 1328.<sup>24</sup> Migration was the principal cause of the growth. In the St. Louis sources, 62.5 percent of the women and 72.7 percent of the men residing in Paris had migrated from elsewhere. Among those residing in St.-Denis, 50 percent of the women and 88.9 percent of the men were immigrants.<sup>25</sup> The greater proportion of immigrant men in this sample suggests that P. J. P. Goldberg may well be correct in arguing that women (who, in Goldberg's sample, migrated to post-plague York at an equal rate to men) had greater work opportunities in the second half of the fourteenth century, after the bubonic plague devastated the work force.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, in apparent contrast to some late medieval

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area north of the Loire. On artisans from St.-Denis and Paris apprenticing together: Delaborde, "Fragments de l'enquête," 44.

<sup>23</sup> See below at n. 25.

<sup>24</sup> Raymond Cazelles, "La population de Paris avant la peste noire," *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres: Comptes rendus* (Paris, 1966), 539–54; Cazelles, "Le parisien," 98; Raymond Cazelles, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris: De la fin du règne de Philippe Auguste à la mort de Charles V, 1223–1380* (Paris, 1972), 131–53; Herlihy, *Opera Muliebra*, 128–31. Earlier in the century, several historians doubted that Paris could have had such a large population, but they did not realize that this number included suburbs outside the walls built by King Philip Augustus. I am satisfied that Cazelles and Herlihy have adequately dealt with the objections to these estimates, thereby indicating that Paris was the largest city in Western Europe.

<sup>25</sup> The numbers are: 16 women residing in Paris, 10 of them immigrants; 11 men residing in Paris, 8 of them immigrants; 12 women residing in St.-Denis, 6 of them immigrants; 9 men residing in St.-Denis, 8 of them immigrants. The sample is the same as that for n. 22. Herlihy argued that in the 1292 and 1313 tax assessments four out of ten Parisian males and three out of ten females were "apparently" immigrants: *Opera muliebra*, 136. The larger proportion of immigrants in my sources much more accurately accounts for immigration rates among those too poor to be assessed in the tax roles.

<sup>26</sup> Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, 284–90. Goldberg based his argument on poll tax evidence from 1377, in which women in York, Hull, and Carlisle outnumbered men at a rate of 100 to 90. His evidence from church court cases in York supports his contention that women migrated more frequently in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century than they did in the later fifteenth century, but it does not give us a basis for comparing post-plague to pre-plague migration. In a sample of 63 individuals (32 male, 31 female) for the period 1346–1507 (but with only one individual from before 1348), he found that in the years 1357–1418 there were 12 male and 20 female migrants. Since these were all servants or former servants, these numbers cannot reveal the actual proportion of female to male migration, since many more men than women would have migrated to enter apprenticeships (see, for example, Vivien Brodsky Elliott, "Single Women in the London Marriage Market: Age, Status, and Mobility, 1598–1619," in *Marriage and Society: Studies in the Social History of Marriage*, R. B. Outhwaite, ed. [London, 1981], 91). However, these numbers do indicate that women were migrating at a particularly rapid rate right after the onset of the Black Death and that this rate declined after 1418. The poll taxes may also point to a higher proportion of women migrants in the post-plague era.

towns and their suburbs or satellites, Paris seems to have attracted women at a higher rate than did St.-Denis.<sup>27</sup> And in contrast to women in eighteenth-century France, thirteenth-century women (as well as men) traveled considerable distances to get to Paris and St.-Denis: thirteen out of sixteen women and thirteen out of sixteen men in my sample migrated over thirty miles.<sup>28</sup>

About half the population of late thirteenth-century Paris hovered somewhere in the vicinity of poverty. The best indicator for this estimate is the tax assessment of 1292, which viewed less than 25 percent of the households as potential taxpayers. The remaining 75 percent included those who did not have to pay taxes—nobles, clerics, and students—but most of the excluded households consisted of poor people, propertyless wage earners, and those whose business inventories and incomes were so insignificant that they were not even considered liable for a modest tax of 12 deniers, or 1 sou, which was equal to about a day and a half's wages for a hired laborer in the construction business.<sup>29</sup>

Late thirteenth-century Paris was not yet experiencing the economic disasters and famines that so weakened the population of Europe in the first half of the fourteenth century, but its working poor, like many of their peers in other towns, were already feeling the pinch, and the numbers of the non-working poor were growing. Already during the reign of Louis IX there had been disturbing levels of unemployment,<sup>30</sup> and, in 1288, the master dyers of Paris complained that there was frequently a 50 percent unemployment rate among the journeymen of their craft. Salaries, moreover, remained constant while grain prices rose.<sup>31</sup>

As was the case in many towns in high and late medieval Europe, women without men (poor marriageable girls, young widows with children, older widows) were frequently the special objects of charitable activity in thirteenth and fourteenth-century Paris.<sup>32</sup> Such women were included, or even favored, among the "deserving

<sup>27</sup> See Martha Howell's discussion of women's greater work opportunities in the suburbs of Leiden: *Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities* (Chicago, 1986), chap. 4.

<sup>28</sup> The sample is the same as that in n. 22. Slightly more men than women came from beyond the Ile-de-France: 13 out of 16, as opposed to 9 out of 16. Only men in this sample came from England, probably because only skilled workers could afford to pay for the passage. On distances that eighteenth-century women traveled, see Olwen Hufton, "Women and the Family Economy in Eighteenth-Century France," *French Historical Studies* 9 (1975): 4–5.

<sup>29</sup> Janice Archer, "Working Women in Thirteenth-Century Paris" (PhD dissertation, University of Arizona, 1995), 79, 83–84; Geremek, *Margins*, 68. Archer argues convincingly (152–53) that the tax assessment was probably based on some combination of business inventory and income. On wage levels, see Bronisław Geremek, *Le salariat dans l'artisanat parisien aux XIII<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, trans. from the Polish by Anna Posner and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber (Paris, 1987), 89 (in the summer of 1299, a valet mason earned 8 s. in Paris). In England, according to Bennett, those who moved in and out of a state of poverty constituted between one-third and one-half of the population; "Conviviality and Charity," 20.

<sup>30</sup> The statute of the hosiers' guild in Etienne Boileau, *Livre des métiers*, indicates that masters in that craft were being forced to take employment as day laborers: *Le livre des métiers d'Etienne Boileau*, René de Lespinasse and François Bonnardot, eds. (Paris, 1879), no. 55, p. 115. Raymond Cazelles sees in the *Livre des métiers* attempts on the part of King Louis IX and his provost to raise employment levels by regulating work hours and establishing lengthy apprenticeships: Cazelles, "Le parisien," 103.

<sup>31</sup> Sivéry, *L'économie*, 75; René de Lespinasse, *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1886–97), 3: 116; cited by Geremek, *Le salariat*, 122. Between 1256–1257 and 1289–1290, the price of a *setier* of wheat rose from 5 s. 4 d. to 6 s. 3 d. in Paris. In St.-Denis, it rose from 3 s. 6 d. in 1256–1257 to 10 s. in 1286–1287, then back down to 7 s. in 1289–1290: Sivéry, 75. On the stability of salaries and the overall loss of buying power over the course of the thirteenth century, see Sivéry, 133–48.

<sup>32</sup> Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, chaps. 7–8; John Henderson, "Women, Children and Poverty in

poor” in part because women without men were indeed at risk in medieval towns. Tax assessments from late thirteenth-century Paris and from post-1348 Lyons, Burgundy, and Florence indicate that female heads of household were over-represented among the “fiscal poor” (those paying the smallest taxes in Paris, Lyons, and Burgundy and those considered too destitute to pay a tax in Florence).<sup>33</sup> The situation of such female heads of household was probably worse in the pre-1348 period, since afterwards, the plague opened up parts of the labor market for women. However, as Alessandro Stella has argued, both before and after 1348 there were important differences among widows and among single women, and indeed among men: widows (and, to a lesser degree, single women) who had prosperous families to fall back on or some form of property—real or mobile—often did quite well in the late medieval economy.<sup>34</sup> By contrast, all single and married persons from the class of dependent laborers (generally, those who were not able to become master craftspeople within a guild, who worked for someone else, and who owned no real or mobile property) were at risk of falling into dire poverty when illness, disability, or unemployment interrupted the earning capacity of any member of the household.

Within this group, women were at more risk than men because they tended to work in the lowest paid sectors of the economy and because they were paid lower

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Florence at the Time of the Black Death,” in Henderson and Wall, *Poor Women and Children*, 160–79; Henderson, “Parish and the Poor,” 265; Brian Pullan, “Support and Redeem: Charity and Poor Relief in Italian Cities from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century,” in Henderson, *Charity and the Poor*, 188–89; Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State* (Oxford, 1971), 85, 163; Epstein, *Wills and Wealth*, 171–72, 185–86; Elizabeth Rothrauff, “Charity in a Medieval Community: Politics, Piety and Poor-relief in Pisa, 1257–1312” (PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1994), 99, 193; Chiffolleau, *La comptabilité*, 135–36, 304, 307; Suzanne F. Roberts, “Les consulats du Rouergue et l’assistance urbaine au XIII<sup>e</sup> et au début du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles,” *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 13 (1978): 135, 137; P. H. Cullum, “‘And His Name Was Charity’: Charitable Giving by and for Women in Late Medieval Yorkshire,” in Goldberg, *Woman Is a Worthy Wight*, 197–202; Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, 156–57.

Parisian wills from 1250–1350 that included bequests for the marriages of poor girls include “Testament of Simon Piz-d’Oue, Chanoine de Saint-Germain-l’Auxerrois (3 Octobre 1307),” Henry Martin, ed., *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de Paris et de l’Île-de-France* 31 (1904): 37; *Archives de l’Hôtel Dieu de Paris*, Léon Brière and E. Coyecque, eds. (Paris, 1894), 550; *Archives de l’Hôpital des Quinze-Vingts*, ms. 5848, fol. 213; *Archives Nationales* (hereafter, AN) L 840, no. 99, copied by Anne Terroine, “Recherches sur la bourgeoisie parisienne au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle” (unpublished thèse, Ecole des Chartes, 1940), 4: 127; AN L 1021, no. 18, copied by Terroine, 4: 166. On Parisian charitable foundations for widows, see below, nn. 64–65.

<sup>33</sup> Gonthier, *Lyon et ses pauvres*, 56–65; Dubois, “La pauvreté,” 1: 296–98; Dubois, “Les feux féminins à Dijon aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles (1394–1407),” *La femme au moyen-âge*, Michel Rouche and Jean Heuclin, eds. (Paris, 1990), 405; Stella, *La révolte des Ciompi*, 141. In Paris, women constituted 13.7 percent of the total number assessed in the tax roll of 1292, but they constituted 19.25 percent of those who paid the smallest tax (12 deniers). On the percentage of women in the 1292 tax roll, see Bourlet, “L’anthroponomie à Paris,” 11. Bourlet excluded those whose sex could not be determined, the Lombard and Jewish communities, and communities such as the bourgeois of Laon, the Hôtel de Chaalis, and the Hôtel de Clairvaux. I have calculated the percentage of women among those paying the lowest tax (excluding the same groups that Bourlet excluded) from the published edition of the 1292 assessment: Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-le-Bel*.

<sup>34</sup> Stella, *La révolte des Ciompi*, 182; Archer, “Working Women,” 142–46, 167–68; Diane Frappier-Bigras, “La famille dans l’artisanat parisien du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Le moyen âge* 95 (1989): 60–61; Barbara Hanawalt, “The Widow’s Mite: Provisions for Medieval London Widows,” in *Upon My Husband’s Death: Widows in the Literature and Histories of Medieval Europe*, Louise Mirrer, ed. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1993), 21–46; Martha Howell, “Fixing Movables: Gifts by Testament in Late Medieval Douai,” *Past and Present* 150 (February 1996): 3–45.

wages than men.<sup>35</sup> Women's salaries were so low that many—including many laundresses—practiced prostitution on the side.<sup>36</sup> Women who never married, moreover, were less able to draw on the collective means of the conjugal household in order to set themselves up in business, and they were often excluded from the technical training and guild participation available to wives and widows.<sup>37</sup>

Already vulnerable to underemployment, low wages, disease, and disability, women—especially single women—had to worry about their vulnerability to rape and seduction as well. Criminal records from the later Middle Ages suggest that young men often considered single women, especially poor single women, “fair game” for gang rape, largely because such women had neither fathers nor husbands to protect them. Thirteenth-century moralists described the habits of young men who chose to have sex with female servants because they were too embarrassed to frequent prostitutes. City governments often gave light sentences to—or pardoned or ignored—the perpetrators of sexual violence against women, and moralists often blamed servant girls for the fact that they were victimized by their masters.<sup>38</sup>

HOW, THEN, DID THE POOR WOMEN OF PARIS and St.-Denis really survive? The sources for the miracles of St. Louis highlight both the importance and the limitations of family, formal institutions, employers, neighbors, and female companions. They suggest, moreover, that informal alms, especially those given at the door of an individual's parish church, were frequently essential to the survival of those experiencing long-term disability.<sup>39</sup>

I begin, then, with the family. Medieval discussions of charitable giving usually stressed that charity began in the home—with one's own relations.<sup>40</sup> But to what degree did familial support work among the propertyless laborers, whose men

<sup>35</sup> Stella, *La révolte des Ciompi*, 182; Archer, “Working Women,” 158, 168–69; Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, 82 and following; Geremek, *Le salariat*, 91.

<sup>36</sup> Ruth Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (New York, 1996), 48–55; Geremek, *Margins*, 214, n. 12.

<sup>37</sup> Howell, *Women, Production, and Patriarchy*, 41–43, 76–77, 85–86; Dubois, “Les feux féminins,” 405; Bennett, *Ale, Beer, and Brewsters*, chap. 3; Kowaleski and Bennett, “Crafts, Gilds, and Women.” The strap makers' guild of Paris did not allow women to have apprentices unless they were wives of strap makers; *Le livre des métiers d'Etienne Boileau*, no. 87, p. 9.

<sup>38</sup> Jacques Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, Lydia G. Cochrane, trans. (Oxford, 1988), 1–30; Walter Prevenier, “Violence against Women in a Medieval Metropolis: Paris around 1400,” *Law, Custom and the Social Fabric in Medieval Europe: Essays in Honor of Bryce Lyon*, Bernard S. Bachrach and David Nicholas, eds. (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1990), 263–84; Esther Cohen, “‘To Die a Criminal for the Public Good’: The Execution Ritual in Late Medieval Paris,” in Bachrach and Nicholas, 285–86 (in 1389–1392, 28 men were pardoned in Paris for participating in 19 gang rapes, and 55 confederates to those crimes remained unprosecuted); Guido Ruggiero, *Violence in Renaissance Venice* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1980), 156–70. On the seduction/rape of servants, see Claude Gauvard, “*De Grace Especial*”: *Crime, état et société en France à la fin du moyen âge* (Paris, 1991), 391; Karras, *Common Women*, 55, 87; Humbert of Romans, “*Ad famulas divitum*,” Carla Casagrande, ed., *Prediche alle donne del secolo XIII* (Milan, 1978), 50. On Humbert, see Alexander Murray, “Religion among the Poor in Thirteenth-Century France: The Testimony of Humbert de Romans,” *Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion* 30 (1974): 289–90.

<sup>39</sup> The stories do not tell us anything about consumption loans, although these were also an important aspect of survival for poor people: William C. Jordan, “Jews on Top: Women and the Availability of Consumption Loans in Northern France in the Mid-Thirteenth Century,” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 29 (1978): 39–56.

<sup>40</sup> Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law*, 57; Trexler, “Charity,” 76.



frequently did not earn enough to support an entire family and whose women frequently did not earn enough to support themselves? And among immigrants and laborers, for whom the extended family was presumably weak or nonexistent, where could the conjugal couple turn when it could not sustain the household?<sup>41</sup> Three of the stories in the miracles of St. Louis help to answer these questions about the nuclear household. In two of those stories, wives who became disabled—Amile of St.-Mathieu and Jehanne of Serris—had to turn outside the nuclear family for help.

In 1271 or 1272, Amile of St.-Mathieu, who had moved to Paris from Brittany some thirty years earlier, fell victim to a paralysis when she got up in the middle of the night to give a drink to one of her children. Her entire left side became paralyzed, and a lump appeared in her groin. Eventually, the lump grew into a large, open, odiferous sore.<sup>42</sup> After Amile had been sick for three or four months, Guillaume de Saint-Pathus tells us, “her husband left her *par ennui*”—out of frustration, or even irritation. Guillaume continues disapprovingly, “he left Paris, and so he did not assist her at all.”<sup>43</sup> Amile hobbled on a crutch to her parish church, where she begged for alms. This caused her great pain and put her in physical danger as well, since she could not feel anything in her left foot, which she had to drag on the ground. On one occasion, a piece of glass pierced that foot, but she felt nothing, even when a barber cut into her flesh to remove the glass.

After she had been ill for over nine months, Amile decided to go to St.-Denis to seek a miraculous cure at Louis’ tomb. Her brother accompanied her on the journey, but it seems that her husband was not completely out of the picture: he and his brother visited Amile during her first few days at St.-Denis, and, when they heard that she had been cured, they went out to see her again. She was already on the road back to Paris when they ran into her, so they all returned to Paris together.

It is perfectly plausible that Amile’s husband may have left home to seek employment.<sup>44</sup> In any case, it is clear that her husband’s absence did not constitute total abandonment, since Amile’s brother was able to take her to St.-Denis and her husband visited her while she was in St.-Denis and came to greet her after her cure. Nevertheless, we are left with the evidence that the nuclear family was so poor that even a disabled wife was compelled to bring in some income by begging.<sup>45</sup>

The companionship, and perhaps the material support, of Amile’s brother and the presence of her husband’s brother also suggest that Parisian immigrant workers sometimes maintained important ties with their extended families. In another miracle, a married woman, Marie the Burgundian, who had recently immigrated to Paris from the diocese of Auxerre with her husband, maintained important ties with her sister. When Marie took her eight-year-old son to St.-Denis to seek a cure for his crippled arm, her sister accompanied her. At one point, Marie left her son in her

<sup>41</sup> Even in Italian towns, where extended families predominated among elites, the families of the urban working poor were small and nuclear: Dennis Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State* (Baltimore, Md., 1987), 56–64; Stella, *La révolte des Ciompi*, 97.

<sup>42</sup> Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*, no. 52.

<sup>43</sup> Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*, no. 52.

<sup>44</sup> On work-related nomadism among day laborers, see Geremek, *Le salariat*, 95–97; and Geremek, *Margins*, 253–62.

<sup>45</sup> The majority of women receiving alms from the confraternity of Orsanmichele in fourteenth-century Florence were married: La Roncière, “Pauvres et pauvreté à Florence,” 694.



sister's care, and thus it was her sister who was with the boy when he regained the use of his arm.<sup>46</sup> In a third miracle, the five or six-year-old brother of Yfame of Lagny, who had migrated to Paris from a village in the diocese of Paris two years earlier, stayed with his sister when her husband went out of town.<sup>47</sup>

Like Amile, Jehanne of Serris, who had migrated to Paris from a village in the diocese of Paris, also had to rely on sources of support outside the nuclear family.<sup>48</sup> Before she suddenly lost the use of her left leg, in February 1276, Jehanne lived with her carpenter husband and their children in the parish of St.-Merri in Paris. When she lost the ability to stand and walk, her husband took her to the Hôtel Dieu of Paris, where she would be sheltered, fed, and bathed by attending nuns, and where she may have received some attention from a medical doctor as well.

Jehanne stayed at the Hôtel Dieu for over four months, perhaps sharing her bed with one or two other inmates.<sup>49</sup> The nuns made her a pair of crutches and worked with her until she was able to move about on her own. Jehanne then tried to return home, but she was unable to make it on her own, so her husband carried her there. From then on, Jehanne—like many wives of working men in fourteenth-century Florence and in eighteenth-century France—helped support herself and her family by begging for alms at the parish church, despite the fact that the journey from her home to the church was quite difficult for her.<sup>50</sup> Finally, Jehanne decided to go to St.-Denis to seek a cure. Because she wanted to pay her own way, she waited until she had spun enough yarn to earn three pennies, then she and her daughter departed for Louis' tomb, where, we are told, she was cured.<sup>51</sup>

Guillaume is quite judgmental in his discussion of Jehanne's husband: he tells us that Jehanne had to move to the Hôtel Dieu and later had to beg because her husband did not *want* to care for her.<sup>52</sup> But poverty is an equally plausible explanation: she moved to the Hôtel Dieu because there was no one in the family who could care for her and because she could get free meals there.<sup>53</sup> As soon as she was able to bring in some income by begging, she returned home. Once again, then, the miracle stories imply that marriage was not a solid source of security and protection. Whatever advantages it might have brought to some women in late thirteenth-century Paris, it did not provide Amile and Jehanne with a cushion from beggary; indeed, it seems that the single woman, Nicole of Rubercy, was better off in her illness than were Amile and Jehanne.

By contrast, the story of Luce, who had immigrated to St.-Denis from the village of Rémy-sur-Lozon in Normandy, indicates that in some cases the disabled wives

<sup>46</sup> Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*, no. 49. Marie's second husband was a mason.

<sup>47</sup> Delaborde, "Fragments de l'enquête," 46–47.

<sup>48</sup> Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*, no. 42.

<sup>49</sup> See Dorothy-Louise MacKay, *Les hôpitaux et la charité à Paris au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1923), 37–71, for a description of the patterns of care in Parisian hospitals.

<sup>50</sup> La Roncière, "Pauvres et pauvreté à Florence," 694; Hufton, "Women and the Family," 20–21.

<sup>51</sup> I analyze the cultural context for Jehanne's attitudes toward begging and working with her hands in Sharon Farmer, "Manual Labor, Begging, and Conflicting Constructions of Gender in Thirteenth-Century Paris," in *Difference and Genders in the Middle Ages*, Farmer and Carol Pasternack, eds. (forthcoming).

<sup>52</sup> "ne li vosist aménistrer," "ne li voloît pas trouver ce que il li couvenoît," Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*, 131, 132.

<sup>53</sup> In the later thirteenth century, male laborers in England and Florence earned enough to support themselves but not a family: Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 226–29; La Roncière, *Prix et salaires*, 381–461.

of propertyless working men could rely on their husbands for long-term support. Soon after she gave birth to one of her children, in 1268 or 1269, Luce began to suffer from an eye disease. Within two years, she was completely blind, and she remained in that state for eight years, during which time she gave birth to and nursed another three children.<sup>54</sup> Because her husband, an immigrant from England, earned enough money to support her and the rest of the family, Luce never had to beg during those eight years.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, her husband did not have to take time off from work to assist his disabled wife because she received assistance from her daughter, who was about nine years old when Luce went blind, and from a male servant who had been with Luce since her previous marriage, to another Englishman.<sup>56</sup>

We do not know what Luce's husband did for a living, but he was propertyless and supported his family by his own labor.<sup>57</sup> We know that Luce was too poor to hire a wet nurse and that she went to work selling pickled fish and other merchandise after she regained her eyesight.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, the presence of a household servant and the fact that for eight years her husband was able to support a family of at least six without any financial assistance from his wife suggest that this family was more prosperous than the families of Amile of St.-Mathieu and Jehanne of Serris.

The miracles of St. Louis do not include any stories about single women from Paris or St.-Denis who received assistance from their parents or siblings when illness or disability prevented them from working. We can surmise from the stories about Amile and Jehanne why such assistance might have been rare: nuclear families that barely managed to stay afloat could not afford to support additional adults.<sup>59</sup> Many immigrant women would not have had nearby relatives to turn to. Nevertheless, the importance of blood connections for single women, including single immigrant women, should not be completely discounted. The inquest concerning the forty-first miracle of St. Louis indicates that Yfame of Lagny, the wife of the dyer Herbert of Fontenay, immigrated to Paris a year before she married her husband. She had an aunt who apparently already resided in Paris and was married to a dyer, and it is possible that the aunt helped her to find housing or employment or that she introduced Yfame to her future husband.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, records of five sets of mothers and daughters and two sets of sisters in the embroiderers' guild of Paris and one set each of mother-daughter, aunt-niece, and sisters in the silk almspurse makers' guild indicate that other single women frequently relied on their relations when they entered the employment market.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Delaborde, "Fragments de l'enquête," 56–57, 59.

<sup>55</sup> Delaborde, "Fragments de l'enquête," 57, 59, 62, 66.

<sup>56</sup> Delaborde, "Fragments de l'enquête," 56–57, 59, 64.

<sup>57</sup> Delaborde, "Fragments de l'enquête," 56, 61: when asked what his property was worth, Luce's husband answered that he had very little and that he lived by his own labor. Luce answered that she had nothing and that she lived by her own labor and that of her husband.

<sup>58</sup> Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*, no. 51; Delaborde, "Fragments de l'enquête," 70.

<sup>59</sup> A blind woman living in Pontoise was assisted by her sister; and a young pigherd from the diocese of Poitiers lived with his married brother for two months after he became crippled, then had to depart because "his brother was poor and he had five children and a wife"; Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*, nos. 59, 14.

<sup>60</sup> Delaborde, "Fragments de l'enquête," 42, 46.

<sup>61</sup> *Règlements sur les arts et métiers de Paris, rédigés au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, et connus sous le nom du Livre des métiers d'Etienne Boileau*, G.-B. Depping, ed. (Paris, 1837), 379–86.

In addition to providing important information about familial support for poor Parisian women, Jehanne's story points as well to the second important source of support to which women could turn: charitable institutions. The Hôtel Dieu of Paris, where Jehanne stayed when she first fell victim to paralysis, was the largest hospital in Paris. Located near the cathedral of Nôtre Dame, and under the jurisdiction of its chapter, the Hôtel Dieu had 279 beds during the fifteenth century, which might hold two or three inmates each, although the hospital rarely held as many as 400 inmates. Those beds held poor and feeble people, the seriously ill, abandoned children, and a number of pensioners. An additional twenty-four beds were reserved for poor pregnant women when they went into labor.<sup>62</sup>

A second large hospital, the Quinze-Vingts, had been founded by King Louis to provide permanent residence for 300 people—blind persons, their spouses, and their guides, who led the residents around town while they begged for support.<sup>63</sup> There were numerous smaller hospitals and hospices as well. In addition, a number of religious houses and private hospices aimed at addressing the needs of poor women. In the first quarter of the thirteenth century, William of Auvergne founded the Filles Dieu, a religious house for reformed prostitutes. Louis both supported the Filles Dieu and founded Paris's Beguinage—an informal religious institution for semi-religious single women and widows—in the parish of St.-Paul on the right bank. In 1283, the treasurer of the parish of St.-Merry and a wealthy widow named Constance founded a hospice on the Rue du Temple, which came to be known as Ste.-Avoye. It was to shelter forty widows age fifty or older. In 1306, Stephen Haudry, a wealthy draper, and his wife Jeanne, founded a hospice for thirty-two widows on the Place de la Grève, later known as the hospital of the Haudriettes.<sup>64</sup> Propertied inhabitants of Paris continued to leave bequests to the Filles Dieu, the Beguinage, Ste.-Avoye, and the Haudriettes, and they founded at least eight more hospices for women before 1342.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>62</sup> E. Coyecque, *L'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris au moyen âge: Histoire et documents*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1891), 1: 25, 60–75.

<sup>63</sup> Léon Le Grand, "Les Quinze-Vingts depuis leur fondation jusqu'à leur translation au faubourg Saint-Antoine, XIII<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France* 13 (1886): 113–25.

<sup>64</sup> On the founding of the Filles Dieu, see Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-le-Bel*, 386. On the founding of the Beguinage of Paris, see Léon Le Grand, "Les Béguines de Paris," *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France* 20 (1893): 303 and following. On the founding of the Haudriettes, see Le Grand, 335; and AN L 1043, nos. 18, 20, 21, 22 (Le Grand was apparently not aware of these documents). On the founding of Ste.-Avoye, see Le Grand, 335; and Gérard Dubois, *Historia ecclesiae parisiensis* (Paris, 1690–1710), 2: 510–11. Dubois erroneously gives the date of 1288 in his printed edition of the founding document of Ste.-Avoye. See, however, AN L 1078, nos. 1, 2. On other hospitals in Paris, see MacKay, *Les hôpitaux et la charité à Paris*.

<sup>65</sup> On the eight additional hospices for women, see AN KK 5, fol. 368–368v. Bequests to the Filles Dieu, Haudriettes, Beguinage, and Ste.-Avoye in testaments before 1350 include AN L 1043, no. 31; AN L 938, no. 46; AN L 938, no. 58; AN L 938, no. 61; *Chartes et documents de l'Abbaye de Saint-Magloire*, vol. 2, Anne Terroine and Lucie Fossier, eds. (Paris, 1966), no. 108; "Testament d'une bourgeoise de Paris," Léon Le Grand, ed., *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France* (1887): 43; "Inventaire de Galeran le Breton et Testament de Jeanne de Malaunay, bourgeois de Paris (1299–1311)," Arthur Goldmann, ed., *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 19 (1892): 168; Archives de l'Hôpital des Quinze-Vingts, ms. 5848, fol. 294; Archives de l'Assistance Publique, Fonds St.-Jacques (hereafter, AAP, S.-J.), First Cartulary, no. 17; AAP, S.-J., Second Cartulary, no. 50; AAP, S.-J., Fourth Cartulary, no. 101; *Registres du trésor des chartes*, vol. 2, Inventaire analytique établi par M. Jean Guerout sous la direction de M. Robert Fossier (Paris, 1966), 438: JJ 56, no. 2252 (this is a royal gift rather than a testamentary bequest). I am grateful to Aline Chajmowicz for

Bronisław Geremek has estimated that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the hospitals and hospices of Paris offered, on average, between a thousand and twelve hundred places for sick and poor people, excluding lepers and pilgrims.<sup>66</sup> Before the onset of the Black Death in 1348, those places were probably inadequate in meeting the needs of the approximately 100,000 people who moved in and out of life-cycle poverty. Institutional responses to the poor, moreover, tended to ignore certain groups: several of the institutions for poor women were founded to meet the needs of poor widows, not the large population of women who never married at all.

Jehanne's story, as well as several others in the *Miracles of Saint Louis*, suggests that, like hospitals in other towns, the Hôtel Dieu of Paris favored immobile over mobile patients: as soon as a sick or crippled individual recovered from a fever or was capable of getting out of bed and moving around, he or she was encouraged to go home and, if necessary, to beg. Apparently, many poor people with long-term disabilities did not stay in a hospital at all. Sixteen of the miracles involved poor adults living in Paris or St.-Denis with a long-term disability.<sup>67</sup> Only in Jehanne's case, however, are we told that she entered a hospital because of her paralysis. In one other story, involving a young man named Guillot of Cauz, crippled for three years, we are told that he entered the Hôtel Dieu only when he had a fever and could not beg.<sup>68</sup>

Three of the miracle stories that involved women associated with the Filles Dieu and the Parisian Beguinage help illuminate the range of support that women without men received from those religious institutions founded to meet their needs. In the summer of 1284, Jacqueline of St.-Germaine-des-Prés, a sister at the Filles Dieu who was about forty years old, fell sick with a fever and then with a fit of madness, which was largely colored by a sense of guilt concerning her former life as a prostitute.<sup>69</sup> On three occasions, she attempted suicide, and on each of those occasions was saved by the other sisters. The description of her illness, which lasted several weeks, implies that Jacqueline was almost always in the company of another sister and that she was visited by a chaplain and a priest as well. She never had to leave the Filles Dieu, even when she had a serious fever, because the institution had the facilities and personnel to meet her needs. The story of Marguerite de la Madeleine, another sister at the Filles Dieu, suggests that the sisters were expected to work for a living when they could: before she developed a paralysis, Marguerite was a maker of silk alms purses "de oeuvre sarrazinoise."<sup>70</sup>

In contrast, the story of Aelés Malachine indicates that the Beguinage of Paris

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sharing her notes on the Fonds St.-Jacques with me. On Italian shelters for widows, see Richard Trexler, "A Widows' Asylum of the Renaissance: The Orbatello of Florence," *Old Age in Preindustrial Society*, Peter N. Stearns, ed. (New York, 1982), 119–49; F. Semi, *Gli "ospizi" di Venezia* (Venice, 1983), 40–43, 87–95, 161–62; Rothrauff, "Charity in a Medieval Community," 99.

<sup>66</sup> Geremek, *Margins*, 176.

<sup>67</sup> Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*, nos. 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 17, 20, 35, 37, 39, 42–44, 51, 52, 58. On the policies of other hospitals, see Annie Saunier, "*Le pauvre malade*" dans le cadre hospitalier médiéval: *France du nord, vers 1300–1500* (Paris, 1993), 13.

<sup>68</sup> Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*, no. 17.

<sup>69</sup> Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*, no. 30.

<sup>70</sup> Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*, no. 34. These were embroidered alms purses that women wore on their belts. In 1299, the makers of these purses, all of them women, formed a guild; Depping, *Règlements sur les arts et métiers*, 382–86.

did not always provide an adequate social safety net for the women affiliated with it. In 1268, Aelés, who “frequented” the Beguinage, where she worked, fell ill with a paralysis that has all the marks of a stroke: she lost the use of her right side, her hand trembled, she had to use a crutch to walk, and she relied on a woman who lived with her to help her dress. Because she could no longer work as a wool comber, Aelés begged for a living until she was finally cured at Louis’ tomb. Her affiliation with the Beguinage of Paris, then, did not provide Aelés with enough support to relieve her of the need to beg when she was unable to work.<sup>71</sup>

In addition to family and formal charitable institutions for the sick and the poor, medieval Parisians could sometimes turn to their work affiliations for help when they were in trouble. Paris was one of only three cities in Western Europe that had guilds of women. The *Livre des métiers* of Etienne Boileau, compiled between 1261 and 1271, included five such guilds, and another two were established toward the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>72</sup> There were also a number of guilds that had a high percentage of female members. However, the statutes for these guilds with large numbers of women made no mention of special arrangements for indigent members and their families.<sup>73</sup>

Conversely, the six guilds in the *Livre des métiers* that did mention special arrangements for needy members or their families were overwhelmingly male in their membership. The tailors’, glove makers’, roasters’, and cobblers’ guilds designated certain fines for the support of poor members.<sup>74</sup> We find no female tailors or roasters in the Parisian tax lists of 1297–1300, an average of two female and forty-eight male glove makers for each of those years, and an average of six female and 328 male cobblers for each of those years.<sup>75</sup> The statutes of the buckle makers’ and strap makers’ guilds indicated that the guild would pay the entrance or

<sup>71</sup> Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*, no. 44. Guillaume distinguished this Aelés, who “hantoit” the house of the Beguines, from another Aelés, who “demoroit” in the house of the Beguines.

<sup>72</sup> Lespinasse and Bonnardot, *Le livre des métiers*, nos. 35, 36, 38, 44, 95; Depping, *Règlements sur les arts et métiers*, 379–86. For a general discussion of women in the *Livre des métiers*, see E. Dixon, “Craftswomen in the *Livre des métiers*,” *Economic Journal* 5, no. 2 (1895): 209–28; Frappier-Bigras, “La famille dans l’artisanat parisien,” 56–62. For broader discussion of women and craft guilds, see Kowaleski and Bennett, “Crafts, Gilds, and Women.” For background on the *Livre des métiers*, see B. Mahieu, “Le livre des métiers d’Etienne Boileau,” *Le siècle de Saint Louis* (Paris, 1970), 64–74.

<sup>73</sup> Guilds with large numbers of women included that of the peddlers of produce and other small items (*regratiers*) and that of the fringe makers (*crespiniers*), who did needlework; Lespinasse and Bonnardot, *Le livre des métiers*, nos. 9, 10, 37; Archer, “Working Women,” 257, 259. The word “confrarie” is used in the statutes of the silk weavers, but as Gustave Fagniez pointed out, that word frequently meant “the guild” in the *Livre des métiers*. Lespinasse and Bonnardot, *Le livre des métiers*, no. 38; 8; Gustave Fagniez, *Etudes sur l’industrie et la classe industrielle à Paris au XIII<sup>e</sup> et au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1877; rpt. edn., New York, 1970), 33. See 31–42 for a general discussion of Parisian confraternities. See also the references in Vincent, *Les confréries*.

<sup>74</sup> Lespinasse and Bonnardot, *Le livre des métiers*, nos. 56: 5, 69; 14, 84; 12, 88; 13.

<sup>75</sup> Archer, “Working Women,” 258, 264, 266, 267. Similarly, the guild of curriers of vair garments instituted mutual aid for members in 1319. There were no female curriers in the tax lists of 1297–1300; Fagniez, *Etudes sur l’industrie*, 290–91; Archer, “Working Women,” 267. Ben McRee has argued that the late medieval account books of English confraternities indicate that most confraternities promising mutual aid actually did less than what they promised to do, and that the confraternities with such statutes were usually the wealthier ones, whose members would be unlikely to need such aid. McRee, “Charity and Gild Solidarity in Late Medieval England,” *Journal of British Studies* 32 (1993): 195–225. Since women tended to concentrate in the lower paid crafts, this may help to explain why their guilds did not institute mutual aid.



apprenticeship fees of orphaned or poor children of members.<sup>76</sup> There were no women buckle makers in the tax lists of 1297–1300, and women strap makers were outnumbered by a ratio of ten to one (an average of seventeen women and 179 men per year).<sup>77</sup> It seems, then, that very few women in thirteenth-century Paris benefited from the mutual aid that some guilds provided for members.

Even in Paris, moreover, most working women were engaged in types of work—domestic service, wool spinning, wool carding, laundering—that fell outside the guild structure. For these women, the most likely sources of aid in times of need would have been family (if they were married), private alms, public hospitals, or their own employers, with whom many of them lived. In fact, a number of wealthy Parisians included their servants in their wills.<sup>78</sup> But the money from wills came at a critical time in the life cycle of the donor, not in the life cycle of the recipient. Can we assume that employers were also generous to their domestic workers at critical times for the workers, even when the workers were too ill to provide service?

The case of Orenge of Fontenay, a wool carder who had immigrated to Paris from the diocese of Bayeux, indicates that this was sometimes the case.<sup>79</sup> In 1272, Orenge had been living for twenty years in the house of Maurice the Weaver, for whom she worked.<sup>80</sup> In that year, Orenge's right arm and elbow became so inflamed that she could not work, dress herself, or tie a knot. She remained in that condition for four years, apparently continuing to reside in Maurice's home. A woman identified as Orenge's hostess—probably Maurice's wife—as well as a neighbor named Hodierne of Fontenay, perhaps an immigrant from Orenge's home village, assisted Orenge when she needed to dress. Evidently, though, their assistance did not include regular bathing: because she could no longer wash her own hair, Orenge had her head shorn. Sometime around 1276, Orenge made a pilgrimage to Louis' tomb and was cured. Guillaume de Saint-Pathus' narrative implies that she returned to Maurice's house and went to work for him once again. Throughout the four-year

<sup>76</sup> Lespinasse and Bonnardot, *Le livre des métiers*, nos. 21: 5–6, 87: 7.

<sup>77</sup> Archer, "Working Women," 263, 264. Women constituted 13.8 percent of the taxpayers in the tax assessments of 1297–1300. Thus 10 percent was less than the average; Archer, "Working Women," 110.

<sup>78</sup> Archives des Quinze-Vingts, ms. 5848, fol. 213 and following (Jean Le Grand); AAP, S.-J., First Cartulary, no. 17 (Jehan de Troyes); AN L 840, no. 99, copied by Terroine, "Recherches sur la bourgeoisie," 4: 126; AN L 840, no. 100, copied by Terroine, "Recherches sur la bourgeoisie," 4: 133–36; AN L 1043, no. 24 (Jehanne, wife of Stephen Haudry); AN S 896, no. 17 (Guillaume Fresnel); AN LL 387, fol. 73v (Adam Le Panetier); "Testament d'une bourgeoise" (Sédile of Laon); *Recueil de chartes et documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs Monastère Parisien*, vol. 5, J. Depoin, ed. (Paris, 1921), 98 (Jeanne Argence). A number of these bequests may have been back wages. However, Sédile of Laon, who settled her debts with her servants at the beginning of her will, went on to give gifts of money and clothing to her own servants, the daughter-in-law of one of her servants, and to servants of two other people. It is also unlikely that the gifts of clothing from Jehanne, the wife of Stephen Haudry, Adam le Panetier, and Jeanne Argence were paying off debts. None of these bequests specifically mentions that the gift constituted a dowry, but the gifts of bedding from Guillaume Fresnel and Jean Le Grand may have been intended as dowries.

<sup>79</sup> I would not want to romanticize the relations between master craftspeople and their apprentices or employees. There are many examples of masters beating their apprentices and of adversarial relations between masters and employees: see Fagniez, *Etudes sur l'industrie*, 65–69; and Geremek, *Le salariat*, 101–18.

<sup>80</sup> Guillaume gave thirty years, but he generally followed the wording of the original inquest, which gave the length of residence up until the time of the inquest, in 1282–1283.



hiatus in service, Maurice the Weaver apparently remained constant in his support of Orenge the wool carder.<sup>81</sup>

Of course, not all employers were as generous as Maurice. Agnes of Pontoise had worked as a domestic servant in the houses of several burgers of Pontoise, but when she went blind she had to resort to begging in the streets for her bread. Amelot of Chaumont worked for two years as a servant in the house of one of the prominent burgers of St.-Denis, but when she fell ill with her final illness she was moved to the Hôtel Dieu of St.-Denis, where she died.<sup>82</sup>

The story of Amelot of Chambly illustrates a fourth source of support for Parisian women: the neighborhood or parish.<sup>83</sup> This Amelot, who was probably in her thirties at the time of her cure, suffered from a form of paralysis—probably spinal tuberculosis—that bent her body in two. For three years, between 1268 and 1271, she begged in the streets of St.-Denis, moving about town with the aid of an eighteen-inch-long crutch, which held her chin off the ground.

Everyone in St.-Denis knew Amelot by sight—children fled when they saw her coming<sup>84</sup>—but even those who saw her almost every day at the basilica of St.-Denis might not know much about her. Eleven years later, in 1282, Jean Augier, one of the prominent burgers of St.-Denis, recalled helping Amelot negotiate the stairs of the basilica.<sup>85</sup> He recalled the day she was cured as well. And he remembered that she remained healthy for about a year after that. But he knew nothing about her background, and he had no idea what had become of her. By contrast, Robert of Cantarage, a smith who had immigrated to St.-Denis from the diocese of Evreux and who lived on Amelot's street, knew that Amelot was from the village Chambly le Haubergier, near Senlis, that she was buried at the parish church of St.-Marcel in St.-Denis, and that her affliction had not been congenital.<sup>86</sup>

Another smith named Ace provided lodging for Amelot, "for the love of God." Moreover, when the streets were too muddy for Amelot to go out begging, he gave her bread and, when she asked for it, advice. After Amelot had made several unsuccessful visits to Louis' tomb, for instance, Ace suggested that she confess her sins and try again. It was good advice—on the next visit, she was cured: her back straightened out to such a degree that she subsequently carried laundry on her head and buckets of water on a pole that rested on her shoulders, "just like other women."<sup>87</sup>

Amelot of Chambly's story also illustrates the ways in which news traveled among neighbors and the interest that they took in each other's well-being. Before Amelot even left the church of St.-Denis on the day she was cured, news of her cure reached Ace the Smith. Ace's work prevented him from going out to greet Amelot, but his wife went to the church and accompanied her back to their house.<sup>88</sup> Robert of Cantarage was in another part of St.-Denis when Amelot was cured, but he, too,

<sup>81</sup> A teenage boy was also supported throughout his illness by his employer, with whom he lived; Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*, no. 7.

<sup>82</sup> Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*, nos. 2, 59.

<sup>83</sup> Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*, no. 5; Delaborde, "Fragments de l'enquête," 18–39.

<sup>84</sup> Delaborde, "Fragments de l'enquête," 31.

<sup>85</sup> On the prominence of this family, see Terroine, *Un bourgeois Parisien*, 35–36.

<sup>86</sup> Delaborde, "Fragments de l'enquête," 24–26.

<sup>87</sup> Delaborde, "Fragments de l'enquête," 26, 32.

<sup>88</sup> Delaborde, "Fragments de l'enquête," 32.

heard the news and went to the church to greet Amelot and walk home with her. News also traveled quickly between St.-Denis and the right-bank neighborhoods of Paris. When Nicole of Rubercy was cured, the news reached her parish priest, who then walked to the hospital of St.-Lazare, beyond the walls of Paris, to greet Nicole on her return home. And when Amile of St.-Mathieu was cured, a woman returning to Paris from St.-Denis told Amile's husband, who went out from Paris to greet her.<sup>89</sup> In two miracles involving the cures of children, we are told that after they and their parents returned to Paris, their neighbors came over to rejoice in their good fortune. In one of those cases, the neighbors held a feast for the cured girl and her parents.<sup>90</sup>

The *Miracles of Saint Louis* and the sources related to it thus suggest that some immigrant workers in Paris formed meaningful bonds with their neighbors. We know that in some cases those bonds were reinforced by craft ties as well. The Parisian dyer, Herbert of Fontenay, for instance, married the niece of a woman who was married to another dyer, and when he and his wife took their daughter to St.-Denis to seek a cure, they lodged in the house of a fellow dyer from Herbert's home village in the diocese of Paris, who had learned the dyeing craft with Herbert.<sup>91</sup>

One story in the St. Louis sources suggests that the church's efforts to strengthen pastoral care in the thirteenth century could also work to reinforce positive bonds among neighbors: before Jehanne, a hunchbacked woman who lived in the parish of St.-Merri, set out for St.-Denis to seek a cure for her disability, she confessed her sins and asked her neighbors to pardon her if she had vexed them in any way.<sup>92</sup> Seeking reconciliation was often part of the ritual for penitential pilgrimages, and confessors' manuals advised priests to recommend that penitents seek reconciliation with their neighbors.<sup>93</sup> Rarely, however, do the sources enable us to see this advice put to work.

Of course, not all neighbors got along with each other, and certain categories of people—old women, for instance—may have been more subject to isolation and mistrust than others. When an elderly neighbor entered the Parisian home of Yfame of Lagny to warm herself by the fire one morning, Yfame began to suspect that the woman was responsible for the onset of her daughter's illness. The night before, Yfame had been awakened by the sounds of someone moving about her home; in the morning, she discovered that her daughter was ill. It seems that Yfame connected the two events, and she thought it significant that her neighbor failed to

<sup>89</sup> Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*, nos. 39, 52.

<sup>90</sup> Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*, no. 36; Delaborde, "Fragments de l'enquête," 49.

<sup>91</sup> Delaborde, "Fragments de l'enquête," 42, 44.

<sup>92</sup> Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*, no. 43.

<sup>93</sup> Hugh of Amiens, Archbishop of Rouen to Thierry, Bishop of Amiens, Teresa G. Frisch, ed. and trans., *Gothic Art 1140–c. 1450* (Toronto, 1987), 25; Thomas of Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, F. Broomfield, ed. (Louvain, 1968), 320. For a broader discussion of Thomas of Chobham's concern with relations among neighbors, see Mary Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995), 45–48.

say "God bless her" when she told the neighbor that her daughter was ill.<sup>94</sup> Proximity, then, could lead not only to mutual care but also to mistrust.

While the assistance that Ace the Smith gave to Amelot of Chambly was not gender specific—we know that neighbors sometimes took care of disabled men as well<sup>95</sup>—the kind of bond in the relationship between the laundress Nicole of Rubercy and her friend Contesse seems to have been more typical of women than of men. The *Miracles of Saint Louis* includes two stories about unrelated single or widowed women who took care of each other but none about unrelated single or widowed men who did so. In part, this gendered difference resulted from women's greater economic and physical vulnerability: women needed to band together more than men did. In part, the difference reflected the gendered role that women played as nursemaids for the sick.<sup>96</sup>

Amelot of Chaumont was the second unattached woman who received care from female companions. In January or February of 1277, when Amelot was about twenty-eight, she and two other women moved from Chaumont, in the Vexin (the region of the Ile de France that borders on Normandy), to the town of St.-Denis.<sup>97</sup> The three women went first to the house of Marguerite of Rocigny, with whom, it seems, they had some prior connection.<sup>98</sup> Marguerite could not accommodate the women, but she recommended the house of her neighbor Emmeline, where the three women took up lodging and where Amelot shared a bed with one of her two companions from Chaumont. Several nights after Amelot arrived in St.-Denis, one of her legs became paralyzed. The next day, Emmeline carried Amelot on a stretcher to Louis' tomb. She was assisted by three women, including one, or possibly two, of Amelot's companions from Chaumont.

Amelot was not cured on that first day, but she did receive a pair of crutches, which enabled her to return to Emmeline's hostel by her own power. During the next two months, she visited the tomb often. In the meantime, she apparently moved to Marguerite of Rocigny's house.<sup>99</sup> Marguerite was with Amelot at Louis'

<sup>94</sup> Delaborde, "Fragments de l'enquête," 47. On stereotypes of old women and their association with sorcery, see Joel Agrimi and Chiara Crisciani, "Savoir médical et anthropologie religieuse: Les représentations et les fonctions de la *vetula* (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)," *Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations* 48 (1993): 1281-1308.

<sup>95</sup> Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*, no. 9.

<sup>96</sup> Didier Lett failed to take note of the role that women played as nurses to the sick in his analysis of the predominant role that older sisters played in assisting their siblings in the miracles; Lett, "La sorella maggiore."

<sup>97</sup> Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*, no. 2.

<sup>98</sup> My hypothesis that Amelot and her companions knew, or knew of, Marguerite of Rosigny is based on the role that Marguerite plays in the narrative: the three women went first to Marguerite's hostel, Amelot later moved to her hostel, and Marguerite was with Amelot on the day that she was cured. If indeed the immigrant women had a contact in the town, they fit a broader pattern of women's migration from the countryside to the metropolis: Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, 301-02; Vivien Brodsky Elliott, "Single Women," 94-95; Hufton, "Women and the Family," 5; Cissie Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies: Servants and Their Masters in Old Regime France* (Baltimore, Md., 1984), 66-67. Claude Gauvard's discussion of links between city and countryside indirectly supports the idea that migrants to the city often had contacts there; Gauvard, "Violence citadine." The concentration of people from certain regions of France on certain streets and parishes of Paris also points to a pattern of migration through contacts: see, for instance, Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe le Bel*, 104-14 (concentration of people designated as "Normans" in the Parish St.-Gervais).

<sup>99</sup> Louis Carolus-Barré, "Consultation du Cardinal Pietro Colonna sur le II<sup>e</sup> miracle de Saint Louis," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 117 (1959): 72; Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*, no. 2, p. 11.

tomb on the day she was finally cured, and she comforted her when sharp pains signaled the beginning of the end of her paralysis.

Nicole the laundress and Amelot the immigrant from Chaumont provide important glimpses into the lives of single women immigrants in Paris and St.-Denis. Perhaps these two women had no family members to turn to, but they could rely on their female companions. Moreover, it is clear that in Amelot's case her solidarities with other women began to take shape even before she left her hometown.

The trio of women who immigrated from Chaumont fit into a gendered pattern of immigration that Goldberg has observed for late medieval England: women were more inclined to migrate in small clusters than were men.<sup>100</sup> Unfortunately, Amelot's case is the only one in the St. Louis sources that spells out the circumstances of a woman's migration, and I know of no other sources that could tell us how women immigrated to Paris in this period. However, the St. Louis sources also describe the circumstances under which two young men traveled from the provinces to Paris, and both of these cases fit the gendered pattern in the English sources. Each of the two men in the St. Louis miracles attached himself to one or several groups along the way, but neither of them had a permanent traveling companion.<sup>101</sup>

In addition to finding that women in late medieval England tended to migrate to cities in small clusters, Goldberg and several early modern historians have observed that single women in late medieval England and early modern France and England tended to settle near one another in certain neighborhoods and houses.<sup>102</sup> Since most of the Parisian poor do not show up in the city's late thirteenth and early fourteenth-century tax assessments, the picture of medieval spinster clustering there is incomplete. We may never know, for instance, how many laundresses actually resided on the Rue des Lavandières. Nevertheless, it is clear that women did cluster in certain parts of the city. The most striking example is the area around the Franciscan convent in the parish of St.-Côme on the left bank. In 1292, twenty-three of the thirty-seven individuals who were assessed as potential taxpayers on the Rue des Frères Mineurs and the Rue St.-Côme were women. Women who were assessed in 1292 constituted 13.7 percent of the total number of assessees, but on these two streets they constituted 62 percent.<sup>103</sup> Six of the twenty-three assessed women on those two streets were identified as Beguines, and an overlapping six were identified together—as female companions or sisters. A number of these women paid quite substantial taxes—thus it seems that a desire for the company of other lay religious women and for the pastoral care of the Franciscans drew them to these two streets.<sup>104</sup>

Perhaps more important for my purposes than this visible pattern of non-

<sup>100</sup> Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, 300.

<sup>101</sup> Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles*, nos. 15, 18.

<sup>102</sup> Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, 305–24; Hufton, "Women without Men"; Sharpe, "Literally Spinsters," esp. 59–60.

<sup>103</sup> On the overall percentage of women, see Bourlet, "L'anthroponymie à Paris," 11.

<sup>104</sup> The minimum tax in 1292 was one sous. Maheut the Beguine and Dame Aalès des Cordèles each paid 16 s., Jehanne the embroiderer and Martine her companion (later identified as a Beguine) paid 20 s. together, Gile the daughter of Jehan de Compiagne paid 36 s., Ermengar the deaf paid 12 s., and Marguerite the Beguine and her sister Denise paid 16 s. together. Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-le-Bel*,

economically motivated female clustering is the fact that the Parisian tax assessments are sprinkled with references to female companions—women who formed companies together, and who probably lived together as well. Some of them were together for considerable lengths of time: Ameline Agace and her companion Marie, for instance, were assessed together in 1292, 1296, and 1297; Aalis of St.-Joce (who was identified in various years as a Beguine, a silkworker, and a maker of alms purses) was assessed with a companion named Philippote in 1296 and 1297 and with an unnamed companion, possibly Philippote, in 1313.<sup>105</sup>

The Parisian tax lists thus suggest that thirteenth-century Paris was also a site of medieval spinster clustering, and the sources for the miracles of St. Louis provide two striking qualitative descriptions of medieval women's informal, non-familial solidarities. In Amelot of Chaumont's case, the solidarity may have been very strong or very weak: it did not require a great deal of commitment to carry a woman a few blocks on a stretcher, and there is no way of knowing if Marguerite's presence on the day Amelot was cured was merely coincidental or part of a regular pattern of caretaking. In Nicole's case, however, the bonds among the women were impressive. Contesse provided Nicole with full-time care for two months, and their more prosperous neighbor paid for two trips to St.-Denis (a round trip of about ten miles) and accompanied Nicole on at least one of those journeys. Unfortunately, Guillaume de Saint-Pathus does not say how Nicole and Contesse supported themselves during the two months of Nicole's illness. It is unlikely that they had any savings to draw on, given the lodgings they inhabited.<sup>106</sup> Thus I would surmise that either Contesse took Nicole out begging or Perronnele the Smith supported them during that time.

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159–60. Jehanne and Martine were still together in the 1296, 1297, 1299, and 1300 assessments: Archer, "Working Women," 303.

The 1292 assessment reached further into the ranks of the poor and assessed more people (15,000) than did any of the subsequent surviving assessments (which assessed between 6,000 and 10,000 individuals). Nevertheless, the 1296 assessment still listed a high proportion of women (6 out of 13) on the Rue des Cordèles (formerly the Rue des Frères Mineurs). All six of the women were identified as Beguines: Michaëlsson, *Le livre de la taille de Paris, l'an 1296*, 232. On the number of individuals assessed in each surviving *taille*, see Caroline Bourlet and Lucie Fossier, "Avant propos," in Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-le-Bel*, ix. Semi-religious women also congregated in the neighborhood of the Franciscan convent in Florence: see Anna Benvenuti-Papi, "Mendicant Friars and Female Pinzochere in Tuscany," *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, Daniel Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi, eds., Margery J. Schneider, trans. (Chicago, 1996), 91.

<sup>105</sup> In 1296, Aalis of Saint-Joce and Philippote jointly paid a relatively large tax of 18 s. In 1313, Aalis de Saint-Joce and her unnamed companion paid a tax of 30 s.: Michaëlsson, *Le livre de la taille de Paris, l'an 1296*, 20, 167; Michaëlsson, *Le livre de la taille de Paris, l'an 1297*, 151; Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-le-Bel*, 130; Karl Michaëlsson, *Le livre de la taille de Paris, l'an de grace 1313* (Göteborg, 1951), 11; Archer, "Working Women," 299, 300. I am grateful to Caroline Bourlet of the Institute de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes for providing me with a list of female companions and Beguines from the institute's computerized database of the Parisian tax assessments of 1292, 1296–1300, and 1313. Only the assessments of 1292, 1296, 1297, and 1313 have been published. The assessments of 1296 to 1300 are in register KK 283 of the Archives Nationales. Those of 1292 and 1313 are in the Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 6220 and 6736.

<sup>106</sup> Some women who were paired together in the tax lists had very uneven incomes: in 1292, for instance, Agnes the Beguine, a spinner, was assessed for a tax of 36 s., her companion was assessed for 3 s.; Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-le-Bel*, 21.



THE SOURCES FOR THE MIRACLES OF ST. LOUIS indicate that in late thirteenth-century Paris poor people survived long-term disability with varying combinations of assistance from family members, charitable institutions, employers, neighbors, close companions, and informal alms. Judging from the support that women provided for each other and that men and women received from neighbors, poor people were active agents in the survival of their associates. Poor people were not, as the histories of medieval charity might lead us to believe, mere passive recipients of assistance from the wealthy and powerful.<sup>107</sup>

The St. Louis sources also indicate that many immigrants—even very recent ones—managed to acquire and maintain meaningful social networks in their new environment. Some people who migrated to Paris and St.-Denis—like Amelot of Chaumont and Yfame of Lagny, both from the Ile de France—seem to have had contacts when they reached the metropolis. Once in Paris or St.-Denis, moreover, they retained meaningful contacts with friends and relations from home. Thirty years after moving to Paris from Brittany, Amile of St.-Mathieu turned to her brother when she needed help. Ten years after moving to Paris from a village in the diocese of Paris, and five years after a friend from the same village had moved to St.-Denis, probably after apprenticing in Paris with him, Herbert of Fontenay sought lodging in the house of his friend from home. Two years after moving to Paris, and a year after marrying, Yfame took her young brother into her home. Soon after moving to Paris from Burgundy, Marie the Burgundian turned to her sister for help with her sick child.

People maintained meaningful relations with friends and relatives from home, but they also formed new relationships, often with immigrants from other regions. The crippled woman Amelot of Chambly, who immigrated to St.-Denis from a village near Senlis, received help and solace from two smiths who were immigrants from two different dioceses in Normandy. Herbert of Fontenay decided to take his crippled daughter to St. Louis' tomb after consulting with a friend—a neighbor and fellow dyer who had immigrated to Paris from England.<sup>108</sup> Herbert and his wife Yfame were from two different villages in the diocese of Paris, but they asked a woman from the diocese of Beauvais and a woman from Brittany to serve as godmothers to their daughter.<sup>109</sup>

Along with other sources from thirteenth-century Paris, the St. Louis sources also point to important gendered patterns among the poor of pre-plague Paris and St.-Denis. First, while there was a high level of immigration among both men and women, men migrated at a higher rate, indicating that women's employment opportunities were probably not as good as they would be after the decimation of the working population in 1348. Second, women's migration rate to Paris was apparently slightly higher than that to St.-Denis, a pattern that would be reversed in some late medieval towns. Third, women suffering from long-term disabilities were less likely than men to receive assistance from craft guilds—but both men and women were sometimes assisted by employers, with whom they often lived. Fourth, while women without men were often the objects of charitable giving, and a number

<sup>107</sup> Judith Bennett also makes this point; "Conviviality and Charity."

<sup>108</sup> Delaborde, "Fragments de l'enquête," 40, 42.

<sup>109</sup> Delaborde, "Fragments de l'enquête," 50, 52.

of institutions were founded to shelter women without men, formal institutions did not adequately meet the needs of single and widowed women in Paris. And, fifth, poor single or widowed female companions were apparently more likely to help each other during long-term illnesses than were single and widowed male companions.

The St. Louis sources suggest as well a need to refine our assumptions about the advantages of marriage for women in high and late medieval cities.<sup>110</sup> Thus, while it is reasonable to assume that women who married master craftsmen or merchants were better off than single women, it is not reasonable to assume that the same distinctions held for the propertyless working poor. Poor married women were not always better off than poor single women—indeed, some married women had to beg, at times, in order to enhance their family incomes. Single women, moreover, were not necessarily isolated individuals: some of them had companions to whom they could turn when they were in trouble.

IN THE 1970s, HISTORIANS in Italy, France, and the United States—most notably Carlo Ginzburg, Natalie Zemon Davis, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, and Jean-Claude Schmitt—began to write a new kind of social history, one that looked at the “lost peoples of Europe” not by charting long-term economic and demographic trends but by closely observing the ways in which individuals and circumscribed groups constructed their social and mental worlds.<sup>111</sup> As Ginzburg and Carlo Poni described this new history from below, it focused, among other things, on “day-to-day problems of survival” and the “network of social relationships into which the individual is inserted.”<sup>112</sup>

My own professional identity was molded by these historians; their work enabled me to see the potential that lay within the *Miracles of Saint Louis* when I first examined that text in 1990.<sup>113</sup> By that time, however, microhistory had already been part of the historical enterprise for well over a decade. Why, then, had there been no earlier effort to elucidate the social world of the Parisian poor through a reading of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus and the fragments of the original St. Louis inquest? I am still grappling with this question. What I offer here are fragments of explanation.

Part of the answer may lie in the frustration that medievalists encountered in attempting to find sources as rich as the inquisitorial register that Le Roy Ladurie drew on for his *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error* (1975). Part of the answer

<sup>110</sup> See Howell, *Women, Production, and Patriarchy*.

<sup>111</sup> See especially Lawrence Stone, “The Revival of Narrative,” *Past and Present* 85 (November 1979): 3–24. On medievalists in this group, see Michel Lauwers, “‘Religion populaire,’ culture folklorique, mentalités: Notes pour une anthropologie culturelle du moyen âge,” *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 82 (1987): 221–58. On the Italian version of this turn, and the term “microhistory,” see Edward Muir, “Introduction: Observing Trifles,” in *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe*, Muir and Guido Ruggiero, eds. (Baltimore, Md., 1991), 1–10.

<sup>112</sup> Ginzburg and Poni, “Il nome e il come: Scambio ineguale e mercato storiografico,” *Quaderni storici* 40 (1979): 181–90, trans. by Eren Branch as “The Name and the Game: Unequal Exchange and the Historiographic Marketplace,” in Muir and Ruggiero, *Microhistory*, 3, 6.

<sup>113</sup> I was looking for evidence of familial affection for a course reader. Since I was familiar with other miracle collections, I knew I would find such evidence.

may lie in the difficulty of integrating microhistorical studies into a larger framework. In any case, several French historians who had published microhistorical examinations of popular beliefs and practices in the medieval period turned their attention, by the 1980s, to microhistorical studies of the early modern period or to larger analyses of medieval *mentalités*, for which they surveyed the entire Western European landscape.<sup>114</sup>

Another part of the answer lies in the ascendancy that cultural history achieved in the 1980s. In a sense, this development was already present in the work of the microhistorians—for much of the appeal of their work lay not in their reconstructions of everyday “experience” but in their attempts to elucidate the mental worlds of ordinary and marginal peoples. Moreover, under the direct or indirect influence of Louis Althusser and Michel Foucault, many of the new cultural historians of the 1980s and 1990s took a greater interest in the cultural manipulations of elites than in the *mentalités* of marginal or ordinary people.<sup>115</sup> Some even doubted that the written artifacts left behind by elites could tell us anything about the experiences of ordinary people. Indeed, the very notion of “experience” was ultimately subjected to deconstructive doubt.<sup>116</sup>

In the United States, a virtual “school” of medievalists, including the present author, came of age under the influence of both the microhistorians and the linguistic turn. These medievalists directed their anthropological gaze not so much to the social and cultural worlds of peasants and marginals as to the ways in which elites—especially monks and aristocrats—employed legend, history, and ritual in order to shape the social world.<sup>117</sup> I doubt that I was alone, however, in turning to elite culture only reluctantly, because I was compelled to acknowledge that the particular sources that had initially attracted my attention represented the cultural manipulations of elites rather than the record of popular culture.

Even as the microhistorical trend waned and the linguistic turn gained ascen-

<sup>114</sup> Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Carnival in Romans*, Mary Feeney, trans. (New York, 1979); Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l'occident médiévale* (Paris, 1990); Schmitt, *Les revenants: Les vivants et les morts dans la société médiévale* (Paris, 1994).

<sup>115</sup> See John Toews, “Intellectual History after the Linguistic Turn: The Autonomy of Meaning and the Irreducibility of Experience,” *AHR* 92 (October 1981): 879–907; and Gabrielle Spiegel, “History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages,” *Speculum* 65 (1990): 59–86. In the field of gender studies, the pivotal work was that of Joan W. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988); for medievalists working on women/gender, the pivotal work was Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987). I mention Althusser because he seems to have been important to the medievalist Georges Duby, who did not believe that subalterns could exercise agency. See, on Duby, Peter Burke, *The French Historical Revolution: The Annales School 1929–1989* (Stanford, Calif., 1990), 72–73; and Lauwers, “‘Religion populaire,’” 233.

<sup>116</sup> Joan W. Scott, “Experience,” in *Feminists Theorize the Political*, Judith Butler and Scott, eds. (New York, 1992), 22–40.

<sup>117</sup> My contemporaries include Thomas Head, Geoffrey Koziol, Megan McLaughlin, and Frederick Paxton. Those who inspired us included not only the microhistorians mentioned above but also American medievalists who published anthropologically inspired work in the 1970s and early 1980s, especially Caroline Walker Bynum, Patrick Geary, Lester Little, Barbara Rosenwein, and Stephen D. White. Amy Remensnyder, who did not enter graduate school until the 1980s, should also be included in this “school.” For gestures toward “naming” this school, see Constance Bouchard, “Community: Society and the Church in Medieval France,” *French Historical Studies* 17 (1992): 1035–47; Patrick Geary, “Insular Religion?” *Journal of British Studies* 32 (1993): 71–72; Lester Little, “Mainstream and Margins of Medieval History in the United States,” *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges of Medieval History*, Miri Rubin, ed. (Rochester, N.Y., 1997), 97–98.

dency, however, more traditional social historians continued to map out the material, demographic, and economic terrain of the Middle Ages. According to our professional standards, well-respected social historians of this variety are supposed to mine rich lodes of previously untapped and relatively extensive sources. Medieval Paris has not attracted much attention from such historians, largely because its notaries were not required to deposit a register of their acts at the Châtelet; thus documents recording private acts were dispersed into private hands and into the archival repositories of religious institutions, which often retained only quoted phrases from the original documents.<sup>118</sup> The occasional historian of thirteenth-century Paris might draw on the *Miracles of Saint Louis* to add anecdotal spice to a rather short chapter of social history, but otherwise neither the archives of medieval Paris nor this source met the qualifications of “real” social history.<sup>119</sup> We needed to discover the poverty in the apparent abundance of the other archives before we could recognize just how rich the St. Louis sources are. This could not occur until historians turned to the question of the agency of the poor.

In the mid to late 1980s, social historians of all periods of European and American history began to realize that the history of “charity” had run its course, and it was now time to look at that story from the bottom up.<sup>120</sup> At about the same time, women’s historians began to recognize that women’s history was more than a subcategory of the history of the family and that social solidarities entailed more than the solidarities of the workplace.<sup>121</sup> Medievalists participated in these new developments. However, they could not turn, as did some historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to oral history or autobiography to compensate for the gaps in the archival record.<sup>122</sup> They learned that even the bulkiest of medieval archives yields extremely limited information about the everyday lives and social networks of the working and non-working poor. Sifting through more than a thousand court cases from the years 1303 to 1520, Goldberg turned up evidence concerning only seventy-six male and female servants.<sup>123</sup> Similarly, David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber had to concede that although the Florentine Catasto of 1427 contained information on over 260,000 individuals, it provided

<sup>118</sup> A. Giry, *Manuel de diplomatique*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1925), 2: 844.

<sup>119</sup> See the work of Cazelles, cited above in n. 18.

<sup>120</sup> For non-medievalists, see above at n. 6. For medievalists, see above, n. 15. John Henderson was aware of the problem but did not find a successful way to push beyond the institutional sources: “Parish and the Poor.”

<sup>121</sup> Indicative of this work among medievalists are historians represented in the 1986 volume edited by Kowaleski and Hanawalt, *Women and Work*, and Goldberg’s 1990 monograph *Women, Work and Life Cycle*. There was a turn toward historical investigations of single women in the mid-1980s. See Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women 1850–1920* (Chicago, 1985), as well as the references above in n. 5. Judith Bennett and Amy Froide survey the scholarship on single women in their introduction to *Singlewomen in the European Past*, Bennett and Froide, eds. (Philadelphia, forthcoming).

<sup>122</sup> Even historians of the nineteenth century ran into problems trying to push beyond the archival record. See, for instance, Barrie Ratcliffe’s review of Rachel G. Fuchs, *Poor and Pregnant in Paris: Strategies for Survival in the Nineteenth Century*, in *Canadian Journal of History* 28 (1993): 118 and following.

<sup>123</sup> See above, n. 22.

inconclusive information about women; Isabelle Chabot was able to find only a handful of vignettes about poor widows in the same source.<sup>124</sup>

In the face of such limited yields, we are now ready to appreciate the significance of the St. Louis sources. But I do not wish to advocate a naïve return to the “microhistorical moment” of the late 1970s. I agree wholeheartedly with the cultural historians of the 1980s, who have insisted that we must take our sources seriously as discursive and ideological projects, and that experiences and subjectivities arise within, and are circumscribed by, their discursive contexts.<sup>125</sup> As I argue elsewhere, the St. Louis sources reveal much about the everyday lives of poor men and women, but they also reproduce the gendered assumptions of the elites who inscribed them and reveal the ways in which elite discourses shaped the behavior and identities of poor people.<sup>126</sup>

However, we can, I believe, push beyond the smokescreens in the sources to derive some understanding of the material circumstances and social agency of ordinary and marginal people. Indeed, I feel bound to do so. For the dangers in going too far in the other direction are that we will either become mesmerized by the aesthetic seductions of systems of symbols or merely perpetuate the discursive systems that did the cultural work, in the past, of silencing those without power. It is time for medievalists to turn to the new “anthropology with one’s feet on the ground.”<sup>127</sup> It is time, that is, for us to re-present the harsh existence that most people endured and to recount how they cobbled together both meaning and survival out of those circumstances.

<sup>124</sup> David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *The Tuscans and Their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427* (New Haven, Conn., 1985); Chabot, “Widowhood and Poverty.”

<sup>125</sup> On experiences and subjectivities, see Scott, “Experience.”

<sup>126</sup> Farmer, “Manual Labor, Begging.”

<sup>127</sup> Nancy Scheper-Hughes, *Death without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 4. See her introduction for a brilliant defense of her unorthodox engagement with her subjects and for her self-conscious distancing from both Geertzian and Foucauldian anthropology. See also Ruth Behar, *Translated Woman: Crossing the Border with Esperanza’s Story* (Boston, 1993); and Barbara Bode, *No Bells to Toll: Destruction and Creation in the Andes* (New York, 1989).

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## America's First Medical Breakthrough: How Popular Excitement about a French Rabies Cure in 1885 Raised New Expectations for Medical Progress

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BERT HANSEN

WHEN LOUIS PASTEUR ANNOUNCED THE SUCCESSFUL INOCULATION of a human with his experimental rabies vaccine in 1885, he was already well known to the French public. The chemist had been celebrated in France for both intellectual and practical achievements: preventing spoilage of wine and beer, saving the silk industry from a silkworm disease, establishing the importance of molecular asymmetry, and inventing a vaccine to save cows and sheep from anthrax. Across the Atlantic, however, his science and his name were familiar to only a small number of Americans, largely younger physicians who had recently completed medical training in Europe. The survival of the first rabies victim to be treated by Pasteur's method seemed likely to be quickly forgotten in America with no lasting effect on popular consciousness. News coverage of Pasteur's discovery was hardly remarkable. The *New York Herald*, for example, announced it as part of a cable dispatch from Paris on October 29 and reported reactions by New York doctors and the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA) on October 30. Another cable dispatch on November 1 was followed by more about local physicians' responses on November 3. A cable to the *Herald* mentioned it on November 8. Reports in the *New York Times* and the other papers gave it no greater attention. Then nothing more appeared until a local event made it newsworthy again.

On December 2, a new element entered the picture when a dog ran through the early morning streets of Newark, New Jersey, biting seven other dogs—and six children. This event made the afternoon papers. The day after the children were bitten, a local physician wrote to a local newspaper urging that the children be sent immediately to Paris for the new treatment and asking the public to contribute to

I am indebted to numerous colleagues and students whose assistance is acknowledged in notes. For helpful comments on drafts, I am especially grateful to Jon M. Harkness, Howard Markel, Wayne Sarf, Linda Ehrlam Voigts, and several anonymous readers for the *AHR*. For other assistance and encouragement, I also wish to thank Scott Bryson, Marshall Clagett, David Gaudette, Gerald L. Geison, William H. Helfand, Diana Long, Dorothy Nelkin, David Rothman, and Richard E. Weisberg. I am grateful to the Institut Pasteur for an invitation to participate in their centennial colloquium, to the Shelby Cullom Davis Center at Princeton University for a seminar on this research, and to the Institute for Advanced Study for a most congenial environment in which to undertake final revisions of the manuscript. I wish to acknowledge the Weissman School of Arts and Sciences of Baruch College for providing released time for research. This study was also supported in part by a grant from the City University of New York PSC-CUNY Research Award Program.

their expenses if the children's families could not afford it.<sup>1</sup> Within hours, workingmen had collected donations and brought them to the office of this doctor, William O'Gorman. By cable, Pasteur was asked if he would receive the children; the papers carried his fast and precise reply in the original French: "Si croyez danger envoyez enfants immediatement" (If you think there is danger, send children immediately).<sup>2</sup> Arrangements were made for passage a few days later on a French steamer; more donations were accepted, with contributors' names printed in the newspapers. As interest in the boys' story grew, the press expanded its attention to include their families, the donation of warm clothing for their winter voyage across the North Atlantic, Pasteur's other discoveries, supposed remedies for hydrophobia, the problem of stray dogs in American cities, methods of dog control (the impounding, shooting, poisoning, or drowning of "stray curs"), the variety of opinions among local physicians and medical professors on hydrophobia, the mechanism of the inoculation process, Pasteur's experiments, the germ theory in general, and the outfitting of a hospital room in the steamer. Indeed, the boys' trip to Paris would create a media sensation across the United States and Canada. By this small accident, initially of only local interest, a trickle of modest news reports about a scientific announcement was abruptly transformed into a national torrent of news articles, features, illustrations, editorials, jokes, letters to the editor, cartoons, and even political satire. The sensation would last several months and catapult Pasteur and medical research to celebrity across North America.

THE NEWARK BOYS' TRIP TO PARIS is a story worth telling in its own right, but a second goal of this study is to suggest that the adventure prompted so much sustained attention by the press and the public as to change popular expectations about medicine more generally. When American newspaper and magazines devoted extravagant attention to the first Americans treated with Pasteur's brand-new rabies "cure," they were not simply reporting an event with broad human-interest elements, they were also elaborating a story of medical discovery as something useful and exciting to ordinary people. In the process, they were cultivating a sensation about medicine's being newly powerful, about scientific knowledge that makes a difference in a public arena beyond the walls of the medical school and the laboratory. As a result, Pasteur's rabies treatment, while far from the greatest discovery of the age and not connected with the United States except by accident, stimulated a series of events and expectations that set a pattern through which later discoveries would be experienced.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Newark Daily Journal* (December 3, 1885), front page. Papers that have been searched for this story include Newark's *Daily Advertiser*, *Daily Journal*, *Evening News*, *Morning Register*, *Sunday Call*, New York's *Daily Graphic*, *Evening Post*, *Herald*, *Sun*, *Times*, *Tribune*, and *World*, and Brooklyn's *Eagle*.

<sup>2</sup> *Newark Daily Journal* (December 4, 1885): 1, col. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Historians' attention to the Newark boys' adventure—and to the importance of the rabies treatment altogether—has been surprisingly limited. Many have ignored the rabies triumph altogether, probably because the incidence of rabies was so low compared to cholera, tuberculosis, typhoid, diphtheria, and other infectious diseases of the late nineteenth century and also because the treatment was not based, as were several others, on the positive identification of the infecting microorganism. One typical comment by a leading historian of medicine reads: "Painstaking laboratory investigation had already produced ways of controlling some diseases, but not those that had much relation to medical

These subsequent events and the new patterns will be considered below after examining the initial historical episode, but it may be helpful at this point to explain that I use the word “breakthrough” (popularized in our era, not theirs) simply to designate the now commonplace phenomenon of a publicly recognized major advance in science or technology. Not all advances are experienced as breakthroughs in this sense; some significant changes are not widely recognized, either because they are not useful (or are not seen as such) or because they develop by gradual steps without having a concentrated impact. While a theory of breakthroughs is beyond the scope of this article, it should be noted that a new idea or invention is in general more likely to become a breakthrough to the extent that the advance is seen as large, sudden, useful, already realized rather than just potential, and of interest to a wide public. These five possible attributes of a discovery are often mutually interdependent, but each is analytically important. Taken together, they highlight the most important general feature of a breakthrough: it is a social phenomenon; it exists only if it is something widely noticed at the time.

As we shall see, several months of incessant attention to laboratory science prompted by the rabies vaccine helped to create new iconography and new institutions. In the process, an entirely new idea became embedded in popular consciousness: that medical research could provide widespread benefits. This new expectation about progress would help to displace a centuries-old understanding (shared by physicians and patients alike) that little ever changed in medicine. Well into the nineteenth century, writings of Hippocrates and Galen had remained useful guides to medical theory and practice, not just to professional ethics and ideals.

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practice in America. The work of Pasteur, for example, had been fruitful in benefits, but anthrax and chicken cholera had no real relevance to American practitioners; the vaccine against rabies was not available, and in any case rabies was relatively rare. The discovery of the tubercle bacillus had led to great diagnostic benefits but not to any therapeutic advance. The great breakthrough came with the researches on diphtheria.” Lester S. King, *American Medicine Comes of Age, 1840–1920* (Chicago, 1984), 35.

On the occasions when historians of medicine have expanded their view to consider popular awareness of discoveries, it is the diphtheria serum breakthrough that they cite as the first instance. For example: “Diphtheria antitoxin, the first biological drug to be produced by scientific medicine, dramatically demonstrated the possibilities of a bacteriological understanding of disease.” Jonathan M. Liebenau, “Public Health and the Production and Use of Diphtheria Antitoxin in Philadelphia,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 61 (1987): 216–36, at 216. Edward Shorter observed, “The sensation that the drug [diphtheria antitoxin] caused among the public was important in fostering the image of the doctor as a miracle worker.” He later added, “to the extent that we can give any precise date to the crystallizing of the public infatuation with medical science, I think it would be the arrival in 1894 of the first diphtheria ‘antitoxine.’” He called the New York response to the diphtheria treatment “a media sensation” and “a media spectacular.” See Shorter, *Bedside Manners: The Troubled History of Doctors and Patients* (New York, 1985), 96, 131, 132. Paul Starr wrote, “Pasteur had discovered a vaccine against rabies, . . . but rabies was a relatively uncommon disease. The first major therapeutic application of bacteriology—diphtheria antitoxin—did not come until the mid-1890s.” Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine* (New York, 1982), 135. Henry Blumenthal’s interesting study, *American and French Culture, 1800–1900: Interchanges in Art, Science, Literature, and Society* (Baton Rouge, La., 1975), missed the significance of the rabies episode entirely. In “The Reception of Pasteur’s Rabies Vaccine in America: An Episode in the Application of the Germ Theory of Disease” (master’s thesis, University of Wisconsin, April 1987), Jon M. Harkness made changes in the profession the center of his study but included as well some comments on the *New York Times* coverage and popular interest. A sketch of this episode, presented at a centennial celebration of the Pasteur Institute in 1988, was published without illustrations as Bert Hansen, “La réponse américaine à la victoire de Pasteur contre la rage: Quand la médecine fait pour la première fois la ‘une,’” in *L’Institut Pasteur: Contributions à son histoire*, Michel Morange, ed. (Paris, 1991), 89–102.

Even with important new understandings under way by the 1880s in anatomy, physiology, cell biology, and bacteriology, medicine had seen very few successful therapeutic advances and none that made a sensation in the press. Yet, while the medical breakthrough was a novelty in 1885, press coverage of medical subjects was not. In the second half of the nineteenth century, American newspapers commonly ran stories on local disease outbreaks, epidemics near and far, accidents and injuries (including dog bites, food poisoning, medical and pharmacy malpractice cases), medical and scientific meetings, discoveries about disease, and the plans, policies, scandals, and failures of sanitary reform. Still, until late 1885, one would search in vain for a generally acknowledged and widely reported triumph, for any dramatic advance in the power of doctors to change the outcome of a person's illness. Although mechanical inventions by Thomas Edison and others had generated grand enthusiasms at times, a medical development had never before captured the headlines with sustained popular attention in America.<sup>4</sup> Clearly, an important feature of the rabies vaccine distinguishing it from other developments of germ theory was that it was used as a therapy, not a preventive. It was technically the latter, as the injections were given to healthy people after a dog bite but prior to the onset of any disease symptoms. Yet, because people feared bites from a suspicious dog as tantamount to getting hydrophobia, this procedure was universally, if not accurately, viewed as a cure. This common misconception is important because, in the emotional ranking of popular enthusiasms, knowledge about disease without immediate application is hardly worth noting, preventives are mildly interesting, therapies are far more appealing, and successful cures (whether real or apparent) hit the top.

An appreciation of the feelings and attitudes in this enthusiasm is what I am seeking in the headlines, stories, pictures, cartoons, and popular entertainments that were spawned by the rabies cure. My approach thus differs from that of the substantial scholarship on the "popularization of science and medicine," which is primarily interested in the intellectual content of what the public learned (or could learn) from the press about nature and nature's laws (even in possibly distorted form).<sup>5</sup> The focus here is on changes in what ordinary people saw, read, thought, felt, and came to expect about science and medicine as enterprises, about research and discovery, about a human triumph and the potential for more such successes.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See Wyn Wachhorst, *Thomas Alva Edison: An American Myth* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981).

<sup>5</sup> Recent studies of the popularization of health and medicine in America include Rima D. Apple, *Vitamina: Vitamins in American Culture* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1996); John C. Burnham, *How Superstition Won and Science Lost: Popularizing Science and Health in the United States* (New Brunswick, 1987); Marcel C. LaFollette, *Making Science Our Own: Public Images of Science, 1910–1955* (Chicago, 1990); Andrew McClary, "Germs Are Everywhere: The Germ Threat as Seen in Magazine Articles, 1890–1920," *Journal of American Culture* 3 (1980): 33–46; Dorothy Nelkin, *Selling Science: How the Press Covers Science and Technology* (New York, 1987); Matthew D. Wahlen and Mary F. Tobin, "Periodicals and the Popularization of Science in America, 1860–1910," *Journal of American Culture* 3 (Spring 1980): 195–202; and Terra Ziporyn, *Disease in the Popular American Press: The Case of Diphtheria, Typhoid Fever, and Syphilis, 1870–1920* (Westport, Conn., 1988). Although the subject of Nancy Tomes's study is not the popular media per se, she has examined an important form of popularization in her article, "The Private Side of Public Health: Sanitary Science, Domestic Hygiene, and the Germ Theory, 1870–1900," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 64 (1990): 509–39. Negative dimensions to the popularizing of medical ideas and to the press coverage of medical triumphs are revealed in Judith Walzer Leavitt, *Typhoid Mary: Captive to the Public Health* (Boston, 1996), see esp. chap. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Recent work in literary criticism under the general rubric of reader-response studies has

WHILE THE IMAGE OF AMERICAN NEWSPAPERMEN RUSHING to get the latest news off the press and into the hands of waiting readers goes back to Benjamin Franklin, it was only new industrial technologies of the mid and late nineteenth century that made it possible to bring the same news at the same time to masses of people. These changes made possible new sensations of many kinds, including the medical breakthrough. High-speed rotary presses powered by steam replaced the hand-cranked flat-bed mechanism of Franklin (which had differed little from its Gutenberg ancestor). By the mid-nineteenth century, newspapers could roll off the presses at the rate of tens of thousands per hour. The introduction of the telegraph, followed by the laying of a transatlantic cable, improved access to the latest happenings. As the country became united by a network of railroads, editors everywhere could easily draw on other editors' long stories about faraway events for a local audience. Additionally, as newspapers moved further from their origins as organs of political parties and more aggressively sought unaffiliated readers, especially new immigrants, they used both hot news and human interest stories to attract readers. Joseph Pulitzer successfully exploited these developments and helped reshape an entire industry. Although he was hardly alone and although his paper was to play a smaller role in the Pasteur/hydrophobia mania than the *New York Herald* of James Gordon Bennett, Jr., Pulitzer's move to New York from St. Louis in 1883 to purchase the *New York World* was a major step in escalating the pursuit and creation of newsworthy sensations.<sup>7</sup>

To appreciate the novelty of Americans in the 1880s starting to regard medicine as innovative and seeing it as scientific—with discoveries made in laboratory experiments and research workers looking like heroes, even saviors—requires an understanding of the feebleness of American medicine at that time. Given the high status accorded twentieth-century medicine and its rapid pace of change, it is sometimes difficult fully to comprehend the limited place of innovation and science in American medicine during the 1880s.<sup>8</sup> In contrast to Europe, with its centuries-long tradition of university-

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cultivated an appreciation of the fact that individual readers do not simply absorb texts of books, newspapers, or magazines passively, uncritically, or unselectively. The present study does not challenge that new approach but endeavors rather, in a more traditional fashion, to discern the general level of social awareness through the evidence of popular and widely disseminated publications. As will be argued below, editors, publishers, their writers, and especially their cartoonists could not diverge far from widely held ideas and images, even as they were challenging them in part or trying to move them in new directions. The importance of the potential gap between what is on the page and what is held in an individual reader's mind for certain studies of literature becomes negligible here in considering the broad lines of popular awareness, enthusiasms, and understanding based cumulatively on an enormous mass of widely dispersed articles and images. Furthermore, while the wide popular enthusiasm examined here could not have existed without an active press involvement, it consisted of the thoughts, feelings, and actions of multitudes of people; it was not simply something that existed only in the pages of the newspapers and magazines. Texts and pictures have thus been taken herein as evidence both of press coverage and of events themselves that existed apart from the press attention to them.

<sup>7</sup> In Michael Schudson's vivid phrasing, "Pulitzer plugged his Western voice into the amplifier of the East, New York City." *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York, 1978), 92. Schudson charts how fast and wide was the expanded circulation that Pulitzer engineered: from 15,000 at purchase in 1883 to 60,000 in 1884, then to 100,000 in 1885, and 250,000 by the fall of 1886. The pursuit of sensation is usually seen as culminating in the rise of "yellow journalism," often symbolized by William Randolph Hearst's takeover of the *New York Morning Journal* in 1895. In addition to Schudson, see John D. Stevens's brief account of the 1890s in *Sensationalism and the New York Press* (New York, 1991), 57–100.

<sup>8</sup> Some efforts by leaders in medicine to make their profession more scientific in this era are



based medical education, in America an apprenticeship or a few terms of lectures in a small school unaffiliated with a university was the medical education of most physicians (except for a small elite who completed their medical preparation with further training in Vienna, Paris, London, or Edinburgh). Admission to medical schools did not require prior college study or even a high school diploma during this era. Few medical schools taught basic sciences or gave instruction in the use of microscopes or other laboratory apparatus. It was only in 1884 that the first medical research laboratory in America was established, when the industrialist Andrew Carnegie donated the funds to the Bellevue Hospital Medical College in New York City.

Also in 1884, the railroad magnate William Henry Vanderbilt offered a half-million dollars to aid the expansion of another New York City medical school, the College of Physicians and Surgeons. But in marked contrast to the post-Pasteur world of experimental and scientific medicine where such a donation would be universally praised, this act was satirized in glowing color on the cover of a popular magazine as a threat to people's health and as a boon only to avaricious medical students and undertakers. (See Figure 1.) Puck tries to hold Carnegie and his bag of money back from the welcoming hands of a medical school dean, surrounded by professors and students waving their surgical saws. Celebrating the gift is a smiling funeral director at "Crape & Plantem Undertakers," where a coffin-shaped sign lists the firm's professional "references: Dr. Give-em-up, Dr. Kill-em, and Dr. Skinner." Characteristically, in the period prior to a popular recognition of the fruits of scientific and laboratory medicine, doctors were visually identified by saws and scalpels. Only after 1900 would the stethoscope, the hypodermic syringe, the thermometer, and white surgical garb become the regular iconography of a physician.<sup>9</sup>

Low estimates of the value of health care were widespread, and they were sometimes coupled with disrespect for physicians. When covering the trial of a

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mentioned below in the section on effects of the rabies coverage; see esp. the writings of John Harley Warner cited there. Accessible overviews may be found in Starr, *Social Transformation of American Medicine*; and, more recently, in W. F. Bynum, *Science and the Practice of Medicine in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994). While Bynum's emphasis is on Great Britain, his account integrates the changes taking place in France, Germany, and the United States as well and, unlike most such histories, does not neglect the public face of medicine or the credibility and status that scientific developments provided to the profession. His narrative also acknowledges the popular press at several points, especially in connection with Pasteur. Still useful is William G. Rothstein, *American Physicians in the Nineteenth Century: From Sects to Science* (Baltimore, Md., 1972).

<sup>9</sup> Many works provide entry into the visual record of nineteenth and twentieth-century medicine. I have examined the relation between style and content in a selection of illustrations in Bert Hansen, "The Image and Advocacy of Public Health in American Caricature and Cartoons from 1860 to 1900," *American Journal of Public Health* 87 (November 1997): 1798-1807. Among the most important studies of pictorial sources for medicine are Daniel M. Fox and Christopher Lawrence, *Photographic Medicine: Images and Power in Britain and America since 1840* (Westport, Conn., 1988); William H. Gerdts, *The Art of Healing: Medicine and Science in American Art* (Birmingham, Ala., 1981); Janet Golden and Charles E. Rosenberg, *Pictures of Health: A Photographic History of Health Care in Philadelphia, 1860-1945* (Philadelphia, 1991); William H. Helfand, *Medicine and Pharmacy in American Political Prints (1765-1870)* (Madison, Wis., 1978); Helfand, et al., *The Picture of Health: Images of Medicine and Pharmacy from the William H. Helfand Collection* (Philadelphia, 1991); Helfand and Sergio Rocchietta, *Medicina e farmacia nella caricature politiche italiane, 1848-1914* (Milan, 1982); Chauncey D. Leake, "Medical Caricature in the United States," *Bulletin of the Society of Medical History of Chicago* 4 (April 1928): 1-29; Albert S. Lyons and R. Joseph Petrucelli II, *Medicine: An Illustrated History* (New York, 1978); Richard E. Weisberg, "The Representation of Doctors at Work in Salon Art of the Early Third Republic in France" (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1995); and Richard J. Wolfe, *Robert C. Hinckley and the Recreation of the First Operation under Ether* (Boston, 1993).

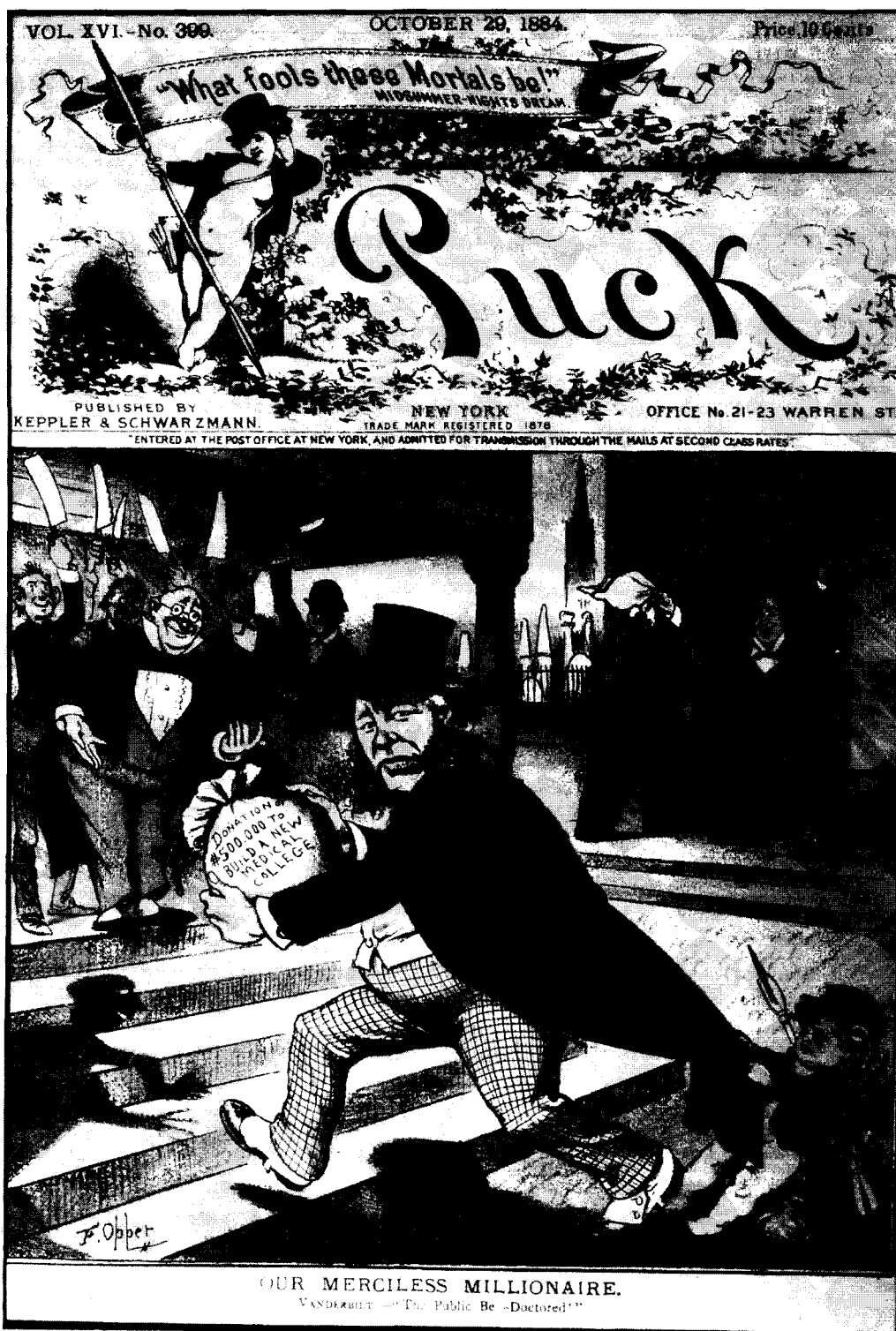


FIGURE 1: "Our Merciless Millionaire, Vanderbilt.—"The Public Be—Doctored!" "Puck (October 29, 1884), cover.

pharmacist for making a fatal error in preparing a remedy, for example, the *New York World* reported with no apparent sense of exaggeration: "There were so many doctors present that District Attorney Winfield said that all the patients in Hoboken would get well if the trial lasted a week."<sup>10</sup> Since prosecutor Winfield needed physicians as witnesses, he could not be expressing personal hostility but only joking about a common view of doctors. Similar skepticism about the benefits of a doctor's care appears in a cartoon entitled "A Wise Precaution," in which an old man is speaking with his wife at home. The man remarks, "I really must get my life insured; I am not feeling very well. I think I will call in on Dr. Gilbert and get some medicine, and to-morrow I will get insured." His wife replies, "Don't you think, Tommy dear, it would be safer to get insured first?"<sup>11</sup>

WHEN ENTHUSIASM FOR A NEW TRIUMPHANT MEDICINE did appear in the United States, it did not spring from Pasteur's pioneering 1882 achievement of a vaccine for anthrax, nor from Robert Koch's identification of the cholera bacillus that same year, nor from Koch's discovery of the tubercle bacillus in 1883—all major landmarks in scientific medicine.<sup>12</sup> Nor did it draw momentum from such earlier discoveries as inhalation anesthesia, introduced by American doctors and dentists of the late 1840s, or the antiseptic surgery developed and taught by Joseph Lister in the 1860s and 1870s. However much these advances appear momentous from our vantage point, they simply did not receive substantial treatment as news. The transformation in expectations came, rather, from Pasteur's triumph over a minor disease. Rabies was a malady that annually killed people by mere dozens, in contrast to such major killers as tuberculosis, pneumonia, smallpox, diphtheria, and infant diarrhea, which slew hundreds of thousands each year.<sup>13</sup> Hydrophobia in the

<sup>10</sup> *New York World* (January 5, 1886): 1, col. 7.

<sup>11</sup> *Puck* (September 2, 1885). Even by shifting one's gaze from magazine satire to fine art, an observer would not find in the United States an obvious portrayal of medical advance. Bracketing the Pasteur episode in time are the two most famous American paintings of physicians: *The Gross Clinic* of 1875 and *The Agnew Clinic* of 1889, large canvases of great emotional power by Thomas Eakins. Though different, the paintings each offer honor, praise, and status to a great physician. Yet these two doctors are surgeons, not scientists; they practice an old craft, however skillfully they do it. And since both pictures show an operation under way, the viewer cannot even know for sure that the surgery witnessed will be successful. A historically minded observer will note that in the later painting the medical operators are wearing white gowns (though no masks or gloves yet), unlike the street clothes of fourteen years earlier. But it would be wrong to see surgical hygiene as the point of this painting or as the achievement attributed to Dr. Agnew. I point this out not to fault Eakins for ignoring the scientific changes just under way in medicine but rather to confirm how uncommon was any expectation of medical breakthroughs, even for a man as perceptive and familiar with medicine as Eakins. See Elizabeth Johns, *Thomas Eakins: The Heroism of Modern Life* (Princeton, N.J., 1983); Linda Nochlin, *Realism: Style and Civilization* (Harmondsworth, 1971); and three papers in a symposium entitled "The Agnew Clinic: Medicine, Art, Literature in Late Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia," in *Prospects: An Annual of American Cultural Studies* 11 (1987): Margaret Supplee Smith, "The Agnew Clinic: 'Not Cheerful for Ladies to Look At,'" 161–83; Diana E. Long, "The Medical World of *The Agnew Clinic*: A World We Have Lost?" 185–98; and Patricia Hills, "Thomas Eakins's *Agnew Clinic* and John S. Sargent's *Four Doctors*: Sublimity, Decorum, and Professionalism," 217–30.

<sup>12</sup> The pattern was similar in Russia, where "it was not Koch's celebrated work on the anthrax bacillus, but Pasteur's anti-rabies vaccine that initially attracted Russian interest," according to John F. Hutchinson, "Tsarist Russia and the Bacteriological Revolution," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 40 (1985): 422.

<sup>13</sup> Consumption was the greatest single killer of the era, even though it was not feared as a

United States as in Europe and elsewhere—though well known and widely feared—was an infrequent illness.<sup>14</sup> It was, however, invariably fatal. And since there was no sure way to determine whether an animal that inflicted a bite was rabid or not, fear of a horrible death followed every dog bite for some weeks before one could assume the incubation time had safely passed. A small wound or its quick healing did not mean one was out of danger, as people learned from frequent stories in the press.<sup>15</sup>

In cities of that era, stray and feral dogs were remarkably numerous—if impossible to count. But an indication of the magnitude of the problem can be found in an official report in the 1880s tabulating the dead animals received at the docks for disposal; it records some 8,000 horses and 23,000 dogs in one twelve-month period (with countless others doubtless incinerated, buried, tossed in sewers, etc.).<sup>16</sup> Including both the strays and the dogs owned by families or businesses, one newspaper reported an estimate for New York City of 300,000 dogs, with another 150,000 in Brooklyn, and 150,000 in Newark and its suburbs. When a reporter presented these numbers to a local sportsman and dog-show judge, the expert found 300,000 for the city too high: “225,000 would be nearer the mark.” He also reduced the Brooklyn figure to 100,000, which still allowed the paper to claim that there were over half a million dogs within forty miles of New York City.<sup>17</sup> In most cities, controlling a large dog population was nearly impossible, even on occasions when

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contagious disease until some years after Koch's discovery. About one-seventh of all reported deaths were due to tuberculosis, and, among people who died in middle age, it claimed one in three. Thomas D. Brock, *Robert Koch: A Life in Medicine and Bacteriology* (Madison, Wis., 1988), 117.

<sup>14</sup> The terms “rabies” and “hydrophobia” may both be used for a single disease shared by animals and people. In older usage, hydrophobia was applied to the human malady and rabies to cases in animals. The symptoms that prompted the name hydrophobia are frequent but not always present in human cases, and are not characteristic of animal cases. It may be as an effect of Pasteur's introduction of an animal vaccine that “rabies” has generally replaced “hydrophobia” in most usages. In this article, the two words are used interchangeably except in quotations.

<sup>15</sup> The study of rabies in the United States has not benefited from the scholarly attention given to its history in Europe. A portion of the American medical profession's literature about the rabies cure has been examined very briefly in Leonard J. Hoenig, “Triumph and Controversy: Pasteur's Preventive Treatment of Rabies as Reported in *JAMA*,” *Archives of Neurology* 43 (April 1986): 397–99; more fully in Harkness, “Reception of Pasteur's Rabies Vaccine”; and in John D. Blaisdell, “With Certain Reservations: The American Veterinary Community's Reception of Pasteur's Work on Rabies,” *Agricultural History* 70 (Summer 1996): 503–24. See a succinct introduction to the nature of rabies and its history in France in Gerald L. Geison, *The Private Science of Louis Pasteur* (Princeton, N.J., 1995), 177–81; see also Jean Théodoridès, *Histoire de la rage: Cave canem* (Paris, 1986). On France and elsewhere, see the enormous compilation of articles running over 600 pages undertaken by the French Ministry of Agriculture's Informations Techniques des Services Veterinaires, *Pasteur et la rage* (Paris, 1985); the historical portion alone contains more than 300 pages. Two recent books on the cultural history of domestic animals in Europe each includes a chapter on rabies; for England, see Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987); for France, Kathleen Kete, *The Beast in the Boudoir: Petkeeping in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994). Kete's book is an expansion of her article “La Rage and the Bourgeoisie,” *Representations* 22 (Spring 1988): 89–107. See also John K. Walton, “Mad Dogs and Englishmen: The Conflict over Rabies in Late Victorian England,” *Journal of Social History* 13 (1979): 219–39.

<sup>16</sup> J. F. Smithcors, *The American Veterinary Profession: Its Background and Development* (Ames, Iowa, 1963), 402. At that time, New York City had over 1.25 million human inhabitants and about 10,000 horse stables.

<sup>17</sup> “Half A Million Dogs . . . Opinions of Experts . . . Useful Dogs and Useless Curs,” *New York Herald* (December 27, 1885): 5, cols. 3–6.



officials made the effort.<sup>18</sup> The sight of a policeman shooting at a dog was not uncommon, both on the street and in the pictorial press. In one full-page magazine engraving, a policeman aims his revolver at a saliva-drooling dog near a fashionably dressed lady trying to protect three small children. Behind the policeman is a crowd of men and boys hurling rocks and cans as they chase after the dog.<sup>19</sup> (See Figure 2.) No less drastic and hardly less visible was the official practice of drowning the impounded strays after a brief holding period. In a less squeamish era than ours, this procedure was graphically portrayed in the pictorial press.<sup>20</sup>

While cases of hydrophobia were numerically infrequent (seldom running to ten a year even in a large city), newspaper editors believed their readers to be interested in the fascinatingly gruesome details.<sup>21</sup> Representative of numerous similar articles is the following one, quoted in full to illustrate the brief but detailed

<sup>18</sup> The problem of hogs and dogs roaming the streets of New York attracted the attention of lawmakers from the colonial era onward. By the 1880s, hogs in Manhattan were largely under control, but dogs were not. John Duffy has described the situation: "In an effort to solve the perennial problem of strays, a law in 1867 prohibited all unmuzzled dogs from running at large in the street and established a bounty of 50 cents for each dog brought to the police dog pound. In previous years an open bounty had resulted in gangs of children brutally clubbing and maiming dogs. To prevent this disgraceful situation, only adults could collect the reward. Early in 1869, when several cases of rabies were reported, the Board of Health ordered the metropolitan police to shoot all suspicious looking dogs or any found in a sickly or emaciated condition." Duffy, *A History of Public Health in New York City, 1866-1966* (New York, 1974), 33-34. Duffy also noted that the ordinances provided for "the elimination of stray dogs during the early summer months. The enforcement of these laws was usually lax, but the appearance of a rabies case was enough to precipitate mass poisoning, shooting, or roundup of strays. For example, the threat of hydrophobia in 1872 caused the Health Department to begin a drive against strays" (p. 168).

<sup>19</sup> A similar illustration entitled "Shooting a Mad Dog" was published in *Harper's Weekly* (August 2, 1879); in it, a mustachioed policeman is firing his pistol at a very small dog. Again, as in the earlier *Frank Leslie's* depiction, startled bystanders are present, including a woman with a child and two boys who had been chasing this dog. Reprinted in John Grafton, *New York in the Nineteenth Century: 317 Engravings from Harper's Weekly and Other Contemporary Sources*, 2d edn. (New York, 1980), 161.

<sup>20</sup> See, for example, "Dog Days" drawn by S. G. McCutcheon in *Harper's Weekly* (August 7, 1880): 508, a full page of dog vignettes, including the lowering of a cage of dogs into the river to be drowned. In the midst of the Newark rabies furor, the *New York Daily Graphic* artist Louis Dalrymple offered a full page of scenes titled "Opening of the Dog Pound at the Foot of East Sixteenth Street," in which the largest, central image showed three men lowering a cage of dogs into the water (January 10, 1886). On occasion, political caricature included the same imagery. *Harper's Bazaar* (September 18, 1875): 616, ran a Thomas Nast-style cartoon of the dog pound ("Morituri [te] salutamus"), in which dogs being led to their death take leave of the poundkeeper's pet, sitting sadly by his house: "Caesar, we, who are about to die, salute you!" In 1881, Joseph Keppler drew for *Puck* (June 22, pp. 276-77), a large color centerfold caricature of national politics, "The Dog Round-Up We'd Like to See," incorporating not only the dog catcher (President Garfield) but the pens, the pound, and the heavy cage and derrick (operated by Uncle Sam under Columbia's direction) used to drown stray dogs in the river. A sign on the back wall reads: "All unfaithful politicians captured will be drowned here, without mercy."

<sup>21</sup> New York City, for example, experienced no hydrophobia deaths in 1885, and only thirty-nine over the preceding fifteen years. *New York Herald* (January 7, 1886): 6, col. 4. These were official figures of the registrar, made public upon a request from ex-governor Hoffman. In 1890, Hermann M. Biggs told the New York Academy of Medicine that New York City had reports of only nine rabies deaths over the prior ten years. "The Present Experimental Aspect of Pasteur's Prophylaxis for Rabies," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Medicine*, 2d ser., 7 (1890-91): 367. (While Biggs's figures include the post-vaccine years, the vaccine did not become readily available in New York City until the 1890s.) For Philadelphia, the numbers are comparable, with sixty deaths over the twenty-five years ending in 1884; see John G. Lee, "The Mortality from Rabies in the Last Twenty-Five Years in Philadelphia," *Medical Times* (April 3, 1886): 494-95. For Paris, Geison cites Pasteur's own figures showing an average of twelve deaths per year in the years preceding introduction of the new inoculation technique; *Private Science of Louis Pasteur*, 332-33.



# FRANK LESLIE'S ILLUSTRATED NEWSPAPER

No. 515 Vol. XXVIII

NEW YORK, JUNE 27, 1874.

Price 10 CENTS PER COPY.



A SUMMER SCENE IN NEW YORK CITY.—A PERSECUTED DOG ON A LEADING AVENUE.

FIGURE 2: "A Summer Scene in New York City.—A Persecuted Dog on a Leading Avenue," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (June 27, 1874), cover.

narrative into which ordinary newspaper readers of the era could imaginatively place themselves (and their children).

DYING OF HYDROPHOBIA.  
TERRIBLE STRUGGLES OF A BOY WHO WAS BITTEN BY A VICIOUS DOG.

A vicious dog was shot in the area of the residence of Mr. F. Gilbert, No. 208 Fifth-avenue, on the 2d of April. Several boys had been attacked and bitten by the animal, which was a half-bred Newfoundland bitch, on the West Side of the City, whence it had been chased. One of the boys, Frederick Herrman Kruger, aged 11  $\frac{1}{2}$  years, died yesterday morning of hydrophobia, at No. 380 West Forty-second-street. On the day that he was bitten, he had just returned from the Fortieth-street public school, and was playing with another boy in front of his home when the animal came along from Eleventh avenue pursued by men and boys. It jumped at Frederick, threw him in the gutter, and tried to seize him by the throat. The boy held his chin down, and the brute caught him by the nose and nearly bit off the end of it. The animal then escaped, and was seen later in the day at Thirty-first-street and Tenth avenue. It was again chased and was killed by Officer Link, of the Twenty-ninth Precinct. Mrs. Kruger sent for Dr. Alfred W. Maynard, of No. 353 West Forty-second-street, who cauterized the wound and stitched the end of the nose in place. The injuries healed, leaving an ugly scar, and the incident was almost forgotten. On Saturday, Frederick, who had been playing in the street, went home and asked his mother for a drink of water. She gave him some in a glass from a hydrant in the yard, but when he attempted to raise it to his lips the muscles of his throat contracted spasmodically and his features became distorted. Handing the glass back to his mother, he said that he was ill and asked for water that was not cold. Mrs. Kruger gave him a glass of tepid water, but he was unable to swallow this and was seized with convulsions. Dr. Maynard at once detected unmistakable symptoms of hydrophobia. He administered hydrate of chloral and bromide of potassium until the convulsions were allayed, but they returned whenever water was offered to the patient. Up to Tuesday the boy's condition changed little, but in the afternoon of that day he imagined that dogs were under the bed trying to bite him, and that some one was in his room ready to shoot or cut him. He kept his hand over his nose as if to shield it, and screamed so loudly at times that he could be heard a block away. Violent convulsions set in during the evening and three persons were required to hold him. Large quantities of morphine were administered hypodermically every half-hour. In spite of this, the convulsions returned with increased force, and his cries, while they lasted, were agonizing. At 5:30 o'clock yesterday morning, when he died, his struggle was so great that three strong men, who were holding him down in bed, were exhausted. It is said that another boy who was bitten in the cheek by the same dog lives in the neighborhood.<sup>22</sup>

In this newspaper story, one is confronted not only with the pain of rabies but also the terror of facing such a death. Yet clinical features of this always fatal disease are not the only things that shape people's reactions to hydrophobia. Fascination with this disease seems to derive as well from its being so frequently caused by the animal known as "man's best friend." A dog bite leading to madness suddenly

<sup>22</sup> *New York Times* (June 9, 1881): 2. This article is typical in providing names, addresses, the biting encounter, the medical care, the healed wound, the helpless doctors, and the last agonies, including the ferocious, almost inhuman strength manifested by the victim near the end. In New York papers, one also finds numerous reports of rabies deaths from Milwaukee, Chicago, and several other cities and towns. One assumes that before these became national news items, they had first been reported in local papers.

reverses many aspects of the seemingly natural order of things, in ways that other illnesses do not. Rabies evokes treachery and betrayal; it is the sudden and total disruption of the dependable bond between people and domestic animals. Hydrophobia, unlike the epidemic killers such as plague, cholera, or yellow fever, was not seen as caused by someone foreign or something hostile and alien but by a member of the family and the neighborhood. Furthermore, rabies turns the world upside down in another way, for the dying patients not only lose their human reason but also exhibit physical strength that appears superhuman or, perhaps more accurately, subhuman.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, the laboratory research on rabies, like the police actions against stray dogs, could tap into profound emotional ambivalence about people's loyalty to animals, since this research required the medical sacrifice of seemingly innocent creatures, even though, like the wholesale drowning of strays by pound officials, the actions were deemed necessary to achieve public health and safety.

WITH A DEEP APPRECIATION FOR THE COMPLEXITY of such attitudes and the power of rabies' fear and fascination, Louis Pasteur proclaimed in October 1885 that such tragedies were henceforth preventable. For Pasteur, the rabies treatment was only one among his many remarkable successes in applied biology and chemistry, but it was the one that most fully captured public interest and support. Before the rabies vaccine, he was well known in France and among some groups of scientists elsewhere; afterward, his would be a household name and his rabies treatment efforts a focus for charitable efforts around the world.<sup>24</sup>

Because Pasteur's rabies research is well documented elsewhere, only a few general points need be rehearsed here.<sup>25</sup> Pasteur was hardly alone in seeking to identify the microbial causes of human diseases. The 1870s and 1880s saw a flurry

<sup>23</sup> An exploration of the cultural and psychological dimensions of the dual fear and fascination with rabies are beyond the reach of this article. Undoubtedly, the peculiar characteristics of the disease played a role in making it of interest to editors and readers. But discovering why people had this fascination (not only in America in the 1880s but in many other times and places) is not essential to understanding the character and extent of public attention to Pasteur's treatment of the Newark boys and appreciating the effects this coverage had on expectations of medical progress. There is a large anthropological literature on animals in human culture. Access to the far more limited historical writings for the late nineteenth century is found in the recent books by Kete and Ritvo cited above.

<sup>24</sup> Many wrongly assume that Pasteur became known to the general public in the United States from pasteurized milk. While Pasteur did develop heat treatments to improve the keeping quality of beverages two decades prior to the rabies vaccine, he applied them to beer and wine, not milk. As a means of improving the safety of milk, pasteurization achieved prominence in America well after the turn of the century; see S. Henry Ayers, *The Present Status of the Pasteurization of Milk* (United States Department of Agriculture Bulletin No. 342, rev. edn.) (Washington, D.C., 1922). For the introduction of milk pasteurization in Milwaukee, see Judith Walzer Leavitt, *The Healthiest City: Milwaukee and the Politics of Health Reform* (Madison, Wis., 1982), 180–87. For New York, see Norman Shaftel, "A History of the Purification of Milk in New York, or 'How Now, Brown Cow,'" *New York State Journal of Medicine* 58 (1958): 911–28. As late as 1916, a case was being made for the still-controversial technique by Charles Herbert Kilbourne, *The Pasteurization of Milk from the Practical Viewpoint* (New York, 1916). I am grateful to Gerald Oppenheimer for helping me locate a copy of Ayers's report.

<sup>25</sup> The following account depends on Geison, *Private Science of Louis Pasteur*; Gerald L. Geison, "Louis Pasteur," *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* (1974), 10: 350–416; Geison, "Pasteur, Roux, and Rabies: Scientific versus Clinical Mentalities," *Journal of the History of Medicine* 45 (1990): 341–65; and René Valléry-Radot, *The Life of Pasteur*, Mrs. R. L. Devonshire, trans. (Garden City, N.Y., 1924), 390–444.

of such work, largely stimulated by Pasteur's discoveries in fermentation and the complex of tentative theories and procedures that came to be called "the germ theory of disease." In addition to seeking the etiological agents, Pasteur and his collaborators pioneered experiments to attenuate or weaken an infectious agent so as to reduce its capacity for causing serious illness, while preserving its ability to provoke in an inoculated animal a natural protective response. This would then prevent the animal's subsequent infection by that same agent. Only one such protective sequence was known when Pasteur began his work, the prevention of smallpox in persons by inoculating them with smallpox matter or, more safely, with cowpox matter. (Since cowpox was also known as vaccinia, the process was called vaccination. After Pasteur's laboratory achieved successful prevention of chicken cholera and anthrax, he applied the word vaccination to this process in general, no longer restricting it to inoculation using cowpox.)

Several characteristics of rabies made it an attractive subject for research. It was a well-recognized specific disease, easily distinguishable from other ailments. It was transmitted by a known route of contagion (unlike tuberculosis, plague, typhus, yellow fever, and many other common diseases at that time). It had a determinable incubation period and a relatively long one. Pasteur's search for the causative microbe was unsuccessful, as was that of other researchers drawn to study this disease.<sup>26</sup> Investigators were drawn by rabies' characteristic fury and paralysis to the nervous system as a site of the unseen microbe, and Pasteur's laboratory developed clever techniques of transmitting the disease from one animal to another by removing pieces of the brain or spinal cord and applying them directly to the exposed brain of a new subject. Opening the skull (trephination) was a surgical technique dating to ancient times in both the Old World and the New. Pasteur's assistants did it well, carefully using the newly discovered anesthetics of his era to keep the dogs and rabbits asleep for the surgery.

By passing the undetectable rabies virus through several generations of experimental animals, Pasteur was able to achieve a highly virulent infective matter of standardized potency (as measured by the incubation time after a new animal was inoculated). Once he had produced infective matter of known potency, he could experiment with means of attenuating it. After trying a number of techniques he had used for other inoculations, he established to his satisfaction that air drying of infected marrow from a rabbit's spinal cord would reduce its potency from maximum to minimum in about fourteen days.

According to Pasteur's reports in the 1880s and the widely disseminated biography by his son-in-law, René Vallery-Radot, he was successful with a remarkably simple notion of how to create a natural resistance. Pasteur gave healthy dogs a series of inoculations with pieces of marrow that had been dried for

<sup>26</sup> We know today that the cause of rabies is a "filterable virus," that is, something so small it would have passed through the finest filters then available and too small to be separated or seen by any techniques of that era. In twentieth-century usage, we restrict the word "virus" to such particles. But in Pasteur's era, "virus" (whether in French or English) could be applied to any infectious agent, including the much larger (and quite different) bacteria and yeasts. To avoid confusion, historians usually avoid using the word virus in a nineteenth-century context except in quotations. Sometimes, when non-historians notice the word being used by Pasteur for the rabitic agent, they mistakenly give him credit for discovering its character as virus in the modern sense.

a decreasing numbers of days, ending up on the final day with highly virulent marrow that was known to kill an animal after a short incubation period. To some extent, this system seemed to Pasteur to work effectively in creating a refractory, or resistant, state in his experimental dogs.<sup>27</sup> He tested this state, his reports implied, by exposing treated dogs not only to virulent injections but also to natural rabies from bites by a rabid dog, and he announced a preventive vaccine for canine rabies in August 1884 at an international scientific congress at Copenhagen. During 1884, this work on canine rabies was the subject of an illustrated article in *Harper's Weekly* and a few very brief notices in the daily press.<sup>28</sup>

Given the long incubation period of natural cases of rabies, Pasteur wondered if it would be possible to start the process of artificially creating resistance *after* an animal (or person) had been bitten, with the hope that it might take hold before the "street infection" could do its lethal work. In the official and public accounts by his son-in-law and others, Pasteur worked in the winter of 1884–1885 on vaccinating dogs after they received rabid bites, and in March 1885 he began to consider the possibility of human trials, first on himself.<sup>29</sup> During the summer, fate intervened when Joseph Meister, a badly bitten nine-year-old boy from Alsace, and his mother arrived at Pasteur's laboratory (along with the dog's owner, who had also been bitten but less severely). The tense scene was described years later by Vallery-Radot: "Pasteur's emotion was great at the sight of the fourteen wounds of the little boy, who suffered so much that he could hardly walk. What should he do for this child? Could he risk the preventive treatment which had been constantly successful on his dogs? Pasteur was divided between his hopes and his scruples, painful in their acuteness." After consultations with physicians, Joseph was given, under Pasteur's

<sup>27</sup> Geison's brilliant work with Pasteur's laboratory notes shows that the route to success was neither short nor sure. At several points, important discrepancies exist between what had been achieved experimentally and what Pasteur either reported or led others to believe about his work. The actual achievements in his laboratory and some failures were not known, however, except to Pasteur and a very small number of associates until Geison's archaeology of the notebooks made them plain in recent years. For this reason, the emphasis of my narrative is on what was publicly known, reported, or believed in the 1880s about Pasteur's rabies work rather than Pasteur's now accessible "private" science. For the rabies research and its application to human patients, see Geison, *Private Science of Louis Pasteur*, chaps. 7–9.

<sup>28</sup> *Harper's* ran a full page of laboratory scenes, June 21, 1884: 392. The meager newspaper coverage during 1884 clustered in May, when Pasteur announced his success with dogs and a commission to certify his work was appointed, and in August when the commission's report became available. During May, three New York papers each ran one article (*New York Evening Post*, May 20, *New York Times*, May 21, and *New York Tribune*, May 23). On August 9, the *Times* ran a very brief notice (probably from a cable dispatch) on the commission making a public report. Later that month, the *Times* ran an article and an editorial on August 26 (the delay was perhaps to await receipt of the commission report by steamer). I have found no other notices of Pasteur's rabies work during 1884. But news of the disease, if not of its cure, continued to appear. For example, shortly after reporting on the commission's favorable report, the *Times* ran articles on August 29, 30, and September 1 about twenty Negroes in Alabama getting sick from eating a pig that had been bitten by a rabid dog. Neither scientific nor sympathetic, the stories mocked this tragedy. On October 5, the *Times* ran a typical news story about a young man, bitten by a large Spitz, whose uncauterized wound led to a violent and tortured death. The *New York Herald* published nothing at all on Pasteur's rabies work in 1884.

<sup>29</sup> In *Private Science of Louis Pasteur*, Geison has now shown that the first experimental inoculations ran from most virulent to least, rather than the reverse, and that Pasteur did not begin trying the least-to-most order until late May of 1885 (see chart on 244). Geison also identifies two prior trials on humans that were never acknowledged; the official accounts treat Joseph Meister's injections in July 1885 as the premier human experiment.



supervision, the first full human rabies treatment of twelve injections beginning on July 6, 1885, in a series of least to most virulent.<sup>30</sup>

Although Pasteur valued press coverage, often cooperating with reporters to the point of coopting them, he intentionally held back when it came to his first human experiment and allowed no press coverage for fear of the public's misinterpretation of any failure. Keeping awareness of this experiment within a small circle, Pasteur worried privately through July and much of August both that Joseph might die and that blame would fall on Pasteur's efforts, whether or not his inoculations were at fault. As August progressed and Joseph remained well, Pasteur regained his usual self-confidence but still made no public announcement. In mid-September, however, word of Joseph's survival (and possible cure) started to become public even prior to Pasteur's official report to the Académie des Sciences. The first news reports were favorable, if short, and anything but prominent. The discovery might well have passed quickly without making any impression on the public, especially across the Atlantic. In the ten weeks after the first report on September 20, the New York City papers ran only a few articles on the rabies treatment—all of them brief.

In mid-October, a second youth was brought to Pasteur for treatment. Jean Baptiste Jupille was fourteen years old, but this young shepherd was a hero, for he had turned to face the rabid dog that was chasing five younger boys and wrestled the dog to death while suffering severe bites on both hands. Pasteur confidently invited Jupille to Paris and began treatment about October 20. On October 26, Pasteur presented a triumphant account of the Joseph Meister treatment at the Académie des Sciences, ending with the story of young Jupille's heroism. Leaders of the academy, medical and scientific, praised Pasteur effusively and applauded the youth's bravery. The press reported at modest length on the address and the meaning of the achievement, but popular consciousness would need time and cultivation to be fermented first into curiosity and then into enthusiasm. Across the Atlantic, although reports were dutiful and encouraging, the rabies treatment made no front-page headlines. The brief and second-hand articles were based on letters, reports in scientific journals, or articles in the British press, and they lacked a strong human-interest angle. Through November, the articles resembled the brief items on other scientific and medical news in the 1870s and early 1880s, and most were shorter than the typical report about a death from hydrophobia or about cases of trichinosis after eating ham at a picnic.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Vallery-Radot, *Life of Pasteur*, 414. Interestingly, the dog experiments reported here as "constantly successful" have been shown by Geison's analysis to have been far, far less successful; only 62 percent (16 of 26) of the dogs receiving treatment after being bitten survived. *Private Science of Louis Pasteur*, table 9.1. This is only slightly better than the 57 percent survival rate of the seven untreated dogs held as controls.

<sup>31</sup> For the months preceding the Newark episode in December, I have reviewed only three daily papers systematically. Between September 20 and December 2, the *New York Tribune* printed just two articles (on October 28 and November 16); the *New York Herald* and *New York Times* had eight or nine apiece during this ten-week interval. While a few more items might be located, the pattern of limited interest without sensationalism stands in strong contrast to the deluge of attention after December 2. Post-Newark visuals are discussed below; prior to the Newark episode, the only rabies visuals in the American press during 1885 were in the *New York Daily Graphic*, which on November 19, 1885, showed Pasteur watching the injection of Jupille (apparently copied from a French magazine, *L'illustration*, of November 7, 1885) and then on December 1 published two images of Pasteur in his laboratory (both taken from the *London Graphic* of November 21).

EVERYTHING CHANGED RADICALLY IN EARLY DECEMBER. On December 4, a cluster of several interlocking stories appeared in long articles in most New York City and Newark papers. The *New York Herald* ran this stack of headlines:

IN TERROR OF HYDROPHOBIA.  
SIX CHILDREN IN NEWARK BITTEN BY A DOG SUPPOSED TO BE MAD.  
PASTEUR LOOKED TO FOR AID.  
AN ATTEMPT TO BE MADE TO SEND THE VICTIMS TO PARIS FOR TREATMENT.

Four of the six bitten children were judged by local physicians to be hurt seriously enough to need the trip: Eddie Ryan (age five), Patrick Joseph Reynolds (age seven), Austin Fitzgerald (age ten), and Willie Lane, a messenger boy (age thirteen).<sup>32</sup> On December 8, the *New York Sun* ran the first pictures of the four new celebrities. On December 9, the *New York World* added a picture of Dr. O'Gorman, who had alerted the public to this new French cure and coordinated the collection of funds.<sup>33</sup> The same day, the *New York Times* took the opportunity to acknowledge the news of a girl in Pasteur's care who had died after being inoculated, but it carefully reported Pasteur's explanation that "the period of incubation had expired and the treatment was therefore too late." The paper also quoted the chemist's firm assurance: "I am confident my treatment will be successful if commenced at any time before actual hydrophobia sets in, even if a year or more elapses between the bite and the commencement of treatment."<sup>34</sup>

All the December 9 articles reported on the boys and their families taking a ferry from Newark to New York and boarding the steamer, which was to embark the next morning for Le Havre. The *World* on December 10 carried pictures of them going aboard and of the room fitted out as their "hospital," as well as a portrait of Pasteur and of a Dr. Frank Billings, who was to accompany them and introduce them to Pasteur's laboratory, where, it was said, he had studied. In charge of the traveling party was Eddie Ryan's mother (eight months pregnant), who brought along her youngest son Willie, not bitten but too young to be left home without her. For the week the boys were at sea, there could be no news of them, so the papers kept the theme alive with more stories about the dog pound and the control of stray dogs, about a new rabies victim (with articles showing pictures not only of a Charles Kaufmann, who had been bitten, but also of the dogs involved), about Pasteur's earlier work, and even about the history of applied science in France more generally.

<sup>32</sup> Similar stories ran in all the New York and Newark papers, and they were picked up widely across the country. My citing or quoting from any particular newspaper at any point should not be taken to imply that this paper is the only source on the matter or that the matter appeared only in local newspapers. I am grateful to a number of my students whose efforts at searching newspapers for stories about rabies and other medical breakthroughs have contributed to this research, beginning with Thomas Moffe (now M.D.), an undergraduate at SUNY Binghamton in 1977, and continuing with Ersi Demetriadou, Theresa Pagliuca, M.D., and John Rescigno, M.D. Other students' research papers are cited below.

<sup>33</sup> Some of the images printed in the *New York World* on Wednesday, December 9, were apparently copied from those in the *New York Sun* on Tuesday, December 8. This led to an extensive exchange of comments, not only in the two papers involved but in the *New York Evening Post* as well (December 10, 1885): 2, col. 1.

<sup>34</sup> *New York Times* (December 9, 1885): 4, col. 6.

In the week or so since the Newark boys had been bitten, readers in the New York area—and throughout America, since the stories were widely reprinted in the papers of large and small cities all across the country—had been treated to such extensive coverage (including editorials, letters to the editor, and comments by one paper about another's reporting or illustrations) that the enthusiasm became a target for satire. On December 16, *Puck* ran a cartoon entitled "The New Scheme," showing two hoboes in conversation. The first proclaims, "Congratulate me, old man—I'm going to Paris." The second inquires, "How'd yer work it?" The first explains, "Said I was bitten by a mad dog—pop'lar subscription gettin' up to send me to Pastoor."<sup>35</sup>

December 19 was the cover date for at least three magazines that ran illustrated versions of the story: *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, *Harper's Weekly*, and *Scientific American*. The *Frank Leslie's* article opened with a prescient forecast, calling this "an international episode of peculiar interest . . . which will occupy public attention in both France and America for some weeks to come."<sup>36</sup> (While the French did not sustain a continuous fervor about *les quatre petits Américains*, the Americans would do so with a vengeance.) The "news sketches" in these magazines

<sup>35</sup> *Puck* (December 16, 1885): 243. But in addition to jokes like this, which made fun of the popular enthusiasm, there also appeared caricatures like the *Puck* cover for December 16, 1885, "Another Patient for Pasteur: Let Him Be Taken to Paris and Treated for Blainiac Rabies" (p. 241), in which the intent was political satire and the Paris rabies-cure sensation simply a vehicle for other messages. (The reference is to James G. Blaine, Cleveland's unsuccessful opponent in the 1884 presidential campaign and a politician infamous for several scandalous indiscretions.) The image illustrated an assumption by cartoonist and editor that most readers will already be quite familiar with the new Parisian treatment. As an issue with a cover date of December 16 was actually printed and circulated as much as seven days earlier, popular enthusiasm for the boys' trip was mushrooming in just a very few days. *Puck's* back cover cartoon of the following week, "The Pasteur Boom: High Times for Hydrophobists; Now Is the Time to Get Bitten by a Rabid Dog and Take a Trip to Paris," first satirized the Pasteur mania, then entered the story itself when, two weeks later, this magazine reached Europe by steamer, and the *Herald's* Paris correspondent had the pleasure of showing it to Pasteur himself on the morning of January 7. The great chemist enjoyed the joke, and his remarks were immediately cabled across the Atlantic for Americans to read the next morning in the *Herald* (January 8, 1886): 5, col. 1.

<sup>36</sup> Pasteur watching the injection of Jupille was the graphic centerpiece of the stories in this issue of *Harper's Weekly* (p. 836) and *Scientific American* (p. 391, crediting the *New York Herald* as the source for its story). *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, "M. Pasteur and His Patients," p. 4, had four small drawings of the Newark boys (based, it seems, on those published in the *World* and/or the *Sun*) along with a large, uncredited reproduction of an engraving showing the scientist at work, "The French chemist, M. Pasteur, experimenting on a chloroformed rabbit," p. 300. Pasteur and another assistant face the viewer across a bench on which another assistant, back to the viewer, is drilling an opening in the skull of a rabbit stretched out on a slab. Although this latter image might well have first appeared in 1884 in reports on the dog experiments, prior to the human treatments, I have not been able to find earlier printings than those in the *London Graphic* of November 21, 1885: 561 and the *New York Daily Graphic* of December 1: 205. According to the *Daily Graphic*, December 6, their image had already been copied by the *Telegram*.

Two other "action shots" of Pasteur circulated in the popular media of France, England, and the United States: Pasteur standing between two rows of rabbit cages (*L'illustration*, May 31, 1884; *Harper's Weekly*, June 21, 1884; *La science illustré*, September 15, 1888) and Pasteur peering through a microscope (*London Graphic*, November 21, 1885; *New York Daily Graphic*, December 1, 1885; *L'univers illustré*, December 12, 1885). The famous Albert Edelfelt painting of Pasteur contemplating a drying jar that holds a rabbit spinal cord infused with infective rabies material was first publicly exhibited at the Paris Salon in May and June 1886, after which it was widely reproduced even in the United States, for instance on the cover of *Once a Week: An Illustrated Weekly Newspaper* (Collier's), October 7, 1890; in *Frank Leslie's*, January 12, 1893 (after Pasteur's seventieth birthday); and with the obituary in *Harper's Weekly*, October 12, 1895. For a full account of the Edelfelt work and its influence on French painting more generally, see Weisberg, "Representation of Doctors at Work in Salon Art," chap. 5.

were becoming routine, unlike the originality shown the same day by the *New York Daily Graphic*, which covered its whole front page with nine drawings and cartoons about dogs, rabies, and the fashion of seeking cures in Paris—all surrounding the powerful image of a revolver aimed at a cowering dog. One of the cartoons, showing a young girl in a drug store, predicted vaccines as a commonplace of the future; her request to the clerk behind the counter was “Fifteen Cents Worth of Hydrophobia Virus, Please, for Pa.” (See Figure 3.)

By December 21, the boys had arrived in France, and the transatlantic telegraph cable could convey dispatches back to New York in about six hours, with reports daily and sometimes even more frequently. The next day, the *New York Times* carried these headlines on the front page:

IN PASTEUR'S LABORATORY.  
THE NEWARK CHILDREN INOCULATED LAST EVENING.  
THEY REACH PARIS ALL RIGHT, UNDERGO THE OPERATION BRAVELY,  
AND THEN GO TO BED AND TO SLEEP.  
BY COMMERCIAL CABLE FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.

The *Herald* was more dramatic with two huge articles, each opened by a high stack of headlines. Local news was mostly tragic:

DOGS MAKING HAVOC.  
TWO MEN, A LAD AND A GIRL TORN BY RABID BRUTES IN JERSEY.  
THE END OF A DAY'S HUNTING.  
ALARM AT MATTAWAN, KEYPORT, ORANGE, AND ENGLEWOOD.  
FIDO ATTACKS HIS LITTLE MISTRESS.  
FORTY DOGS KILLED AND A GREAT SUNDAY DOG HUNT.

News from abroad ran the gamut:

PASTEUR'S PATIENTS.  
ARRIVAL OF THE NEWARK CHILDREN IN PARIS.  
INCIDENTS ON THE JOURNEY.  
PATSEY REYNOLDS ATTEMPTS TO THROW HIMSELF OVERBOARD.  
THE BOYS INOCULATED.  
SURPRISED TO FIND THE OPERATION DOES NOT HURT.  
HORRIBLE DEATH IN THE LABORATORY.

With exaggerated precision and mock seriousness, a cable dispatch from the *New York Herald's* correspondent captured the historic moment:

Dr. [Grancher], who performs all the inoculations for M. Pasteur, told Lane to unbutton his jacket. At exactly twelve minutes before seven the Doctor inserted the point of a silver needle beneath the skin of Lane's abdomen and injected the virus. Lane has thus the honor of being the first American ever inoculated for rabies. As the needle was withdrawn he gave a slight squirm and burst into a boisterous laugh, explaining, “Why, it's like the bite of a big mosquito. It doesn't hurt a bit.” Fitzgerald's turn came next. He watched the silver needle intently, and when pricked said, “How it tickles.” Patsey Reynolds was next taken in hand. His stomach was bared, and when pricked he cried out, “Golly! Is that all we've come so far



FIGURE 3: "Hydrophobia!" *New York Daily Graphic* (December 19, 1885), cover.



for?" . . . The children then scampered off as cheerful as jay birds and not a bit homesick. The inoculations took place in the same room of the laboratory where a man on Saturday died of rabies.<sup>37</sup>

As the New Year opened, new players entered the drama. Two cities simultaneously announced the incorporation of institutions to prepare rabies vaccine and offer American victims of dog bites quicker access to the new lifesaving technique. The *Times* reported on January 1: "A Virus Farm Established and Stocked in St. Louis." On the third of the month, the paper reported a similar group in New York City, where something called "the American Pasteur Institute" was incorporated by eight eminent physicians. These efforts preceded Pasteur's own call for such an institute by over two months, and they were not sanctioned by the great chemist. The preliminary (not to say premature and presumptuous) character of these ventures is indicated by the fact that Pasteur had not yet published a full scientific report of his methods, although the general account of the Joseph Meister case, which he read at the Academy of Sciences of Paris on October 26, had been printed in French in *Comptes rendus hebdomadaires des séances de l'Académie des sciences* and would be published in English in January 1886 by the *Popular Science Monthly*. In addition to these charitable efforts, an American with commercial intentions had approached Pasteur, much to his chagrin, with a proposal for a commercial vaccine enterprise, even offering Pasteur two-thirds of the profits. Not surprisingly, Pasteur rejected the offer with a sneer about America's famed commercialism, and he told the *Herald's* Paris correspondent: "Your countrymen go too fast."<sup>38</sup>

When American physicians attempted to replicate Pasteur's miracle-making experiments, their imitation was sincere, if clumsy. But because their laboratory efforts had substantial visibility in the daily press, even more people became familiar with this new and hitherto alien enterprise. The *New York Daily Graphic* ran large illustrations on January 3 of local Newark physicians—whom it labeled "scientists"—dissecting rabbits that had been inoculated with nerve tissue from the dog that was killed after ravaging the children on December 2. (See Figure 4.)

On the same day, the press announced the children's departure from Paris and their fond farewell from Pasteur's care. Even before the boys had arrived back in New York harbor, American commercialism saw profits to be made from the new folk heroes. A very popular wax museum, the Eden Musée, defined the boys a week later as a new sensation, advertising "The Topic of the Day, M. Pasteur Operating on One of the Newark Children."<sup>39</sup> This entertainment venue, which had opened in

<sup>37</sup> *New York Times* (December 22, 1885): 1; *New York Herald* (December 22, 1885): 2, cols. 3 and 1; extracted quote, p. 2, col. 1.

<sup>38</sup> *New York Times* (January 1, 1886): 14, col. 2; (January 3, 1886): 4, col. 7; *New York Herald* (January 8, 1886): 5, col. 1. The *Herald's* report plays on then-common images of Americans as fundamentally entrepreneurial, risk-taking, and unfettered by a (sensible European) respect for tradition. It is also noteworthy that Pasteur understood the importance of staying distant from commercial exploitation of his discoveries (while still finding ways to receive financial benefits).

<sup>39</sup> *New York Tribune* (January 9, 1886): 7, col. 6. This is the earliest ad I have found that mentions the Pasteur inoculation group; it was also advertised in the *Daily Graphic* as late as January 29, 1886: 607, col. 4. The Eden Musée ran a general ad every week in *Life* magazine, but its copy did not change over the five weeks that I observed in January and early February 1886, and the ads mentioned nothing about Pasteur or the Newark children, even though *Life* regularly carried cartoons, stories, and jokes

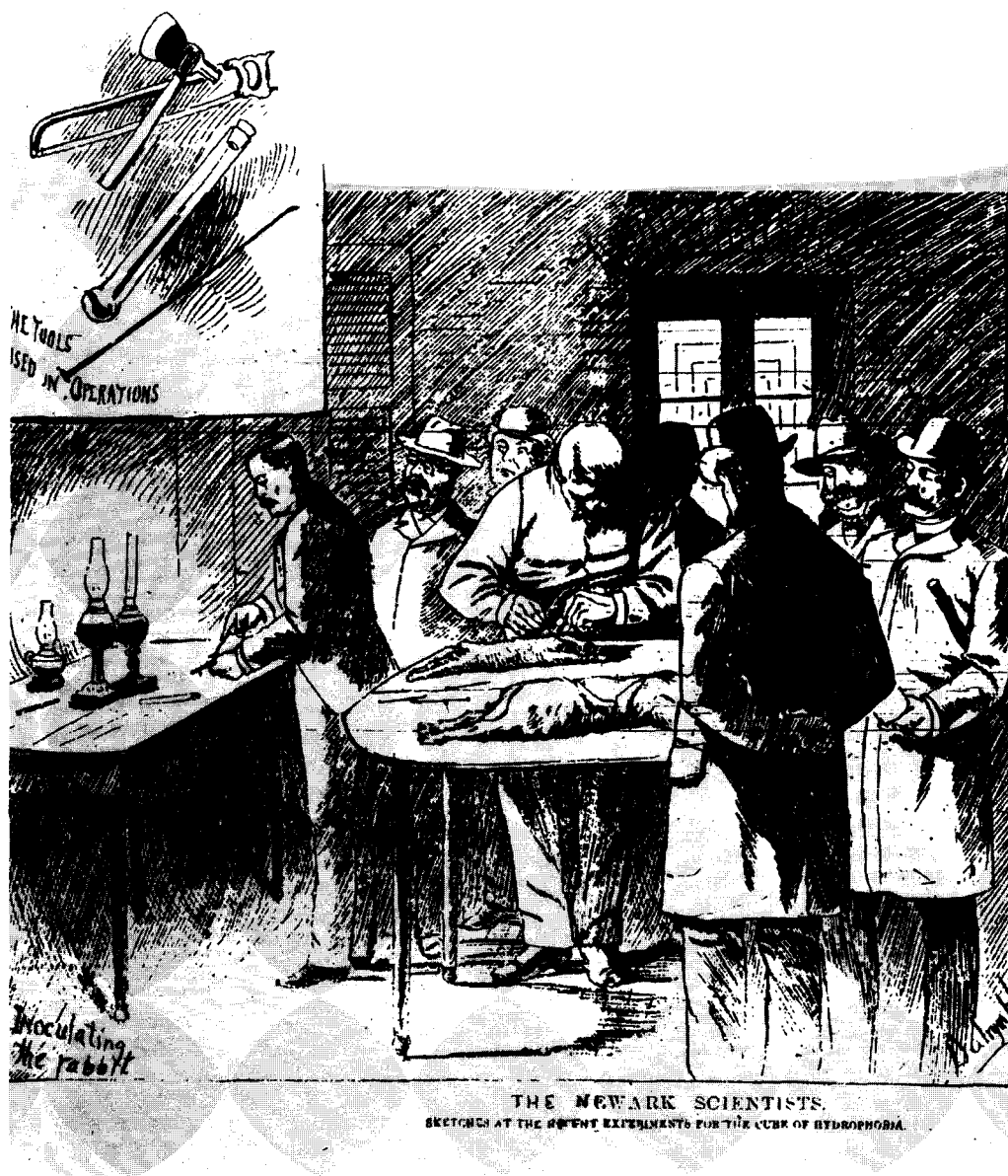


FIGURE 4: "The Newark Scientists, Sketches at the Recent Experiments for the Cure of Hydrophobia," *New York Daily Graphic* (January 3, 1886): 4.

1883 in an elaborate building on 23rd Street just west of Fifth, "drew a largely conservative middle-class audience," presenting musical performances as well as the wax-figured exhibits.<sup>40</sup>

about the Pasteur mania beginning with its January 1, 1886, issue and continuing at least through February 4. I have not located any pictorial material from the Eden Musée showing what the Pasteur exhibit looked like; it seems possible, however, that the exhibit's appearance is fairly represented in the political caricature shown below in Figure 6 below.

<sup>40</sup> Don B. Wilmeth, *Variety, Entertainment, and Outdoor Amusements: A Reference Guide* (Westport, Conn., 1982), 94.

But even more elaborate ways to satisfy the public's curiosity about the new miracles of medicine were available. Dime museums, clustered along the Bowery, provided entertainment to lower-middle and working-class visitors with as many as twenty shows a day. More sensationalist than P. T. Barnum's American Museum or the Eden Musée, these smaller establishments, often in storefronts, charged the low admission price conveyed by their name. The 1880s were their heyday, though many survived well into the twentieth century. A contemporary observer, the city missionary and philanthropist Mrs. Helen Campbell, has provided a revealing, if not entirely sympathetic, description of the venues in which Pasteur's boys would appear.

Above and on each side of the doors of these museums are large and gaudy paintings on which the wonders . . . within are elaborately presented, and the chief wonder is oftentimes the liberality of the outside display compared with the paucity within . . . The museum owner, always a handsome man with a fierce mustache and large diamonds, stands near the door, and close to him a second-rate dwarf, dressed as a policeman, club in hand, shouts out directions about keeping order. A mermaid stuffed and dried, swings from a nail on the wall . . . The first object that greets you inside is usually the tattooed man . . . Next to the tattooed man is the lecturer, a very important being, who explains and dilates upon the attractions of the collection, and who passes with the grace of a Chesterfield from the charms of the fat woman to the rare qualities of the man who eats glass.<sup>41</sup>

The idea of putting the little Newark boys themselves on exhibit appeared on the front page of the *Newark Daily Journal* on January 13, just before they were scheduled to return. In a report about the parents' anxious wait for the steamer's arrival came word of the possibility. "The proprietor of a Bowery dime museum has been working assiduously for several days to secure the children for two weeks to place on exhibition. He offered the parents \$15 a week. It is not likely that the proposition will be accepted." The boys' working-class families eventually acceded to the proposition, although they acted with ambivalence and embarrassment, facing condemnation from some middle-class newspapers and an investigation threatened by the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.<sup>42</sup> But this was, after all, a very attractive offer, given that \$12 to \$15 a week were the wages of a skilled workman (though very popular freaks could command fees as high as \$200 a week).<sup>43</sup>

A lengthy article in the *Newark Daily Advertiser* on January 19 reveals the complexity of the parents' situation, especially compared to the boys' simple delight in their adventure: "Contrary to the general expectation of the public, and also

<sup>41</sup> Helen Campbell, *Darkness and Daylight: Lights and Shadows of New York Life* (Hartford, Conn., 1895), 466–68. On the history of dime museums, see esp. Andrea Stulman Dennett, *Weird and Wonderful: The Dime Museum in America* (New York, 1997). Still useful are Brooks McNamara, "'A Congress of Wonders': The Rise and Fall of the Dime Museum," *ESQ: A Journal of the American Renaissance* 20, no. 3 (1974): 216–32; and David Nasaw, *Going Out: The Rise and Fall of Public Amusements* (New York, 1993), chap. 2. Neil Harris's sophisticated study of Barnum and his milieu provides a far more extensive appreciation of the place of popular amusement in this era than its title suggests; see Harris, *Humbug: The Art of P. T. Barnum* (Boston, 1973). A drawing of the entrance to a dime museum, very much like Campbell's description, appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, February 26, 1881; reprinted in Dennett, in Nasaw, and in Grafton, *New York in the Nineteenth Century*, 136.

<sup>42</sup> *Newark Daily Journal* (January 13, 1886): 1, col. 1; and (January 20, 1886): 1, col. 1.

<sup>43</sup> McNamara, "Congress of Wonders," 224, offers these wage figures.

contrary to the expressed intention of the parents of the boys, three of the bitten boys are now inmates of the Globe Museum in New York."

An *Advertiser* reporter called at the house of Austin Fitzgerald's parents, No. 51 Union street, this morning, and saw Mrs. Fitzgerald. She said it was true that Austin was in the museum, and that she believed he would stay there about two weeks. She said that others had been after him also. Willie Lane's parents could not be found and the house was shut up. Patsey Reynolds's father said, "Yes, the boy is gone. His mother consented, and as long as she was willing, I could not help it. I did not object, as long as the other boys were going. If he had been going alone, I would object. His mother told me he was to get \$20 a week." A man in the place spoke up and said: "It's \$20 a week they all get and \$2.50 for their board."<sup>44</sup>

At this point, the article continues with a long extract from another newspaper's story on the exhibit and its audience, crediting the following paragraphs to the *New York Sun*.

Three of the dog-bitten Newark children, little "Patsy" Reynolds, Austin Fitzgerald, and Willie Lane, were yesterday placed on exhibition at the Globe Museum in the Bowery. They were perched upon a pedestal, with the champion fat woman on one side and a white silk-haired man on the other. Crowds came to see them all day, and at night the museum was packed so full that the spectators could hardly get out.

Prof. Hickey gave the sightseers a complete history of the children from the time they were bitten by the dogs until they were brought to the city for exhibition. He also gave a scientific explanation of Pasteur's method of treatment, and said that hereafter the boys might be bitten by any number of dogs and that it would have no dangerous effects.

Little Patsy enjoys museum life immensely, and between the acts amused himself by poking fun at "Broncho" John and his bear. Later he teased the monkeys and tried to jab the wild man with the pin he used so successfully on the steamer's cook. In the course of the afternoon he became uneasy and punched Austin Fitzgerald, one of his colleagues, because he claimed to have taken part in the French cook affair. He held animated conversations with grown folks, but would not deign to speak to the small boys. He was evidently more of a hero in their eyes than "Broncho" John himself. He honored one party of children by shooting orange seeds at them, and an old lady carefully gathered these up to preserve as relics. Patsy's particular friend at the museum is Captain Jack Husey, the heroic swimmer who has saved the lives of so many human beings, not to mention horses.

The managers of the museum had the audacity to ask Dr. Billings to exhibit with the children, and made a similar proposition to M. Pasteur.<sup>45</sup>

When the *World* reported on this exhibit a week later on January 27, the point of its story was not the proceedings themselves but their magnitude. "Three of the Newark boys draw crowds to a Bowery show-house . . . Three hundred thousand

<sup>44</sup> *Newark Daily Advertiser* (January 19, 1886): 2, cols. 2-3. Among the works cited in the above notes, only Dennett mentions the Globe dime museum, where the boys were exhibited in New York.

<sup>45</sup> *Newark Daily Advertiser* (January 19, 1886): 2, col. 3. The remainder of the article was not from the *Sun*; it concerned the veterinary surgeon Sattler, who had been bitten by a dog in Orange, New Jersey, and went to Paris. He had been accused by some newspapers of being an "adventurer," going only to look around and not being in need of treatment. His letter, quoted at length, included this observation, "In this part of the world people have not such a dread of hydrophobia as they have in America, and are not so enthusiastic over the experiments of the savant." His next communication, however, indicated he was to receive twelve inoculations and return to the United States in late February.



persons have paid 10 cents apiece to get a look at them, and their popularity is increasing daily." Twenty times a day, the trio stood on stage. The managers had plans to exhibit them "in all the large Eastern cities."<sup>46</sup> Now, 300,000 persons would represent over 20 percent of New York City's inhabitants at the time. But it is possible, if perhaps not likely, that the figure is not excessively exaggerated, as one historian has reported that attendance at a dime museum could sometimes run as high as 10,000 people each day.<sup>47</sup> Although for much of the New York run, only three boys were on exhibit due to the absence of five-year-old Eddie, the *Newark Daily Advertiser* reported on January 29 that Eddie was due in the New York show "next Monday," shortly before the group's expected move to Philadelphia. A flier heralds that visit: "Palace Museum . . . One Week Only . . . The Newark Children . . . Pasteur's Patients from Paris! Whom we have induced to exhibit, for one week only, at the Enormous Salary of One Thousand Dollars."<sup>48</sup> (See Figure 5.)

Whatever the attendance figures and however many the cities where they appeared, the above reports demonstrate that a large share of the American public experienced a direct and personal engagement with Pasteur's miracle cure. The boys who received their shots in Paris became folk heroes—at least for a moment—achieving a momentary celebrity rather like that accorded some recipients of more recent medical miracles. Several examples of publicly identified patients come to mind: Dr. Christiaan Barnard's first heart-transplant patient, Louis Washkansky, in 1967; Louise Brown, born in 1978 as the first "test-tube baby" conceived by in-vitro fertilization; Seattle dentist Barney Clark, who lived 112 days with the Jarvik-7 artificial heart in 1982–1983; and William Schroeder, America's second recipient of an artificial heart, who lived on it for 601 days, starting in November 1984, with media attention that included a live press briefing on the new cable-TV channel CNN and a telephone call from President Ronald Reagan, whom Schroeder asked to locate an overdue Social Security check.<sup>49</sup> Most recently, the national press ran front-page stories about Jeff Getty, the AIDS patient who

<sup>46</sup> *New York World* (January 27, 1886): 6, col. 4. *The New York Clipper*, the trade paper of the entertainment world, was more laconic, simply reporting, "At the Globe Dime Museum, 298 Bowery, this week's curios are Capt. John Hussey, the aquatic hero; Broncho Johnny, scout; Professor King and the Pasteur patients from Paris—the Newark boys, as announced. Stage people—P. F. Doody, Delia Stevens, Whippler Twins and Ed. Atkins. Next week, Chas. F. Seabert in 'The Old Cabin Home'" (January 23, 1886): 710. In the *Newark Daily Advertiser*, quoting the *Sun*, the professor's name was reported as Hickey (January 19, 1886): 2, col. 3.

<sup>47</sup> McNamara, "Congress of Wonders," 224.

<sup>48</sup> *Newark Daily Advertiser* (January 29, 1886): 2, col. 5. A copy of the handbill that announced the boys' appearance in Philadelphia was graciously sent to me by Mme. Annick Perrot, conservator of the Musée Pasteur in Paris. The Palace Museum is not listed among the twelve Philadelphia dime museums in Dennett, *Weird and Wonderful*, 153. Documentation to confirm showings in other American cities has not been located, but the boys may have traveled to several in the four weeks between their February 14 opening in Philadelphia and their return to Newark in mid-March; indeed, the *Newark Sunday Call* announced that they had returned home from "dime museums in various parts of the country" (March 14, 1886): 8, col. 2.


<sup>49</sup> Among studies of medical change, Renée C. Fox and Judith P. Swazey, *Spare Parts: Organ Replacement in American Society* (New York, 1992), is unusual in making media coverage an integral part of the narrative and analysis. Patients recognized by the public were sometimes important even when the coverage was negative. For example, a dramatic cover photograph on *Life* magazine, September 17, 1971, used the public's familiarity to set up a disturbing exposé: "A New Report on an Era of Medical Failure—The Tragic Record of Heart Transplants—Six recipients of transplants, shown here against a picture of the heart, were all dead within eight months of being photographed together."



**BROADWAY & TREYSEY'S**  
**PALACE MUSEUM**  
 North Sixth Street, near Franklin Ave.  
**JAMES A. BARNES, - - SOLE MANAGER**  
*Everything New! Everything Good! Everything as Represented!*  
**POSITIVELY the GREATEST SHOW on EARTH**  
**10c. ADMITS TO MUSEUM, MENAGERIE AND THEATRE. 10c.**  
**SPECIAL NOTICE!**  
 ONE WEEK ONLY, Commencing  
**Sunday Afternoon, FEB. 14**  
**The Newark Children**  
 Viz: Little Patsy Ryan, Willie Lane & Austin Fitzgerald  
**PASTEUR'S PATIENTS**  
**FROM PARIS!**  
 Whom we have induced to exhibit, for one week only, at the Enormous Salary of **\$1000**

**\$1000**

**THE NEWARK BOYS**



**MAD DOG!**

**One Thousand Dollars**

The NEWARK BOYS have returned from Paris in perfect health, after a most successful treatment of that dread disease,

**HYDROPHOBIA**

By the great Scientist,  
**PROF. PASTEUR**

and they will positively appear in the extensive Curio Hall of this Museum Daily.

A highly instructive and interesting lecture will be given hourly illustrating the methods by inoculation of this wonderful cure.

FIGURE 5: Handbill promoting the appearance of the Newark boys in a Philadelphia dime museum, circa 1886. Courtesy of the Musée Pasteur, Paris.

received a transplant of bone marrow from a baboon in December 1995 in San Francisco. And however strange it may seem to us to have patients up on a theater stage, the Newark boys' experience was not unique. It was, nonetheless, rather unusual; only three other examples of patients on public display in entertainment venues have come to my attention. As exhibitable medical marvels, Alexis St. Martin and Phineas Gage were exhibited around the country on several occasions in the 1850s, and the incubator babies of Dr. Martin A. Couney were a spectacle for a paying public at Coney Island for much of the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>50</sup> The showman's role in pulling in an audience to pay for expensive medical care did have an essential analogue in the 1880s, although it was neither Pasteur nor the opportunistic freak-show managers who hired the Newark boys. The key fundraisers were the self-serving editors of the *Herald*, the *World*, and the other newspapers, those enterprising men whose articles promoted the enthusiasm and attracted the money to carry the Newark boys to Paris in the first place.

One caricature from late February 1886 documents in concise form just how completely the public consciousness had been saturated with Pasteur's achievement. It is an elaborate cartoon from *Judge*, a magazine of political satire, where

<sup>50</sup> In 1833, army surgeon William Beaumont published *Experiments and Observations on the Gastric Juice and the Physiology of Digestion*, through which he became famous as a physiologist here and in Europe for the experiments he performed on Alexis St. Martin, a patient whose stomach (owing to the way a gunshot wound healed to form a gastric fistula) had a direct opening to the outside. Among other feats, Dr. Beaumont could draw out gastric juice for in-vitro examination, and he could put pieces of food on a string directly into St. Martin's stomach and retrieve it for information on the process of digestion. Beaumont exhibited his experimental subject only to medical meetings. Some years after Beaumont's death, an impoverished St. Martin consented to be taken on a freak-show circuit by Dr. Bunting, a huckster who presented himself as a physician. Sometimes the shows were reported in the local press and in medical journals, but there was no general media fervor or any widespread awareness of either St. Martin or Dr. Beaumont by the public at large. In fact, the exhibition episode has been largely overlooked even by Beaumont scholars. See Edward H. Bensley, "Alexis St. Martin and Dr. Bunting," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 44 (1970): 101–08. On the scientific context, see Ronald L. Numbers and William G. Orr, Jr., "William Beaumont's Reception at Home and Abroad," *Isis* 72 (1981): 590–612; Edward C. Atwater, "'Squeezing Mother Nature': Experimental Physiology in the United States before 1870," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 52 (1978): 313–35; and Ronald L. Numbers, "William Beaumont and the Ethics of Human Experimentation," *Journal of the History of Biology* 12 (Spring 1979): 113–35.

Phineas Gage, who survived for twelve years (with a changed personality) after an iron rod was accidentally driven through his skull in 1848, was exhibited at medical meetings and, possibly, under the auspices of P. T. Barnum. His skull and the bar are permanently displayed in a medical museum. See John M. Harlow, "Recovery from the Passage of an Iron Bar through the Head," *Publications of the Massachusetts Medical Society* 2, no. 3 (1868): 329–47; Ambrose L. Ranney, "The Brain of Man, Its Architecture and Requirements," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 70 (March 1885): 632–41; and Joan Burbick, *Healing the Republic: The Language of Health and the Culture of Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1994), 137–38. I am grateful to Joseph Dauben for alerting me to the relevance of Gage's story.

Dr. Martin A. Couney displayed premature babies in his incubators on Coney Island. He had exhibits at both Dreamland and Luna Park for decades. He also staged presentations at a number of national and international fairs including Paris in 1900, Chicago in 1933, and New York in 1939–1940. The bargain with parents was simple since the latest techniques of care for premature babies were hard to find and expensive to secure. Worried and needy parents offered the babies, and Dr. Couney provided the best nursing and medical care available, paying for it all with showmanship and ticket sales. Gary R. Brown, "The Coney Island Baby Laboratory," *American Heritage of Invention and Technology* 10 (Fall 1994): 24–33, provides substantial visual documentation that supplements the scholarly accounts in William A. Silverman, "Incubator-Baby Side Shows," *Pediatrics* 64 (August 1979): 127–41; and Jeffrey P. Baker, *The Machine in the Nursery: Incubator Technology and the Origins of Newborn Intensive Care* (Baltimore, Md., 1996).



FIGURE 6: "Judge's Wax Works—The Political Eden Musée." In the middle section of this two-page spread, the handbill below the baby says, "Pasteur Cleveland Inoculating the Democracy against Spoils, Rabies," *Judge* (February 20, 1886): 8–9.

diverse figures are lampooned above the caption "Judge's Wax Works—The Political Eden Musée." (See Figure 6.) This large and complicated send-up of many political figures is arranged like an exhibit in New York's famous wax museum. At the center of the drawing—above the tiger representing New York's famous Tammany Hall and below the brand-new Statue of Liberty—Grover Cleveland, then president, is depicted in the posture of Pasteur performing an inoculation of civil-service reform to prevent corruption in government.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>51</sup> The iconography of this image, a seated physician holding a young child to inoculate him, is unlike any Pasteur image I have seen. Among other things, it would have been inappropriate to show Pasteur performing the operation, something he never did, since he was a chemist, not a physician. But the origin of this figure is clear. It is based, perhaps at one or more removes, on a moderately well-known sculpture by the Italian artist Giulio Monteverde of Edward Jenner inoculating his own son with cowpox. The sculpture, possibly completed as early as 1873, was exhibited at the Exposition Universelle of 1878 in Paris, where it won a medal of honor. One need not assume that it was seen by the cartoonist himself, since an engraving of the sculpture (seen from exactly the same angle as in the cartoon) was published in an American book, *Masterpieces of European Art*, by Philip T. Sandhurst and James Stothers (Philadelphia, 1876). (For a modern photograph, see Lyons and Petrucelli, *Medicine: An Illustrated History*, Fig. 766, p. 492.) The artist of this cartoon was Bernard Gillam, who left *Puck* in mid-December 1885 to become the art director of *Judge*. Gillam was widely celebrated for his creation of a very popular and repeated image of James G. Blaine, a Republican leader who served at various times as representative, senator, secretary of state, but who also garnered notoriety for inflammatory statements, as "the tattooed man," which first appeared in *Puck*, April 15, 1884, in a cartoon captioned "The national dime museum will be run during the presidential campaign." See Richard Samuel West,

In March 1886, the boys returned home to Newark from their time on the freak-show circuit, and they apparently remained out of the spotlight except for a striking revival of interest in the 1920s.<sup>52</sup> But just at the time when the excitement over the Newark boys themselves began to fade during March, a new element entered the story, one with far-reaching potential, for at this point Pasteur announced plans to found a large new institute to provide inoculations, and a subscription campaign was begun. Such campaigns were prominent in the 1880s; not only had newspapers solicited the contribution of funds to send the Newark boys to Paris but an American subscription campaign, sponsored by Pulitzer's *World*, to build the pedestal for Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty had reached its goal of \$100,000 only a few months earlier in August 1885.<sup>53</sup> A successful fund-raising campaign promoted by newspapers around the world would establish the Institut Pasteur, which opened in Paris in November 1888; and, over these two and a half years, American papers reported regularly on the patients of varied nationalities being treated in Paris and on the progress of this campaign.

A humorous piece from early 1886 illustrates additional dimensions of the varied responses to the medical and non-medical fashions generated by Pasteur's rabies work. One seven-frame cartoon published in *Puck* on January 13 started with the obvious pun on "mad dogs" and "mad doctors" but then proceeded to show a veritable Pasteurian revolution in several dimensions of medical education, medical research, and medical practice. Although drawn strictly as humor, it captured in a sophisticated way the epoch-making changes occurring within the medical profession as it was being reshaped by the discoveries of laboratory research. (See Figure 7.)<sup>54</sup>

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*Satire on Stone: The Political Cartoons of Joseph Keppler* (Urbana, Ill., 1988), 275. For context, see also Samuel J. Thomas, "The Tattooed Man Caricatures and the Presidential Campaign of 1884," *Journal of American Culture* 10 (Winter 1987): 1-20.

<sup>52</sup> In 1928, the Newark boys' trip to Paris was used by Parke, Davis, and Co. in a series of advertisements selling their corporate image by proclaiming the miracles of modern medicine. One of the full-page ads pictured the four Newark boys, apparently counting on people's memory to evoke the romantic and mythic qualities of this event. This ad ran in *Hygeia* (October 1928), *Colliers* (September 8, 1928), *The Saturday Evening Post* (September 15, 1928), *Literary Digest* (September 22, 1928), and *National Geographic* (October 1928). Information on the placements of these ads was found in a small folder of letters at the New York Academy of Medicine Library, Special Collections MS 632. That same year, when a monument was erected in Chicago to Pasteur's memory by the people of that city, Willie Lane the messenger boy—by then, a man in his fifties—spoke at the dedication ceremony about Louis Pasteur's personal kindness to him and about his adventures in the dime museums. *Chicago Daily News* (October 27, 1928): 3, cols. 2-5; *Chicago Daily Journal* (October 27, 1928): 3, col. 1; *New York Times* (November 4, 1928), sect. 9, p. 16, cols. 2-3.

<sup>53</sup> The French and American subscription campaigns for the statue are treated at length in *Liberty: The French-American Statue in Art and History* (New York, 1986). In December 1894, when funds were needed to support the manufacture of the newly discovered diphtheria antitoxin, a public subscription campaign was begun by the *New York Herald*.

<sup>54</sup> Amidst the hilarity, the press continued to report the tragic deaths of untreated hydrophobia victims. Not only those of a six-year-old son of a well-to-do New Jersey farmer (*New York Sun* [January 19, 1886]: 2, col. 7) and of a fifteen-year-old in Washington, Georgia (*Sun* [March 1, 1886]: 2, col. 7) but even the suicide of a New York saloon employee, who had been bitten and feared the disease. The paper was careful to note that this William J. Higgins, thirty years of age and unmarried, who shot himself, was "not a drunkard, nor was there a woman in the case. The fear of hydrophobia killed him." *Sun* (February 5, 1886): 1, col. 6.



## THE PROFESSION GONE MAD.



FIGURE 7: “The Profession Gone Mad,” *Puck* (January 13, 1886): 314. Panel captions from upper left: “No More Use for the Human Skeleton,” “Cat-Snatching Instead of Body-Snatching,” “A Fine Opening for Rabbits,” “The Doctors Race for a Case,” “No Time for Common Sick Folks: Doctor.—‘Excuse me, but I have an experiment to make,’” “What the Physicians are Coming To.”

WHAT WE HAVE HERE IN TOTAL IS SOMETHING MORE THAN TRANSITORY attention to a new therapy for a frightening disease. As mentioned, prior advances in medicine did not garner strong or sustained appearances in the American press. In a novel fashion, the hydrophobia drama—because it captured the popular imagination—disseminated effectively, if not intentionally, a new image of the value of experimental research in medicine, helping to create a new expectation of continuing medical advances and implicitly encouraging public commitment to such research. An understanding of those more lasting effects requires closer attention to several important historical features of the press coverage of 1885 and 1886.

First, the media sensation was sustained and amplified by the pragmatic self-interest of editors and their competition for regular readers, entirely independent of this particular story. For the penny papers, vast numbers of readers were required, and any story that could engender daily curiosity about tomorrow’s installment, in the manner of a serialized novel, was a sure winner—and worth promoting. Editors boosted this particular cluster of stories not only by aggressive pursuit of angles and information but by direct participation in the events as well. The Paris correspondent for the *New York Herald* took an active role in making the



news, on occasions like the day he showed Pasteur the “Hydrophobia Boom” cartoon from *Puck* and wired back to New York a report on the encounter. With the same technique that Pulitzer had used a few months earlier for the base of the Statue of Liberty, Bennett of the *Herald* coordinated a fund for sending the Newark children to Paris. Lists of donors created buyers for the paper: to see who gave, how much they gave, and whether anyone they knew might be immortalized. The papers did not limit the donors list to major gifts, like \$100 from A. L. Dennis, \$50 from Dr. O’Gorman, \$30 from Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, \$25 from Miss Halsey, \$25 from Stoutenburg & Co., or \$16.50 from the employees of Stoutenburg & Co. It continued the listing through \$4.20 from employees of the Domestic Manufacturing Company to the ten-cent donations by Cora Syms (age four) and her sister Ida (age six).<sup>55</sup> The newspapers also used the personal lives of the characters to entice readers into grabbing for new installments. After a reporter visited one boy’s home, readers were informed even that “a few cheap prints of sacred subjects hung on the whitewashed walls.”<sup>56</sup> Readers came to know the names, ages, and other personal information about the boys and their families. Once readers learned that Mrs. Ryan was pregnant, there was suspense about whether she might be delivered en route to Europe or in France. Her son was in fact born on the return voyage, after nearly a month of readers’ anticipation. The papers then reported not only on Mr. Ryan’s first look at his new son but also quoted expert opinions on whether the boy, born in mid-ocean on a French steamer, was an American or a French citizen. They told the world he had been named “Louis Pasteur Ryan” (even though the boat’s captain entered “Walter Ryan” on the manifest).<sup>57</sup> For the physicians and other middle-class players in the melodrama, such private information was replaced with stories of their education and professional histories, their ambitions and achievements. But they, too, became celebrities, with their portraits appearing in papers and magazines, even if their home life was not made public and they could afford to refuse invitations to appear on stage in cheap theaters. While many aspects of the rabies-cure coverage were adventitious, the editors were happy to exploit two inherent features of this story that always evoke strong human interest: children and dogs. The added factors of helpless victims, good Samaritans, community fundraising, a perilous voyage, a noble (and conveniently distant) hero, divided opinions among local authorities (who could therefore be interviewed and quoted at length), and a potentially happy ending were of great value as well.

<sup>55</sup> The *Herald*’s first published listing of donors appeared on Sunday, December 6, in a three-column article (p. 7, cols. 4–6). The list appeared on the same day in the *Newark Register* and *New York World*. (A shorter list ran in the *New York Times*.) Just the day before, Pulitzer had offered to pay for the entire trip himself but was publicly assured by Dr. O’Gorman that the funds collected were sufficient. (In October, the *Herald* had published names and amounts of new subscriptions received for the Grant Monument Fund; it is not clear, however, whether the *Herald* was sponsoring that campaign or only reporting results.) Bennett in the *Herald* was not copying a Pulitzer innovation with his Liberty campaign, since Bennett himself had already used this method to raise funds for a monument to General Custer in 1876. I thank Wayne Sarf for alerting me to this further example of what may well have been a common practice.

<sup>56</sup> Further scenic detail: “The room was scrupulously neat, but there was an air of pinched poverty about it. The baleful light of the sunless day stole through the small window panes. The grate of a small, flat-topped cooking stove radiated a stream of light on the well swept rag carpet.” *New York Herald* (December 6, 1885): 7, cols. 4–6.

<sup>57</sup> I am grateful to Caitlin Hawke of the American Pasteur Foundation for showing me a photocopy of this manifest.

Second, the stories were carried in working-class and middle-class daily papers, in newspapers popular with immigrants and those favored by the native born, in the business papers that carried relatively little other news, and in the pictorials, too. They ran in papers of all styles from the *Graphic* and the sensation-seeking *World* to the more serious *Tribune* and *Times*.<sup>58</sup> Lengthy, instructive treatments of the development and triumph of the rabies vaccine were not limited to monthly journals of ideas, such as *Atlantic*, *Century*, *Harper's Monthly*, *Littell's Living Age*, and *North American Review*, but were available to a much larger audience. The mass circulation of the rabies vaccine story sets it apart from the public treatments of intellectual controversies in science that had been carried in elite periodicals, not in mass-circulation newspapers.<sup>59</sup> Magazine attention was not limited to news and feature articles; numerous cartoons, jokes, and political caricatures by leading artists also incorporated the rabies-cure imagery, confirming its vogue.<sup>60</sup>

Third, the coverage was vast. In the months of December and January, there was at least one news article almost every day in each of the New York papers and often four or more in the same paper—in addition to editorials, letters from readers, and related jokes and witticisms. On at least two days, more than 10 percent of the *Herald's* space was devoted to rabies and its cure. Readers were so eager for the story that the *Herald*, so it claimed, was selling out by 9 a.m. The *Herald* (admittedly the most copious in rabies coverage) printed in December seventeen editorials, thirty-one letters to the editor, seventeen cable dispatches from Paris or London, and seventy-three news articles. In January, the *Herald* published ninety-eight different items. Slightly less abundant was coverage in the *Times*, where seventy items on some aspect of the rabies cure appeared during December, January, and February. The same three months saw 125 items printed in Pulitzer's *New York*

<sup>58</sup> The readership and constituencies of New York's papers in the 1880s not only varied among themselves but were different from those of the same papers in later years. The *New York Times*, for example, was not the paper of record it later became. Having read more than a thousand, often repetitive, rabies-related articles from the daily press, I believe that more attention to differences in the papers' character and to the variations in their coverage of the rabies stories would not significantly modify the general claims of this article about a broadly dispersed awareness of the initial public triumph of laboratory medicine.

<sup>59</sup> Relevant examples include British or American writings about Charles Darwin's evolutionary theory and the French debates about spontaneous generation. On the latter, see Anne Diara, "Un débat français vu par la Presse, 1858–1869: L. Pasteur—F. A. Pouchet et la génération spontanée," *Actes du Muséum de Rouen* 6 (1984): 176–210. Although the rabies breakthrough was covered in the daily French press, no one to my knowledge has studied the extent or nature of this coverage. Bernadette Bensaude-Vincent studied publications on spontaneous generation and on the rabies vaccine but limited herself to scientific journals; see "Louis Pasteur face à la presse scientifique," in *L'Institut Pasteur: Contributions à son histoire*, Michel Morange, ed. (Paris, 1991), 75–88.

<sup>60</sup> Striking examples appeared not only in *Puck* and *Judge* as indicated above but in *Harper's Weekly* and *Life* as well. Even America's most famous political cartoonist took up the topic. Thomas Nast's sarcasm illuminated his image of angry men brandishing clubs, chains, and guns as they chase a small lap dog with a ribbon in its hair. "It Is Modern Civilization That Drives the Dogs Mad," *Harper's Weekly*, January 9, 1886. He chided the newspapers about their sensationalism with "The Dog's Day," in which three handsome hunting dogs are pawing through newspapers with names like *The Daily Hydrophobic Press*, *The Daily Craze*, *The Daily Scare*, and *The Hydrophobia*. They demand, "Muzzle the reporter," and offer "a reward for newspapermen who have not hydrophobia." *Harper's Weekly*, January 30, 1886. On March 13, 1886, he mocked "The Rabid Editor" in another *Harper's Weekly* cartoon. While these topical cartoons made fun of a fad, Nast had previously used dog-pound imagery and even hydrophobia repeatedly in his attacks on political corruption; in *Harper's Weekly*, see a full page on July 11, 1874: 580; a full page on July 6, 1878: 528; and the front cover on July 9, 1881: 437.

*World*, including at least two advertisements trying to ride the wave of hydrophobia excitement.<sup>61</sup> A search of the *Times* for the later months revealed a continuing stream, if no longer a flood, of articles, letters, etc.: twelve in March, eleven in April, three in May, six in June, and some in succeeding months, too. Of course, New York's *Courrier des Etats-Unis* gave the story full play.<sup>62</sup> This fascination with Pasteur and his American patients sustained the breakthrough's high visibility for months, with effects persisting for years. While the frequency of articles dwindled later in 1886, they did not disappear, rising again in the summer of 1887, when a British royal commission on rabies offered its report on Pasteur's work, and especially in 1888 when the Pasteur Institute was opened in Paris. A later flurry of attention was prompted by Pasteur's seventieth birthday in 1892 and another by his death in 1895.<sup>63</sup>

Fourth, reports on the rabies discovery and the related American adventures were widely distributed. The enthusiasm for following the fortunes of the Newark boys spread across the continent (and beyond). Articles are found in small-town newspapers as well as the big city press, from Jacksonville, Florida, to Ottawa, Ontario, and from Danbury (Connecticut), Nashville, Chicago, Los Angeles, out to Honolulu.<sup>64</sup>

Fifth, the new images took hold almost instantly among a broad public, rather than spreading out gradually from the small community of medical scientists. Without the attention cultivated by the daily newspapers and relished by their readers, the new treatment for rabies, like earlier medical discoveries, would probably have changed expectations about medical progress slowly, if at all, within an intellectual elite. In time, those ideas might have made their way bit by bit into the general culture, as did awareness of ether anesthesia and the germ theory. But

<sup>61</sup> Both ads appeared on page 3, December 20: "Hydrophobia Cured. It is now the fashion to go to Paris to seek a cure. Better stay at home, saving your \$1,000, and using a 25c. box of HENRY'S CARBOLIC SALVE, the best healing Ointment in the world. It not only purifies the wound, but is recommended by Physicians for cuts, sores, bruises, burns. Be careful to ask for *Henry's*, as the counterfeits are all worthless." "Mad Dogs. A FACT WORTH KNOWING. THE GREATEST PAIN RELIEVER OF THE WORLD. DR. TOBIAS' CELEBRATED VENETIAN LINIMENT applied immediately upon being bitten eradicates all danger of Hydrophobia ever existing. Price 25c and 50c. Sold by all druggists.—Adv."

<sup>62</sup> I have not checked the other foreign-language papers in New York for the rabies story. On other medical topics, such as outbreaks of epidemics, the foreign-language press sometimes diverges significantly from the direction of the English-language papers. My thanks to one of my students, Gregory Robinson, for this information from a 1989 graduate course paper on the 1916 polio epidemic using New York's German and Italian papers. Howard Markel's book on cholera and typhus fever epidemics in the 1890s includes an analysis of the New York Yiddish papers' handling of the issues: *Quarantine! East European Jewish Immigrants and the New York City Epidemics of 1892* (Baltimore, Md., 1997).

<sup>63</sup> One scholar's statistical examination of *New York Times* coverage of Darwin's ideas showed a similar pattern in which the "event orientation" of the press meant that quiescent intervals alternated with bursts of attention prompted by publication of the *Origin of Species*, Thomas H. Huxley's visit to the United States promoting it, Darwin's death, the centennial of Darwin's birth, and the Scopes trial. See Ed Caudill, "A Content Analysis of Press Views of Darwin's Evolutionary Theory, 1860-1925," *Journalism Quarterly* 64 (Winter 1987): 782-86, 946.

<sup>64</sup> These cities are only those for which my students or I have had the opportunity to examine the newspapers. It is possible that a thorough examination of other papers, such as those in Boston and Philadelphia, might reveal different emphases or even different stories. As one example, I note that the *Danbury Evening News* reprinted from the *Boston Globe* an interview with Dr. Grancher, Pasteur's assisting physician (December 31, 1885).

the rabies-cure sensation precluded gradual development in two distinct ways, by rapidly disseminating the stories and pictures widely to different regions and different social classes and by penetrating deeply into people's awareness through the large quantity of verbal and visual stimuli with sustained repetition of images.<sup>65</sup>

FROM THE DELUGE OF PUBLICITY ABOUT PASTEUR AND HIS NEWARK BOYS came a number of further developments, which then took on lives of their own and continued to change the social contexts and imagery of medicine in America. The latest techniques started to displace traditional images of medical care in popular writings and graphics, Pasteur Institutes were founded in several American cities, a concept of "medical researcher" entered public awareness, and additional medical breakthroughs came to be expected. Each of these historical shifts should be considered briefly before we turn to a few subsequent breakthroughs and the contours of their media coverage.

Political caricature is a useful subject in which to observe a change in the nature of popular medical images precisely because it has no inherent relationship to medicine or medical institutions. In a caricature one year before the Pasteur boom, the Democratic Party appears as an invalid in a bathrobe with a bandaged tumor visible on his leg, propped up on cushions. Three well-dressed doctors (whose faces may be recognized as belonging to editors of leading newspapers) stand and argue about the case. Dr. Puck, with top hat, has just been called into consultation about "The Very Sick Party."<sup>66</sup> This kind of traditional medical imagery had long been common: doctors bandaging, giving large spoonfuls of medicines, and even—in a

<sup>65</sup> The numerous jokes (and the way they were copied and recopied) further confirms the broad and repeated attention given to this fad. On December 27, for example, the *Newark Sunday Call*'s "Humors of the Day" column with its "Dogmatic Humor" offered six quips from out-of-town papers about the rabies mania, including the following three samples (p. 7, col. 3): "Paris has lost 115,000 population in the last four years, but if the emigration of dog bitten Jersey men continues, she will soon make it up (Pittsburg Chronicle)"; "It is not enough, it appears, to be bitten by a mad dog in New Jersey, but the New York papers add to the victims' agony by printing their pictures (Pittsburg Telegraph)"; and "Down in Newark, N.J., the population devotes its time to the chasing of mad dogs. Amateur marksmen have an excellent chance to practice, while of course, the dogs escape uninjured (Boston Globe)." On New Year's Day 1886, *Life* magazine (p. 10) ran a cartoon under the caption "Thanks to Dr. Pasteur," showing two children, one holding a little dog, with the other one demanding, "Sick him on me, Jimmy, I want ter go to Paris!" On January 15, 1886, after weeks of daily reports about medical opinions on the new cure, the *Daily Graphic* quipped, "Dr. Billings has great confidence in Dr. Pasteur's system, with the exception of a few inadvertent doubts" (p. 506, col. 1). The next example is interesting because it appeared in at least four publications, illustrating how widely the papers cannibalized each other's material and even commented on the borrowing. On January 12, 1886, the *Times* ran this short item in a column called "Jottings Here and There" (p. 4, col. 6): "More people die in one year from trichiniasis than in 20 years from hydrophobia. Yet the owners of hogs pay no tax, buy no muzzles, and have no hogs shot down.—*Milwaukee Sentinel*." Three days later, the joke was tightened a little and alliteration added in the *Daily Graphic* (p. 2, col. 3): "It is asserted that more people die in one year from trichinosis than in twenty years from hydrophobia. If this is so, M. Pasteur might better devote his attention to the hogs instead of letting it go to the dogs." Three days after that, *Puck* tightened it more, improved the alliteration, and made it self-referential (p. 323): "An exchange says that more people die in a year from trichiniasis than in twenty years from hydrophobia. Here is a chance for some enterprising journalist to turn the dog-scare into a hog-scare." Even those enterprising humorists who regularly exploited the immigrant Irish also found a way to use the latest fad: "Mrs. Muldoon: 'Mrs. Mulcahey, have ye heard the new rimidy for hydrophoby?' Mrs. Mulcahey: 'No, faith; phat is it?' Mrs. Muldoon: 'P(l)asteur of Paris, begorra!'" *Puck* (January 27, 1886): 343.

<sup>66</sup> *Puck* (June 25, 1884): 272.



less squeamish age than ours—about to perform enemas. (The stethoscope and hypodermic syringe had not yet become symbols of the profession.) An example of the new medical iconography, by contrast, is seen in Figure 6. With all the publicity about the new Parisian therapy, no one could miss the references. The innovation in this representation is that, unlike the older, commonplace image of doctors consulting on a case, the new satire exploited the very latest breakthrough, focusing on a new medical technique, not the traditional ones.<sup>67</sup>

Institutional developments further reinforced the effects of the media coverage. In the United States within a month of the Newark dog's rampage, two Pasteur Institutes were organized (or at least attempted). Groups in both St. Louis and New York City announced in late December their intention to create facilities producing the biological material needed to treat dog-bite victims on this side of the Atlantic. Since it was believed the remedy needed to be given as soon as possible after the bites, nearby treatment (or at least without ocean travel) would surely save lives. A number of factors inhibited formation of the New York institute, including some hesitation from Pasteur and a failed attempt to raise funds. These efforts were reported and debated in news articles, editorials, and letters in the daily press over much of 1886. I have found no evidence that it ever formally opened, although at least one patient was treated in July 1886. This effort, it appears, was distinct from a better known New York Pasteur Institute established by Paul Gibier in 1890. Whether the St. Louis group (announced in the *New York Times* and several other papers on January 1, 1886) had better success is something I have not been able to ascertain. But several other American treatment centers bearing the name "Pasteur Institute" were established over the years, and they treated dog-bite victims, often in large numbers: in Chicago from 1890 to about 1944, in New York from 1890 to 1918, in Baltimore from 1897 to 1909 at least, in Ann Arbor, Michigan, from 1903 to 1926 at least, and perhaps in Philadelphia (existence and dates unconfirmed).<sup>68</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Two other striking examples of cartoonists' rapid utilization of the latest therapeutic fads appeared in 1889 and 1890. The first, a lively attack on the commissioner of pensions, "It Beats Brown-Séguar.—Tanner's Infallible Elixir of Life, for Pension-Grabbers Only," is described below in the discussion of Charles-Edouard Brown-Séguar's discovery. The second example is "A Bad Case of Consumption—Blaine Tries an Injection of Reciprocity Lymph," where a sick Republican elephant is to receive an injection from James G. Blaine. This caricature, in *Puck* (December 10, 1890): 276–77, refers to the tuberculin or lymph cure for tuberculosis that Koch had announced just weeks earlier. Reprinted in David Leibowitz, "Scientific Failure in an Age of Optimism: Public Reaction to Robert Koch's Tuberculin Cure," *New York State Journal of Medicine* 93 (January 1993): 41–48.

<sup>68</sup> For assistance in tracking down these institutes, I wish to thank James H. Cassedy, Jon M. Harkness, Caitlin Hawke, Howard Markel, and Edward Morman. For the Chicago story, see Jon M. Harkness, "Rabies, Research, and Public Health: A History of the Chicago Pasteur Institute" (unpublished paper, University of Wisconsin, revised version, December 1987); and Paul G. Clark, *Pioneer Microbiologists of America* (Madison, Wis., 1961), 243, 249. Harkness also mentions the Chicago institute in "Reception of Pasteur's Rabies Vaccine." The New York institute survived the death of Gibier in 1900 only in a limited fashion; the city's Department of Health began its own rabies work in the late 1890s. See Paul Gibier, "The Pasteur Treatment," *North American Review* 15 (August 1890): 160–66; Henry Smith Williams, "How Antitoxines Are Developed," *Harper's Weekly* (January 5, 1895): 8; a not entirely reliable account in James J. Walsh, *History of Medicine in New York* (New York, 1919), 3: 872–74; and Gibier's own *Bulletin of the Pasteur Institute*, 8 vols. (1893–1900); vols. 1–4 under the title *New York Therapeutic Review*. See also an unpublished paper by Jon M. Harkness, "Rabies and Research: A History of the New York Pasteur Institute" (presented at the American Association for the History of Medicine, Annual Meeting, April 1989).

For the Baltimore operation, see Nathaniel Garland Keirle, *Studies in Rabies* (Baltimore, Md., 1909), *passim*; and Eugene Fauntleroy Cordell, *The Medical Annals of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1903), 464–65,



A third important change is that, while the role of medical researcher came into American public consciousness through the publicity about Pasteur, it was not limited to the great French scientist. America had only a few physicians in the later nineteenth century who were making their livelihood without seeing patients, and they were not in the public eye. Men such as the physiological researcher John Call Dalton, Jr., at the College of Physicians and Surgeons were at most known publicly for statements about the appropriateness of vivisection.<sup>69</sup> With so little prior awareness of physicians who conducted research, the newspapers were understandably fascinated by the German-trained Dr. Frank Seaver Billings of Boston, who was in New York City and volunteered to accompany the Newark children to Paris. Having studied in European laboratories, this veterinarian seemed just the right person to go along. Moreover, the scientifically prestigious Appleton and Co. had just published his major work, including a chapter on rabies.<sup>70</sup> But as interesting to the press as any specific knowledge he had was the shape of his career. One New York paper portrayed Billings as “the first American who ever entered upon the study of medicine with the sole purpose of devoting his life to original research and the prevention of disease entirely regardless of making money.”<sup>71</sup> Even surrounded by the media madness, Billings knew how to promote the scientific work he valued. In an interview at the residence of Dr. H. C. H. Herold, president of the Board of Health, Billings told the *New York Herald*, “I am sure [the wide publicity] will open up a new channel for original research and stimulate those who have been laboring zealously for a chemical laboratory on an extensive scale.”<sup>72</sup> Being proclaimed “the first American . . . devoting his life to original research . . . regardless of making

730. On Ann Arbor, see the *Washtenaw Daily Times* (March 6, 1903, and April 13, 1903); *The University of Michigan: An Encyclopedic Survey*, Wilfred B. Shaw, ed. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1951), 2: 779, 826, 982; and Victor C. Vaughan, *A Doctor's Memories* (Indianapolis, Ind., 1926), 235–36, who claimed his was the only such institute west of New York, either ignoring or devaluing the commercial endeavor in Chicago. Early treatment in Philadelphia was mentioned by Hermann M. Biggs, writing many years later in the *New York Times* (December 31, 1922), sec. 8, p. 4, col. 5.

<sup>69</sup> W. Bruce Fye, *The Development of American Physiology: Scientific Medicine in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore, Md., 1987); Dalton is the subject of chap. 1. On the difficulty of finding ways to support research in bacteriology, see Patricia Peck Gossel, “The Emergence of American Bacteriology, 1875–1900” (PhD dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1988), 204–23.

<sup>70</sup> Frank Seaver Billings, *The Relation of Animal Diseases to the Public Health, and Their Prevention* (New York, 1884). This is a book of 455 pages; the chapter on rabies runs pp. 139–53. Its title page identifies him as “Frank S. Billings, D.V.S., Graduate of the Royal Veterinary Institute of Berlin; Member of the Royal Veterinary Association of the Province of Brandenburg; Honorary Member of the Veterinary Society of Montreal, Canada, etc.” This irascible and erratic personality should not be confused with a more famous Chicago physician named Frank Billings, although I believe he is the author identified as “Frank S. Billings, M.D., Chicago” who published a hostile attack on Pasteur’s method of preventing rabies in the *Medical Standard* (Chicago) 8: 4 (October 1890): 97–99. His account of travel with the Newark boys was published as “Fourteen Days with Pasteur,” *The Medical News* (Philadelphia, a weekly) (January 23, 1886): 90–96. Some information on other aspects of his career is found in John L. Gignilliat, “Pigs, Politics, and Protection: The European Boycott of American Pork, 1879–1891,” *Agricultural History* 35 (January 1961): 3–12; Gossel, “Emergence of American Bacteriology, 1875–1900,” 125–29; Richard A. Overfield, “Hog Cholera, Texas Fever, and Frank S. Billings: An Episode in Nebraska Veterinary Science,” *Nebraska History* 57 (Spring 1976): 99–128, which includes a portrait photograph on 101; and *American Men of Science: A Biographical Directory*, James McKeen Cattell, ed. (New York, 1906), 29.

<sup>71</sup> *New York World* (December 10, 1885): 11.

<sup>72</sup> *New York Herald* (December 7, 1885): 5, col. 4. I am grateful to John Rescigno, M.D., who undertook a historical research project in 1987 while a medical student, for bringing the last two quotations to my attention.

money" was a remarkable accolade in the Gilded Age. In addition, lengthy reports about the operations within the Pasteur laboratory—interspersed among the stories about the Newark boys—supplemented a picture the press was developing of Dr. Billings and other Americans engaged in research.

The public, in fact, moved ahead of the profession in its enthusiasm for rabies treatment, for microbes in medicine, and for optimism about a stream of new advances. During the 1880s, the medical profession for the most part did not share the public's unquestioning support of the rabies treatment.<sup>73</sup> American doctors as a group had uncertain and conflicted responses to bacteriological science in general and were hesitant to accept its potential contributions to medicine. Scholars have established these general features, but we do not yet have a definitive account, since most published scholarship on the changing place of science in American medicine focuses on physiology as the major instance, with far less attention to pathology and its stepchild bacteriology.<sup>74</sup> Historians generally attribute the significant hesitation among American physicians about bacteriology to its not being therapeutically useful for practice.<sup>75</sup> Since rabies cases were so infrequent, physicians, even forward-looking ones, did not share the public's sense that this was a big change. But the profession did, in time, come to support the rabies vaccine and bacteriology in general in the decade or so after 1885. An exhaustive examination of the professional literature would be needed to determine just how the familiarity of laypeople with new discoveries and their enthusiasm for the first therapies that appeared from the lab might have played a direct role in doctors' reevaluation. But it clearly played at least an indirect role by shaping one major cause of change: the aggressive (and publicly successful) initiatives of Hermann Biggs and T. Mitchell

<sup>73</sup> The American doctors' cautious interpretations of Pasteur's treatment would merit a full investigation. A start was made in the short but highly professional 31-page thesis by Harkness, "Reception of Pasteur's Rabies Vaccine in America"; and in Hoenig, "Pasteur's Preventive Treatment of Rabies as Reported in *JAMA*." See also Blaisdell, "With Certain Reservations."

<sup>74</sup> See Gerald L. Geison, "Divided We Stand: Physiologists and Clinicians in the American Context," in *The Therapeutic Revolution: Essays in the Social History of American Medicine*, Morris J. Vogel and Charles E. Rosenberg, eds. (Philadelphia, 1979), 67–90; John Harley Warner, "The Fall and Rise of Professional Mystery: Epistemology, Authority, and the Emergence of Laboratory Medicine in Nineteenth-Century America," in *The Laboratory Revolution in Medicine*, Andrew Cunningham and Perry Williams, eds. (Cambridge, 1992), 110–41; Warner, "Ideals of Science and Their Discontents in Late Nineteenth-Century American Medicine," *Isis* 82 (1991): 454–78; and Warner, *The Therapeutic Perspective: Medical Practice, Knowledge, and Identity in America, 1820–1885* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986). Two brief but useful exceptions to physiology's dominance in the historical literature are Russell C. Maulitz, "'Physician Versus Bacteriologist': The Ideology of Science in Clinical Medicine," in *Therapeutic Revolution*, 91–107; and King, *American Medicine Comes of Age, 1840–1920*, esp. 32–36, 46–50. Four dissertations address this lacuna; see David Anthony Blancher, "Workshops of the Bacteriological Revolution: A History of the Laboratories of the New York City Department of Health, 1892–1912" (PhD dissertation, City University of New York, 1979); Gossel, "Emergence of American Bacteriology"; Evelyn M. Hammonds, "The Search for Perfect Control: A Social History of Diphtheria, 1880–1930" (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1993); and John Andrew Mendelsohn, "Cultures of Bacteriology: Formation and Transformation of a Science in France and Germany, 1870–1914" (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1996). Despite Mendelsohn's European focus, two sections of chap. 8 are relevant here: "Public Health Bacteriology and Changes in Science: The Example of Diphtheria in New York City" (490–509) and "Hospital Bacteriology and Change in Science: The Example of Typhoid" (509–22).

<sup>75</sup> Veterinarians, according to Gossel, were an exception; their interest picks up about a decade earlier: see "Emergence of American Bacteriology," 108–10. On the medical profession's hesitations about bacteriology, see Maulitz, "'Physician versus Bacteriologist,'" 96; Warner, *Therapeutic Perspective*, 277–81; and Gossel, 164–65; none of these mentions the rabies enthusiasm at all.

Prudden at the New York City health department, starting in 1892, to use the new bacteriological laboratory as their major weapon against cholera, tuberculosis, and diphtheria in a very public way. Significantly, these men had observed the rabies enthusiasm firsthand and seem to have learned from it about the political leverage one could draw from public enthusiasms.<sup>76</sup>

As the public became familiar with laboratory research, people also learned that such efforts needed financial support. Much of the initial willingness to make contributions to the cause was simply a continuation of the longstanding tradition of supporting needy patients through charity. Donations to send the boys to Paris were of this kind. Gifts to build the Pasteur Institute, solicited after March 1886, also tapped this old philanthropic impulse, rather than a commitment to research per se. But because of the Pasteur sensation, the excitement about the utility of discovery, and a growing hope for more, people came to see the value of investing in laboratory medicine. It seems to me more than coincidence that *public* funding for medical laboratories in America started up in the years immediately following this wave of popular enthusiasm about successful laboratory research, even though a direct connection would be hard to establish. Many other factors, of course, contributed to the trend, but it is striking that 1887 saw the establishment of the first federal public health laboratory and two municipal labs and that “by 1900 many states and all of America’s forty largest cities boasted such facilities.”<sup>77</sup> One clear indication that some medical leaders saw a connection between popular enthusiasm and financial support for public laboratories is the way Biggs used the lessons of the Pasteur episode. He exhibited a profound appreciation for public relations and the cultivation of the public’s support to ensure funding, especially in his work with the newspapers to promote introduction of the new diphtheria antitoxin, which he brought back from Europe after visiting research laboratories there in the summer of 1894.<sup>78</sup>

AS SUCCESSIVE BREAKTHROUGHS FOLLOWED THE RABIES TRIUMPH over the next few years, they were portrayed in the popular media largely along patterns established

<sup>76</sup> In fact, Biggs went to Paris to learn about the rabies work in Pasteur’s laboratory at roughly the same time as the Newark boys’ treatment, although—contrary to the statements of Blancher, “Workshops of the Bacteriological Revolution,” 28, and Elizabeth Fee and Evelyn M. Hammonds, “Science, Politics, and the Art of Persuasion: Promoting the New Scientific Medicine in New York City,” in *Hives of Sickness: Public Health and Epidemics in New York City*, David Rosner, ed. (New Brunswick, N.J., 1995), 158—he did not accompany the children. Biggs was probably on a later steamer, but he did meet with Pasteur in late December, before continuing his laboratory visits in Germany. Prudden’s interest in the press is illustrated in a scrapbook of extensive newspaper clippings of the tuberculin episode, “Koch’s Tuberculin,” now in the Library of the New York Academy of Medicine, called to my attention by David Leibowitz in 1986.

<sup>77</sup> Gossel, “Emergence of American Bacteriology,” 282, citing Charles V. Chapin, *Municipal Sanitation in the United States* (1901), 556–59. See also Victoria A. Harden, *Inventing the NIH: Federal Biomedical Research Policy, 1887–1937* (Baltimore, Md., 1986); and Blancher, “Workshops of the Bacteriological Revolution.”

<sup>78</sup> On the importance of the press and the public in Biggs’s diphtheria campaign, the pioneering examination is Jean Howson, “‘Sure Cure for Diphtheria’: Medicine and the New York Newspapers in 1894” (unpublished graduate course paper, History Department, New York University in 1986). Howson’s work is used by Hammonds, “Search for Perfect Control,” esp. chap. 3; and by Fee and Hammonds, “Science, Politics, and the Art of Persuasion.”

by the Pasteur boom. Numerous features of the rabies triumph recurred consistently; it seems almost to have established a template. To highlight these aspects in subsequent episodes, it will be helpful to review some of the character types established in the initial breakthrough.<sup>79</sup>

The heroic and selfless scientist. By mixing the images of Pasteur's genius, his special kindness to the young patients, and his role as benefactor to the human race, the reportage articulated a notion of medicine as characterized by progress, heroism, altruism, and public benefits. It is significant that, while the cartoonists and writers made great fun of the popular enthusiasm, none of the extensive American satire was directed at Pasteur himself.

Worthy patients. Individuals, some desperate enough to travel great distances for a miracle cure, were named, pictured, interviewed for the media, and sometimes even placed on exhibition.<sup>80</sup>

The victim child. This special case of "worthy patient," then and now, has a unique power of its own. Children make any medical story more poignant, and the easy sympathy has frequently been exploited by press, physicians, medical charities, and many others since the 1880s. Pasteur's personal concern for children was genuine, but it also served him well with the press. Child victims of disease became central to the drama of the diphtheria breakthrough in the 1890s, and they also played an important visual role among early beneficiaries of insulin treatment in the 1920s.<sup>81</sup> No one today who lived through the 1950s in the United States needs to be told about the popularity of children in the imagery of the polio vaccine breakthrough or of their role in the March of Dimes campaigns.

Local physicians. Trying to replicate the work so as to provide treatment to Americans at home, they also constituted an additional source of interviews, opinions, controversy, and published letters.

Good Samaritans. Like the local physician who called for a public subscription to pay the Newark boys' steamer fares and the haberdasher who donated warm clothing for the boys' trip, hundreds, perhaps thousands, of unrelated individuals became active participants in the story through the subscription campaign. Donations from children and from school groups were noteworthy and perhaps unprecedented, and not without consequence; fifty years later, when anti-polio campaigns of the 1930s employed advertising techniques "particularly oriented around chil-

<sup>79</sup> I have limited my efforts in the present study to documenting the magnitude of this breakthrough, its major contours, and some of its significant effects. Other investigations might profitably pursue antecedents and formative influences, seeking to explain, for example, why certain elements (dogs, children, physician as lab-based humanitarian, etc.) were incorporated in the representations of this episode in the 1880s. Over the nineteenth century, there had been, of course, many doctors and some scientists portrayed in literature, from Mary Shelley's Dr. Frankenstein onward through later novels, such as those of William A. Hammond, M.D., physiologist and neurologist, U.S. surgeon general, commentator on the rabies cure, oft-quoted medical expert for the daily press, and promoter of the new organotherapy in the mode of Brown-Séquard. Hammond published nine novels (one co-authored with his daughter) between 1867 and 1901, with physicians and medical issues present in several, including *Doctor Grattan: A Novel* (1885). See Bonnie Ellen Blustein, *Preserve Your Love for Science: Life of William A. Hammond, American Neurologist* (Cambridge, 1991).

<sup>80</sup> News photographs of pioneering heart-transplant patients and their appearances on television are noted above and discussed in Fox and Swazey, *Spare Parts*.

<sup>81</sup> Michael Bliss, *The Discovery of Insulin* (Chicago, 1982), provides a rich account, including several pathetic photographs of children taken before their miraculous recoveries.

dren as both potential victims *and donors*,”<sup>82</sup> they were using a potent combination first established in 1885.

Philanthropists, fund-raisers, and other cheerleaders. Some contributed money, others used the power of the press. It should be noted that, just fifteen years later, one singularly important new cheerleader would join the others: the Nobel Prize Committee. These famous prizes added a prominent new element to patterns of public recognition of medical breakthroughs when the first prize in Physiology and Medicine was awarded in 1901 to Emil Behring for achievements that included his contributions to serum therapy for diphtheria.

Animals used in the experiments. In the rabies episode, their essential role was reported as if vivisection were noncontroversial. The animals, without being individualized like the patients or given extra prominence, were not kept out of sight—even those vivisected or sacrificed to produce the therapeutic material. Illustrations of Pasteur’s laboratory showed the caged rabbits and dogs and the operations performed upon them, as did the portrayal of the Newark doctors trying their own experiments. (See Figure 4 above.) Verbal accounts indicated clearly that many animals were killed, sometimes by instruments and other times by the disease they had been given. A representative article in a morning newspaper, “In Pasteur’s Laboratory: Watching the Inoculation of a Rabbit with the Virus,” gave a very straightforward description of grabbing the rabbit, scissoring the fur on its skull, tying it down, forcing it to inhale chloroform, cutting open the skin between the eyes, stretching the skin back with a piece of wire, and then auguring a hole through the skull bone to insert a needle into the rabbit’s brain.<sup>83</sup> Even the procedure of forcing healthy dogs to be bitten by rabid ones was described in the popular media. Furthermore, new rabbits were continually needed, even after the research stage was over, to make the therapeutic substance and to serve as the culture medium in determining whether a dog that bit someone was truly rabid. These procedures were regularly mentioned without sensation in the daily press.

Through the rabies-cure enthusiasm, vivisection became a familiar idea presented in a positive light, and it garnered valuable popular legitimation a number of years before an antivivisection movement could gain momentum in the United States. From the outset, scientists among New York’s physicians knew the importance of vivisection and how to argue publicly for its value. For example, in discussing the proposed New York Pasteur Institute in late December 1885, Professor Adolph Corbett, to be superintendent of the new institute, told the *New York Herald* reporter:

We will probably run against Mr. Bergh [president of the ASPCA] when we get to work on the dogs and rabbits which are necessary to operate with. In that case we shall fight him. Mr. Bergh loves the animals, so do I, *but I love the people more. We will kill as many dogs as are necessary.* At the present time there are 150 patients under M. Pasteur’s care. In my opinion the lives of all the loose curs in the world are as naught *when the sacrifice can save those human beings*.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Naomi Rogers, *Dirt and Disease: Polio before FDR* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1992), 170, emphasis added.

<sup>83</sup> A cable dispatch printed in the *New York Herald* (December 27, 1885): 5, col. 1.

<sup>84</sup> *New York Herald* (December 31, 1885): 3, col. 3, emphasis added. Henry Bergh founded the



I believe that, even more than the easy popularity of such utilitarian arguments, it was the uncritical wave of enthusiasm for Pasteur's apparent triumph in saving children's lives that provided unintended but remarkably effective promotion of vivisection. This process helps to account for antivivisectionism coming to the fore so much later in the United States than in Britain and for its failure to achieve either popular or legislative success.<sup>85</sup>

Media workers. They presented the miracle for widespread consumption through news, editorials, illustrations, cartoons, caricatures, photographs, jokes, poems, and popular songs. Among other activities, they interviewed all the characters except the animals. But, even without interviews, newspapers and magazines did offer numerous illustrations of the biting dogs, the experimental dogs, and the strays in the pound.<sup>86</sup>

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ASPCA in 1866. During the two decades before the Pasteur breakthrough, he had often used the press successfully to raise his issues but had just as often been criticized and satirized in a long-running feud with the *Herald* and in quite a number of hostile caricatures in *Harper's Weekly* and *Puck*. His run-ins with P. T. Barnum received more coverage than those with medical leaders. Since his campaign for protecting animals began with a concern for the way workingmen treated their horses, he was frequently attacked for worrying more about hardships to lower animals than to the workers themselves. When he began to protest the inhumane care given to turtles on their way to the soup pot, he exposed himself to ridicule as well as criticism. His efforts also included changes in dog-pound procedures and the reduction of the bounty for strays from 50 to 25 cents. During the months of press enthusiasm for Pasteur's treatment of the Newark children, Bergh and his friends (including John T. Hoffman, ex-governor and former mayor) showered the papers with letters attacking vivisection, the apparent value of Pasteur's treatment, and the newly expeditious dispatching of stray dogs by the authorities. See the non-scholarly account by Zulma Steele, *Angel in Top Hat* (New York, 1942), esp. 137–40, supplemented by useful information in two books on Bergh's sometime opponent, Barnum: Harris, *Humbug*; and A. H. Saxon, *P. T. Barnum: The Legend and the Man* (New York, 1989).

<sup>85</sup> The New York physiology researcher Dr. John Call Dalton, Jr., had faced off with some antivivisectionists during the decades before the Pasteur boom, but the skirmishes were small and local. See Fye, *Development of American Physiology*, 15–53. The first important battle of American doctors with antivivisectionists took place only at the end of the century. See Patricia Peck Gossel, "William Henry Welch and the Antivivisection Legislation in the District of Columbia, 1896–1900," *Journal of the History of Medicine* 40 (1985): 397–419; Susan Lederer, "The Controversy over Animal Experimentation in America, 1880–1914," in *Vivisection in Historical Perspective*, Nicolaas A. Rupke, ed. (London, 1987), 236–58; and Harriet Ritvo, "Plus ça change: Anti-vivisection Then and Now," *Science, Technology, and Human Values* 9 (Spring 1984): 57–66. For general background on both Britain and America, see James Turner, *Reckoning with the Beast: Animals, Pain, and Humanity in the Victorian Mind* (Baltimore, Md., 1980). Although it deals only with Britain, Richard D. French, *Antivivisection and Medical Science in Victorian Society* (Princeton, N.J., 1975), offers relevant information and elegant analysis.

<sup>86</sup> Images of heroic dogs that survived experimental surgery have been especially popular. In the diphtheria-cure episode of 1894, horses would even become the media stars, competing for attention with the dying babies who recovered quickly after treatment arrived at the last moment. Dogs would return as heroes in the insulin breakthrough in the 1920s and the blue-baby operations of the 1950s and 1960s. On dogs in diabetes research, see Bliss, *Discovery of Insulin*. On the adaptation of the Blalock operation by Willis J. Potts so it could be used in infants, see Clare L. McCausland, *An Element of Love: A History of the Children's Memorial Hospital of Chicago* (Chicago, 1981), 120–22. The first dog to undergo Dr. Potts's new procedure recovered quickly and "became a hero around the Hospital." The hospital installed a bronze plaque inscribed: "To Caesar—Dog Hero, Who Served in the Development of the Blue Baby Operations . . . For Distinguished Service to Humanity." This dog was also featured in a public relations and fund-raising campaign that cleverly combined children and animals. One of those children whose defective circulation was corrected by the Potts procedure in a series of operations during the 1950s and 1960s told me that Dr. Potts liked to have photographs taken of the children with this friendly golden retriever (telephone interview with Lynn Adrian, September 26, 1997). See one of these photos in the hospital's "Campaign Report" (Issue 5, November 1997, p. 1).

FOR SUBSEQUENT BREAKTHROUGHS, the public's new expectations of medical miracles engineered at laboratory benches came to shape the actions of scientists, physicians, and journalists. In the United States, the most important such episodes before the turn of the century were testicular extract (1889), tuberculin (1890), diphtheria antitoxin (1894), and the X-ray (1896).<sup>87</sup> A quick glance at the first two will help confirm the continuity of patterns established in the rabies-cure enthusiasm. Self-rejuvenation with testicular extracts was announced on June 1, 1889, by Charles-Edouard Brown-Séquard in Paris. An English translation of his complete paper was published in the United States in early August.<sup>88</sup> Injecting a liquid extracted from the testicles of freshly killed guinea pigs and dogs caught the public's fancy not only for the sexual element but also because the elderly Brown-Séquard had done the rejuvenation experiments on himself.<sup>89</sup> Coverage of this discovery in

<sup>87</sup> There is no scholarly consensus on such a listing, but these four have been mentioned by historians. As indicated above, rabies vaccine has been omitted from most such lists. I believe that further research might reveal several other discoveries of this era as publicly recognized breakthroughs: thyroid-extract therapy, adrenalin, tetanus antitoxin, and brain surgery. Sadly, a list of breakthroughs cannot include the discovery of silver-nitrate drops to prevent infant blindness (C. S. F. Crédé's prophylaxis of 1883), despite its regular appearance in histories of medical discovery. This simple, cheap, and effective procedure was under appreciated, neglected, and even opposed by physicians for decades until a campaign of education and public relations led by lay organizations forced its use on the medical profession. Bert Hansen, "What Perpetuates a Preventable Disease? Infant Blindness Prophylaxis in the United States from 1880 to 1940," presented at a meeting of the American Association for the History of Medicine, May 1988. On the X-ray, see Nancy Knight, "The New Light: X Rays and Medical Futurism," in *Imagining Tomorrow: History, Technology, and the American Future*, Joseph J. Corn, ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 10–34; Beverly Robertson, "The Medical Significance of X-Rays as Seen in the Contemporary Popular Media from January to April 1896" (unpublished graduate course paper, History Department, New York University, 1988); J. T. H. Connor, "The Adoption and Effects of X-Rays in Ontario," *Ontario History* 79 (March 1987): 92–107; and Bettyann Holtzmann Kevles, *Naked to the Bone: Medical Imaging in the Twentieth Century* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1997), chaps. 1–2. The X-ray is the first in this series of breakthroughs to be mentioned in Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1938–68), see "Medical Progress," 4: 310–12. After the turn of the century, another important therapeutic breakthrough was the introduction of Salvarsan for treating syphilis in 1910; see Pat Spain Ward, "The American Reception of Salvarsan," *Journal of the History of Medicine* 36 (1981): 44–62; and Ziporyn, *Disease in the Popular American Press*, which draws primarily on magazines, using stories in the dailies to a limited extent.

<sup>88</sup> *Scientific American* (August 10, 1889), supplement. Brown-Séquard (1817–1894) was an experimental physiologist, internationally famous for discoveries in neurology and endocrinology, the successor to Claude Bernard as professor of medicine at the Collège de France since 1878, and a member of the French Academy of Sciences since 1886. At several points in his career (the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s), he had taught and practiced medicine in the United States. Although he was a British subject by birth, his father, Charles Edward Brown, was an American naval officer, and his mother, Charlotte Séquard, was French. The richest account of the scientific and medical literature on this topic is Merriley Borell, "Brown-Séquard's Organotherapy and Its Appearance in America at the End of the Nineteenth Century," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 50 (1976): 309–20; Borell does not, however, include anything about articles in general newspapers or magazines. On the science, see also J. M. D. Olmsted, *Charles-Edouard Brown-Séquard: A Nineteenth Century Neurologist and Endocrinologist* (Baltimore, Md., 1946), 205–39; and Michael J. Aminoff, *Brown-Séquard: A Visionary of Science* (New York, 1993), 163–73.

<sup>89</sup> An editorial in *Scientific American* directs readers to its supplement containing the full text of Brown-Séquard's paper and quietly acknowledges the comic side of public interest: "Whatever may prove to be the ultimate value of the doctor's discovery, his present paper will be read with much interest, and the results of further practice with the new treatment will be eagerly looked for by the public. The number of elderly people who are anxious to be made young and happy again is almost countless, and there is likely to be an epidemic desire among them to try the new medicine. A golden harvest seems to be in view for the doctors" (August 10, 1889): 80. The September 1889 issue of the *North American Review* carried an eight-page article, "The Elixir of Life" by William A. Hammond (pp. 257–64).

American newspapers and magazines was less substantial and sustained than that of the rabies announcement, perhaps because no fatal disease was to be cured with this treatment. Additionally, enthusiasm may have been weakened by some American attempts to replicate this “therapy” that seem to have caused at least two deaths within the first three months.<sup>90</sup> Still, there must have developed considerable popular awareness within a very short time since at least two different cartoonists and a songwriter presumed a reference to the Brown-Séquard “elixir” would be readily understood. Less than a month after the American translation of the scientific report appeared, *Puck* was already exploiting the titillation of this discovery to make fun of a questionable government policy. It ran a brightly colored, double-page cartoon, “It Beats Brown-Séquard.—Tanner’s Infallible Elixir of Life, for Pension-Grabbers Only.” James Tanner, the commissioner of pensions, is shown with a large syringe injecting dollar coins into the pockets of tired and lame veterans, who use the entrance for “physical wrecks” to apply for higher ratings. Those treated drop their crutches and dance happily toward the exit.<sup>91</sup> Also published before the end of 1889 was “Brown-Sequard’s Elixir: The Greatest Comic Song of the Day.”<sup>92</sup>

In the fall of 1890, after Robert Koch announced his tuberculin lymph as the first effective cure for consumption, the single greatest killer of the age, he was pictured as a holy conqueror, a heroic St. George. Within a few months, however, this therapy was judged a failure, and the enthusiasm among doctors and the public rapidly evaporated, though not before it had captured press coverage and headlines to rival or perhaps even surpass Pasteur’s rabies triumph five years earlier. For the few months until the therapeutic claims collapsed, tuberculin treatment enchanted reporters, artists, cartoonists, photographers, and editors, along with physicians, patients, and the wider public.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>90</sup> See “Another Victim of the Elixir,” *New York Times* (September 3, 1889): 1.

<sup>91</sup> *Puck* (August 28, 1889): 8–9. *Puck*’s rival, *Judge*, also published a political satire invoking Brown-Séquard. It was called “Hopeless Cases,” and showed “Dr. Brown-Sequard Randall” with “Free Trade” and the “Tammany Tiger” (August 31, 1889): 336–37. These were not the first instances of a political cartoonist finding “elixir of life” a powerful image. Much earlier, Thomas Nast had drawn Abraham Lincoln as a physician at a Negro’s bedside, holding a bowl labeled Emancipation for him to drink. “Doctor Lincoln’s New Elixir of Life—For the Southern States,” *New York Illustrated News* (April 12, 1862): 368, reprinted in Helfand, *Medicine and Pharmacy in American Political Prints*, 61.

<sup>92</sup> Words and music by J. Winchell Forbes, copyrighted in 1889, and published in Cincinnati and Chicago. It offered six verses (treating the elixir as a general restorer of youth in both energy and appearance), with this refrain: “The Latest sensation’s the Sequard Elixir / That’s making young kids of the wither’d and gray / There’ll be no more pills, or big doctor bills / Or planting of people in church yard clay.” I am grateful to William H. Helfand for providing me a photocopy of this item in his medical ephemera collection. Of course, the music sheet itself provides no evidence of its circulation or popularity, despite claimed status as “the greatest.” I have not found any entries for this song or its composer in basic reference works on popular music.

<sup>93</sup> Leibowitz, “Scientific Failure.” On Koch’s reputation in America, see also Russell C. Maulitz, “Robert Koch and American Medicine,” *Annals of Internal Medicine* 97 (1982): 761–66, which, however, does not deal with the tuberculin episode. A recent article on the attempted introduction of tuberculin therapy examined only the medical literature with no attention to newspaper coverage; see Donald S. Burke, “Of Postulates and Peccadilloes: Robert Koch and Vaccine (Tuberculin) Therapy for Tuberculosis,” *Vaccine* 11, no. 8 (1993): 795–804. There are relevant sections in a few recent books (though none focuses on public reaction, and Caldwell’s account of newspaper coverage is sometimes faulty): Brock, *Robert Koch*; Mark Caldwell, *The Last Crusade: The War on Consumption, 1862–1954* (New York, 1988); and Georgina D. Feldberg, *Disease and Class: Tuberculosis and the Shaping of Modern North American Society* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1995).

The initial announcement, at a medical congress in August, generated professional excitement but no substantial news coverage in the United States. Then in mid-November, an article by Koch captured the headlines, and the news spread rapidly. On November 15, the *New York Times* printed on its front page a translation of the entire article, "Further Communication Regarding a Remedy for Tuberculosis," that had appeared in the *Deutsche medizinische Wochenschrift* on November 14 and been cabled exclusively to the *Times*, so it claimed. (In England, a translation of the article was also printed in the *British Medical Journal* on November 15.) Physicians instantly made efforts to learn how to duplicate the procedures to provide treatment to Americans at home. According to the *New York World* (November 20), "there is great rivalry among the doctors of the city and Brooklyn to be the first to get information from Dr. Koch." The next day's *World* reported that several New York physicians, planning to open a sanitarium, were already en route to Berlin. Two days later, the *World* reported on the front page that "Dr. F. C. Husson, Consulting Surgeon at the [New York] Pasteur Institute, sailed on the Normandie yesterday en route to Berlin. He will at once go into the laboratory of Dr. Koch and study . . . the new method of curing consumption by inoculations." Husson planned to buy the appropriate instruments immediately on arrival in Berlin and send them back so that they would have arrived in New York before his scheduled return in mid-January, enabling him to begin treating patients without delay.<sup>94</sup> Within two months, New York had not only a Pasteur Institute but a Koch Institute as well: on East Broadway under the direction of a Dr. Aaronson and built to accommodate forty patients.<sup>95</sup>

Within days of the first newspaper article, a number of desperate patients were on steamers to Europe to secure the miracle cure in Berlin. On November 20, the *Herald* was already warning American patients to stay home because of crowds and a shortage of lymph in Berlin. This did not stop *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* from raising funds to send a patient to Berlin for the new therapy; it then published exclusive drawings of this patient being treated.<sup>96</sup> Among the pictorial magazines, *Harper's Weekly* jumped in quickly on November 29 with a portrait of Koch;<sup>97</sup> *Scientific American* followed on December 6 with the same image but added an action shot, "Dr. Koch at Work in His Laboratory."<sup>98</sup> The next week, *Frank Leslie's* ran the same "action shot."<sup>99</sup> The political cartoonists did not lag behind the surge of passion for injections of lymph. Even a few days ahead of the *Frank Leslie's* drawing, *Puck* ran a full-color caricature, "A Bad Case of Consumption—Blaine

<sup>94</sup> *New York World* (November 20, 1890): 3; "A New Student for Dr. Koch," *New York World* (November 23, 1890): 1. This small item was appended to a three-column article, "A Talk with Dr. Koch: The *World* Correspondent Has a Conversation with Him." The director of the New York Pasteur Institute, Paul Gibier, addressed a general audience with an early statement about Koch's discovery in the *North American Review* 151 (December 1890): 726–31.

<sup>95</sup> Leibowitz, "Scientific Failure," 46, citing the *New York Herald* (February 12, 1891): 21.

<sup>96</sup> Reprinted in Leibowitz, "Scientific Failure," 44.

<sup>97</sup> *Harper's Weekly* (November 29, 1890): 932, with an article on 934, "Dr. Koch and His Great Work," by Amos W. Wright.

<sup>98</sup> "Cure of Consumption—An Interview with Professor Koch by Dr. Charles Hacks in *L'Illustration*," *Scientific American* 63 (December 6, 1890): 358–59.

<sup>99</sup> "Dr. Koch in His Laboratory," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (December 13, 1890), reprinted in David L. Cowen and William H. Helfand, *Pharmacy: An Illustrated History* (New York, 1990), 131.

Tries an Injection of Reciprocity Lymph," in which a sick Republican elephant is about to receive an injection from Secretary of State James G. Blaine.<sup>100</sup> This optimism lost steam when clinical reports began to show that tuberculin rarely helped the patients and often made them worse. But, until then, the media enthusiasm followed much of the pattern set by the rabies episode, except for having a greater involvement of physicians, a higher level of enthusiasm, and no dogs in sight. The collapse of Koch's exaggerated claims embarrassed the media to some extent, and all participants seemed to realize that this was a setback to expectations about miraculous cures.

By 1890, THE NEW PATTERN OF RECURRING BREAKTHROUGHS was so firmly established that jokes could be made about them as a group, as in these doggerel verses that appeared in December of that year:

First they pumped him full of virus from some mediocre cow,  
Lest the small-pox might assail him and leave pit-marks on his brow;  
Then one day a bull-dog bit him—he was gunning down at Quoque—  
And they filled his veins in Paris with an extract of mad-dog;  
Then he caught tuberculosis, so they took him to Berlin,  
And injected half a gallon of bacillae into him . . .  
But his blood was so diluted by the remedies he'd taken  
That one day he laid him down and died, and never did awaken:  
With the Brown-Sequard elixir though they tried resuscitation,  
He never showed a symptom of reviving animation;  
Yet his doctor still could save him, (he persistently maintains,)  
If he only could inject a little life into his veins.<sup>101</sup>

Four years later, when serum therapy for children dying from diphtheria was announced, a wariness based on the pain of Koch's tuberculin failure affected all presentations of the breakthrough. But caution could only shape, not suppress, the widespread excitement for this miracle cure. At the start of the episode, the laboratory researchers, the public health physicians, and the journalists all undertook to convince the public (and perhaps themselves) that this new cure was certain, that it had been tested, and that its potency had been objectively confirmed—in short, that it was not like the unsupported claims made by Koch in 1890. Just like the earlier rabies vaccine, diphtheria antitoxin was the product of European laboratory research; it was, again, a procedure that utilized immune responses to work a therapeutic effect. And, as with the hydrophobia virus, the therapeutic substance was manufactured in animals' bodies, then extracted by medical scientists

<sup>100</sup> Reprinted in Leibowitz, "Scientific Failure."

<sup>101</sup> "E. Frank Lintaber," *Puck* (December 17, 1890): 288. Twelve omitted lines cover typhoid fever, rattlesnake bite, leprosy, and dyspepsia. "Lintaber" struck me as an odd-sounding name, with E. Franklin Taber as a likely alternative. A book by Edward Franklin Taber, *Returned with Thanks, and Other Poems* (Patchogue, N.Y., 1899), is listed in the National Union Catalogue with E. Frank Lintaber added parenthetically. The *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* lists only one entry (under either name), a poem by Lintaber in *Harper's Weekly* (June 15, 1901): 610.



in laboratories and injected by clinicians into children facing a life-threatening disease.<sup>102</sup>

These clear echoes of the first medical breakthrough show that the 1885 Pasteur sensation continued to have an impact in shaping responses to advances. Yet the patterns of expectation, enthusiasm, and meaning that it pioneered would gradually change as successive new discoveries each came to take center stage. Attention-grabbing discoveries became ever more frequent and eventually routine. Losing its novelty, the medical breakthrough was transformed into an expected occurrence. By the twentieth century, a radically new medical therapy was no longer a surprise, nor always a sensation, and never again a once-in-a-lifetime event.

<sup>102</sup> A recent article by Paul Weindling tells the international scientific story and cites further literature; see "From Medical Research to Clinical Practice: Serum Therapy for Diphtheria in the 1890s," in *Medical Innovation*, J. Pickstone, ed. (London, 1992). On the importance of the press and the public in America, see Howson, "'Sure Cure for Diphtheria'"; Hammonds, "Search for Perfect Control"; and Fee and Hammonds, "Science, Politics, and the Art of Persuasion." Leibowitz, "Scientific Failure," discusses some news coverage about the diphtheria antitoxin to demonstrate the press's strong memory of the tuberculin failure. Ziporyn, *Disease in the Popular American Press*, is also useful.

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## Colonialism and Human Rights, A Contradiction in Terms? The Case of France and West Africa, 1895–1914

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ALICE L. CONKLIN

ANY HISTORIAN IN THE FIELD OF modern European or American history sooner or later must confront one of the fundamental paradoxes of the last century: the acquisition and rule by force of colonies by the most advanced democracies, the United States, France, and Great Britain. Whatever the official claims, Western colonization during this period was in large part an act of state-sanctioned violence. On the crudest level, liberal regimes forcibly “pacified” native peoples who resisted colonization. On a more subtle level, their rule rested on a set of coercive practices that violated their own democratic values. Colonized persons were designated as subjects, not citizens. They had duties but few rights. In neither case, however, did the conquerors in question seem aware of any contradiction between their democratic institutions and the violent acquisition of overseas colonies. As even those among us who are only tangentially interested in the study of imperialism can attest, the faith of yesterday’s empire builders in the moral legitimacy of their enterprise was all but absolute.

In this essay, I would like to revisit the issue of Western belief in the moral legitimacy of overseas expansion, through an examination of how one modern democracy—France under the early Third Republic (1870–1914)—rationalized imperialism, both rhetorically and in practice, at the high-water mark of late nineteenth-century liberalism. In particular, this article provides an overview of the actions and ideas of a specific group of colonial administrators—the governors general of the French West African Federation, headquartered in Dakar, Senegal—from the founding of the federation in 1895 to the advent of World War I.<sup>1</sup> It is, of

This article draws on some of the same research presented in my book, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895–1930* (Stanford, Calif., 1997). Here, however, I seek to engage a broader set of issues about the relationship between imperialism and democracy in the West, which I believe to be of interest to all historians. Previous versions were presented at the “Violence and the Democratic Tradition in France, 1789–1914” Conference at the University of California at Irvine, February 11–13, 1994, and at the “Centenaire de l’AOF” Colloquium in Dakar, Senegal, June 16–22, 1995. I would like to thank the participants of both conferences for their incisive comments, as well as Philip Nord, Celia Applegate, Adrianna Bakos, Stanley Engerman, Daniel Borus, Harriet Jackson, and several anonymous *AHR* reviewers for their help in revising this article.

<sup>1</sup> The colonial ministry in Paris established the Government General of French West Africa in 1895. France had been steadily expanding its territories in this part of the continent since the 1850s, although the most dramatic conquests had occurred in the 1880s and early 1890s. Headed by a single senior official in Dakar, Senegal, the Government General federated the colonies of Senegal, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Sudan, and Dahomey, and the military territories of Niger and Mauritania, into one super-colony named Afrique Occidentale Française. Although each colony retained its lieutenant

course, well known that policymakers under the Third Republic justified the forcible acquisition of French colonies as part of a universal mission—what they referred to as their *mission civilisatrice*—to uplift the “inferior races.” Although hardly a new idea in the *fin-de-siècle*, the civilizing mission acquired greater currency in the age of democratic empire; ruling elites in France sought to reconcile themselves and the recently enfranchised masses to intensified overseas conquest by claiming that the newly restored republic, unlike the more conservative European monarchies, would liberate Africans from moral and material want. What is less commonly recognized is that such claims influenced decisions in Dakar in complex and contradictory ways, and that the implementation of these ostensibly progressive goals made overseas conquest that much more palatable to a generation of committed republicans.

Republican ideas of civilization influenced French policy making in West Africa between 1895 and 1914 in two distinct but complementary ways. First, drawing on the universalist rhetoric of 1789 regarding the right of all people to basic freedoms, republican ideology inspired the French to identify, and take measures to liberate Africans from, forms of oppression that they believed to exist—including African slavery, “feudalism,” ignorance, and disease. This desire to emancipate was most pronounced early in the life of the colony, because knowledge of local conditions was limited and French democratic idealism, at home and overseas, was still ascendent. Second, liberal ideals encouraged the French to set limits on the amount of coercion the colonial administration could use against the colonized, especially in the administration of justice and use of forced labor; this was done through the legal means of codification, which in turn created the illusion that basic human rights in the colonies were being respected. Both initiatives conspired equally, and tragically, to legitimate a regime based on force in the age of democracy.

Despite the ubiquitous references to France’s *mission civilisatrice* in the historiography of modern France, modern colonialism, and modern Africa, few historians have paused to explore critically the relationship between republican France’s emancipatory discourse and actual policy making, or to consider its larger implications for the history of imperialism.<sup>2</sup> Until relatively recently, the key to the

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governor in charge of local policy matters, the governor general coordinated policy for the federation as a whole. Most important, all customs receipts were turned over to the federal budget to secure loans for a variety of public works projects. Only as a unit, it was felt, could the West African territories prosper. In this essay, I will use the terms Government General and Dakar interchangeably.

<sup>2</sup> There is little discussion of the *mission civilisatrice*, and more particularly its republican dimension, in either the older or much of the new work on French colonial ideas and images. These include Raymond F. Betts, *Assimilation and Association in French Colonial Theory, 1890–1914* (New York, 1961); Agnes Murphy, *The Ideology of French Imperialism, 1871–1881* (Washington, D.C., 1948); Martin D. Lewis, “One Hundred Million Frenchmen: The Assimilationist Theory in French Colonial Policy,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 4, no. 2 (1962): 129–53; Raoul Girardet, *L’idée coloniale en France de 1871 à 1962* (Paris, 1962); William B. Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans: White Response to Blacks, 1530–1880* (Bloomington, Ind., 1980); William H. Schneider, *An Empire for the Masses: The French Popular Image of Africa, 1870–1900* (Westport, Conn., 1982); Dominique Lejeune, *Les sociétés de géographie en France et l’expansion coloniale au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1993); Charles-Robert Ageron, “L’exposition coloniale de 1931: Mythe républicain ou mythe impérial?” in Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire*, Vol. 1, *La République* (Paris, 1984), 561–91; Thomas G. August, *The Selling of the Empire: British and French Imperialist Propaganda, 1890–1940* (Westport, Conn., 1985); Herman Lebovics, *True France: The Wars over Cultural Identity, 1900–1940* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992); Pascal Blanchard, et al., *L’autre et nous: “Scènes et types”; Anthropologues et historiens devant les représentations*

paradox of liberal empire building was deemed simple enough: Europeans and Americans masked their baser motives for colonies—greed, national pride, the quest for power—in claims to civilize the “natives” beyond their borders. They thus seduced the masses, and even themselves, into supporting colonization as a force for good, when in truth it was always an unmitigated force for evil. While this instrumentalist approach produced many fine studies of the ways imperialism profited the West, scholars rarely stopped to ask why this rationalization of empire was even necessary. They also committed the historical sin of reading motives backward from consequences without examining their connections or the material and cultural circumstances in which these motives were produced in the first place. From this perspective, there was no need to scrutinize either what was actually said to justify empire or what was actually done in the name of civilization, since the answers were in both cases—or so it was supposed—entirely self-evident: the single-minded exploitation of the colonized, hypocritically disguised as a process of civilizing.

Even before the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism*, however, some students of the colonial state began to offer a more nuanced explanation for the ease with which Western democracies embarked on a policy of conquest seemingly at odds with their most cherished values—one that took more seriously the civilizing language in which the expansion of empire was couched.<sup>3</sup> Enlightenment

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*des populations colonisées des "ethnies," des "tribus" et des races depuis les conquêtes coloniales* (Paris, 1995); Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, and Laurent Gervereau, eds., *Images et colonies: Iconographie et propagande coloniales sur l'Afrique française de 1880 à 1962* (Paris, 1993); Jacques Marseille, *L'âge d'or de la France coloniale* (Paris, 1986). One exception is Christopher L. Miller, "Unfinished Business: Colonialism in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Ideals of the French Revolution," in Joseph Klatits and Michael H. Haltzel, eds., *The Global Ramifications of the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1994), 105–26.

New work on the part played by the empire in the development of modern science, architecture, medicine, and technology is taking the idea of the civilizing mission more seriously. Yet this research, too, has neglected the relationship between republicanism and the emergence of social planning at home and overseas at the end of the nineteenth century. See Daniel R. Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981); and *The Tentacles of Progress: Technology Transfer in the Age of Imperialism, 1850–1940* (Oxford, 1988); Patrick Petitjean, Catherine Jami, and Anne Marie Moulin, eds., *Science and Empires: Historical Studies about Scientific Development and European Expansion* (Dordrecht, 1991); Lewis Pyenson, *Civilizing Mission: Exact Sciences and French Overseas Expansion, 1830–1940* (Baltimore, Md., 1993); Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989); Michael A. Osborne, *Nature, the Exotic, and the Science of French Colonialism* (Bloomington, Ind., 1994); Christophe Bonneuil, *Des savants pour l'empire: La structuration des recherches scientifiques coloniales au temps de "la mise en valeur" des colonies françaises 1917–1945* (Paris, 1991); Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago, 1991); Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: The Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989). Current research on the gendered nature of French colonialism promises to shed new light on French civilizing efforts, but this literature is still in its infancy—particularly for the Third Republic. See Ann Laura Stoler, "Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th-Century Colonial Cultures," *American Ethnologist* 16, no. 4 (1989): 634–60; and "Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 1 (1989): 134–61; Julia Clancy-Smith and Frances Gouda, eds., *Domesticating the Empire: Languages of Gender, Race, and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism* (Charlottesville, Va., forthcoming, 1998).

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Bernard Cohn's early work on India, particularly *An Anthropologist among Historians* (Delhi, 1990); Nicholas Dirks has recently commented on Cohn's later essays in Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, N.J., 1996). Francophone writers who anticipated Said include, according to Patrick Wolfe, Maxime Rodinson, Mohammed Arkoun, and Anouar Abdel-Malek; Patrick Wolfe, "History and Imperialism: A Century

universalism, these scholars argue, certainly asserted the unity and fundamental equality of all humankind and its uniform capacity for civilization. But, in practice, it constructed knowledge about non-Western cultures that insisted how different from, and therefore inferior to, the West they were; the knowledge acquired in this manner, tainted by the unequal power relation it inscribed, actually created the very "Orient," or "Africa," or "Asia" that it purportedly only reflected. It was this liberal production, and constant re-production, of difference, rather than outright force or even naked greed, that enabled colonial hegemony in the modern era. Once the non-Western world was constituted as irreducibly "other," the need for the Western democracies to civilize it (and keep civilizing it) became all the more transparent, as countless illuminating studies inspired by *Orientalism* now remind us.<sup>4</sup>

I have no quarrel with this newest explanation of Western colonialism's insidious appeal to liberal Europeans, so far as it goes. But I would like to suggest that, for all its merit, it, too, does not go far enough. As France's republican civilizing mission in West Africa makes clear, liberalism, whether at home or in the colonies, did not just produce difference. It also had a universalizing and democratic component as well, which caused many Westerners to see their ideas of freedom as basic human rights, to which all of humankind is entitled.<sup>5</sup> To be sure, Said and the postcolonial critics who have followed him have recognized that past discourses of difference existed in dialectical tension with notions of universality. Yet, in their preoccupation with how a variety of liberal forms and functions of racism have been made and remade, Said and his followers have left curiously underanalyzed the very universalist claims that, by their own admission, also underpinned imperialism in the modern era. French civilizing rhetoric, however, was more than particularistic French values, masquerading as universal ones; this universalist discourse manufactured commonalities as well as differences between French and African, to take the example at hand, over the last two centuries. It was because the French accepted that all humans were born free that it sought to extend—albeit in

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of Theory, from Marx to Postcolonialism," *AHR* 102 (April 1997): 408, n. 77. Edward Said's *Orientalism* (New York, 1979) nevertheless remains the touchstone for the new field of postcolonial studies.

<sup>4</sup> Two representative collections of essays influenced by postcolonial theory, edited by historians rather than the literary specialists who have tended to dominate the field, are Nicholas B. Dirks, ed., *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1992); and Gyan Prakash, ed., *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements* (Princeton, N.J., 1995). Tzvetan Todorov, *On Human Diversity: Nationalism, Racism, and Exoticism in French Thought*, Catherine Porter, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), makes a similar argument to Said in a different context, although the book ends on a decidedly more optimistic note about the possibility of establishing an ethic of universal values in the near future.

<sup>5</sup> I am, of course, not alone in finding certain aspects of discourse analysis too monolithic, unidirectional, and free-floating to account adequately for colonialism's violence. The critiques of postcolonial theory that I have found most useful are Wolfe, "History and Imperialism"; Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in Cooper and Stoler, *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 1–58; Antoinette Burton, "Who Needs the Nation? Interrogating 'British' History," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 10 (September 1997): 227–48; and the articles in the 1994 *AHR Forum* on Subaltern Studies by Gyan Prakash, "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism"; Florencia E. Mallon, "The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History"; and Frederick Cooper, "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History," *AHR* 99 (December 1994): 1475–90, 1491–1515, 1516–45. Keith Windschuttle, *The Killing of History: How a Discipline Is Being Murdered by Literary Critics and Social Theorists* (Paddington, N.S.W., 1996), is much less balanced than the works cited above, but it does make a powerful case for the need to return to an empirically based and narrative history of Western colonialism.



perverted form—the republican virtues of liberty, equality, and fraternity to the colonized. In addition, the content and stability of these universal claims and their impact on colonizing and colonized peoples alike can no more be taken for granted than the many exclusions these claims authorized. Sameness, like difference, was a language that twisted and turned according to circumstances of time and place.<sup>6</sup> It is this ahistorical and monolithic concept of Enlightenment universalism and the role it played in French colonialism that I now seek to complicate, by rooting it in the specific conditions of its production and revealing its many facets.

My larger concern in taking up these issues is not to provide a latter-day apology for empire, nor is it to argue for some sort of greater French imperial generosity compared to other nations. It is rather to offer a more complete answer than exists in the current literature to why committed democrats acquiesced so readily to empire a century ago. This answer does not assume that liberalism was already a spent force in France at the *fin-de-siècle*, or that it was an ideology strictly for home consumption; nor does it stop with the argument that Africans were continuously maintained as “other” in ways that automatically legitimated their oppression—although this “othering” was certainly critical to the West’s easy conscience. Rather, this fuller answer argues that it was because French statesmen and public opinion viewed Africans as “others” who were nevertheless capable of improvement in France’s own image, and were constantly taking—or claiming to undertake, as the case may be—inclusionary and reforming measures on their behalf, that democracy and colonialism appeared compatible. In short, French universalism and racialism together underpinned colonial rule; until both strands of this knot are analyzed equally along with the contingent and historically specific circumstances that conditioned them, disentangling the truly universal from the inherently racializing in past and contemporary discourse will remain a utopian project at best.<sup>7</sup>

ONE OF THE EARLIEST THEMES sounded by the new Government General of French West Africa was that the Third Republic had a special obligation to liberate Africans from indigenous forms of domination. As Governor General Ernest Roume put it in 1905,

We can legitimately hope to witness . . . the advancement of the native populations to a higher state of civilization. But such a result cannot merely be decreed; it can only be the end product of a series of patient and converging efforts whose goal is the moral and material improvement of the native through the maintenance of peace and security, the opening of

<sup>6</sup> Patrick Wolfe, Ann Stoler, and Frederick Cooper have also called for linking the cultural to the material, the ideological to the practical. Wolfe, “History and Imperialism,” 407, 419; Stoler and Cooper, “Between Metropole and Colony,” 4–11. Two classic works on the British Empire that made just these connections, and thus deserve revisiting, are Philip D. Curtin, *The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780–1850*, 2 vols. (Madison, Wis., 1964); and Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India* (Oxford, 1959).

<sup>7</sup> For an excellent discussion of the tensions between republican universalism and racism in contemporary France, see Pierre-André Taguieff, “Comment peut-on être anti-raciste?” *Esprit*, nos. 3–4 (1993): 36–48.

communications, medical assistance and hygiene, the diffusion of elementary and professional instruction, the development of agricultural production and, last but not least, the guaranteed enjoyment of individual rights and of the most sacred right of all—that of individual freedom.<sup>8</sup>

The forms of African domination that the new personnel in Dakar found most distressing were, predictably, those that had been at issue in 1789 and then again in 1848: aristocratic rule and slavery.<sup>9</sup> The government assumed both to be entrenched institutions in pre-colonial African society, and it did not hesitate to attack either in the name of a higher republican morality.<sup>10</sup> Its actions marked a break with the views and policies of colonial officials in France's much more limited territories under the Second Empire. Previously, the French military, though not particularly happy about African forms of personal servitude, had avoided interfering in relations between masters and slaves, and subjects and chiefs, for fear of disrupting the local economy or jeopardizing its own fragile rule.<sup>11</sup> In contrast, shortly after France's West African territories were united as the French West African Federation (AOF) in 1895, the Government General issued directives aimed at ending slavery and eroding the powers of chiefs—in true republican spirit—in the name of the rights of the individual.

The colonial ministry helped set the new tone regarding slavery in French West

<sup>8</sup> Ernest Roume, Discours, Conseil de Gouvernement, December 4, 1905, *Journal officiel de l'Afrique occidentale française* (hereafter, *JOAOF*), 592.

<sup>9</sup> For the policies of the Government General in these areas, see Babacar Fall, *Le travail forcé en Afrique-Occidentale française, 1900–1946* (Paris, 1993); Martin Klein, "Slave Resistance and Slave Emancipation in Coastal Guinea"; and Richard Roberts, "The End of Slavery in the French Soudan, 1905–1914," in Suzanne Miers and Richard Roberts, eds., *The End of Slavery in Africa* (Madison, Wis., 1988), 203–19 and 282–307; Martin A. Klein, "Slavery and Emancipation in French West Africa," in Klein, ed., *Breaking the Chains: Slavery, Bondage, and Emancipation in Modern Africa and Asia* (Madison, 1993), 177–96; Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge, 1983); Patrick Manning, *Slavery, Colonialism, and Economic Growth in Dahomey, 1640–1960* (Cambridge, 1982); Timothy C. Weiskel, *French Colonial Rule and the Baule Peoples: Resistance and Collaboration, 1889–1911* (Oxford, 1980); François Renault, "L'abolition de l'esclavage au Sénégal: L'attitude de l'administration française (1848–1905)," *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* 58, no. 1 (1971): 5–80; Richard L. Roberts, *Warriors, Merchants, and Slaves: The State and the Economy in the Middle Niger Valley, 1700–1914* (Stanford, Calif., 1987); Richard Roberts and Martin Klein, "The Banamba Slave Exodus of 1905 and the Decline of Slavery in the Western Sudan," *Journal of African History* 21, no. 3 (1980): 375–94; James Searing, "Accommodation and Resistance: Chiefs, Muslim Leaders, and Politicians in Colonial Senegal, 1890–1934," 2 vols. (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1985); Denise Bouche, *Les villages de liberté en Afrique noire française, 1887–1910* (Paris, 1968); Félix de Kersaint-Gilly, "Essai sur l'évolution de l'esclavage en Afrique occidentale française: Son dernier stade au Soudan français," *Bulletin du Comité d'études historiques et scientifiques de l'Afrique occidentale française* 9, no. 3 (1924): 468–78.

<sup>10</sup> The role humanitarian sentiment and the ideology of individual rights played in the abolition of New World slavery has also been increasingly recognized in recent literature. For comparative purposes, see David Eltis and James Walvin, eds., *The Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Madison, Wis., 1981); David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York, 1987); Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776–1848* (London, 1988); Seymour Drescher, *Capitalism and Antislavery: British Mobilization in Comparative Perspective* (London, 1986); and "The Long Goodbye: Dutch Capitalism and Antislavery in Comparative Perspective," *AHR* 99 (February 1994): 44–69; Thomas Bender, ed., *The Antislavery Debate: Capitalism and Abolitionism as a Problem in Historical Interpretation* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992).

<sup>11</sup> Renault, "L'abolition de l'esclavage au Sénégal"; Roberts, *Warriors, Merchants, and Slaves*; Bouche, *Les villages de liberté en Afrique*.

Africa in a 1900 circular: "France owes it to its traditions and its principles to stay at the head of liberal and civilizing nations"; this could best be accomplished by leading "natives to abandon completely the practice of slavery."<sup>12</sup> Dakar cooperated with this directive in 1903 by making it impossible for masters to use French courts to reclaim a slave. This was followed by Dakar's well-known study of slavery throughout the federation and the subsequent passage of the December 1905 decree abolishing the slave trade and prohibiting the alienation of any person's liberty.<sup>13</sup> "We cannot proclaim . . .," Governor General Roume (1902–1908) declared, "as have certain powers with monarchist governments, which are not bound by the same doctrines as the French Republic, the theoretical freedom of the natives, only to deny it in practice."<sup>14</sup> After 1905, slavery was no longer legally recognized in French West Africa, because it offended "French genius and its tradition" and because "individual liberty is for [France] indefeasible and inalienable. It does not recognize the individual's right to contract a personal engagement that forever deprives him of his own freedom."<sup>15</sup> Rather than an order "based on conquest and coercion," Dakar wished to inculcate "the notion of reciprocal commitments that obligate both parties equally . . . and that are independent of the traditional status of those contracting."<sup>16</sup>

It is currently argued that, despite the liberating tone of the rhetoric, the French antislavery measures of 1903 and 1905 were limited in scope. The intention, in fact, was not to free slaves overnight but rather to prevent any new enslavement from taking place.<sup>17</sup> This was certainly true, and the French administration never claimed otherwise. Yet to emphasize only the conservative and tentative aspects of French emancipation efforts is to neglect the fact that the Government General had finally brought to an end a half-century of ambivalence regarding an institution accepted in Africa but at odds with French conceptions of humanity and justice. As the 1903 instructions stated, although economic and political considerations required prudence in dealing with slavery, respect for the rights of those demanding their liberty was no less important. In this sense, Dakar's decision no longer to recognize slavery represented a major turning point in republican France's mission to civilize.<sup>18</sup> Although it was not Dakar's policy that actually "freed" slaves—they freed themselves, for the most part—French refusal to sanction slavery in the newly expanded West African colony nevertheless helped some slaves escape their servile status.

Along with its stepped-up antislavery rhetoric and policy, the Third Republic insisted that another way to bring civilization more fully to Africans was to end all forms of "feudal vestiges." Between 1895 and 1914, the Government General regularly attacked the continuing institution of aristocratic rule in the form of

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in Georges Deherme, *L'Afrique occidentale française: Action politique, action économique, action sociale* (Paris, 1908), 482.

<sup>13</sup> Arrêté "promulguant le décret de 12.12.05," January 6, 1906, *JOAOF*, 17–18.

<sup>14</sup> Archives Nationales du Sénégal (hereafter, ANS), K 16, Note signed by Roume (n.d.).

<sup>15</sup> ANS, K 15, Letter signed by Roume (n.d.).

<sup>16</sup> Ernest Roume, Discours, Conseil de Gouvernement, December 4, 1905, *JOAOF*, 592.

<sup>17</sup> This is the viewpoint, for example, of Richard Roberts and Martin Klein.

<sup>18</sup> Renault, "L'abolition de l'esclavage au Sénégal," 57–58.

hereditary chiefs.<sup>19</sup> This hostility to chiefs can also be traced to the anti-aristocratic legacy of French republicanism since 1789, and it had already strongly influenced French actions in Algeria.<sup>20</sup> It was, however, reinforced by the particular kind of African adversary the French encountered during the conquest of the French Sudan. The confrontation with West Africa's great Muslim empire builders, al-Hajj Umar Tall, Amadu Sheku, and Samori Touré, exacerbated existing republican prejudices against aristocratic and clerical power in any form and predisposed the French to view all chiefs as tyrannical and all African peoples as in need of liberation.<sup>21</sup>

Civilian administrators in Dakar inherited these attitudes when they took over policy making from the army in the 1890s. The "great native commands," Roume explained more than once to his subordinates—referring to a wide variety of pre-colonial political states that had been granted protectorate status by the French army in the 1870s and 1880s—had to be dismantled or at least have their independence severely curtailed.<sup>22</sup> And many of them were: for example, the king of coastal Abomey (Benin) and the Fulani Almamys (Guinea Highlands) both saw their states subdivided after 1899, while the Mossi Nabas of Upper Volta (Burkina Faso) were reduced to ceremonial figureheads.<sup>23</sup> It was "a splendid massacre," as one Dakar official noted after World War I; the directive sent down "was to liberate

<sup>19</sup> Although a complete history of French administration in West Africa does not exist, there are numerous studies of the policy toward chiefs in specific regions. See, in particular, Mamadou Diouf, *Le Kajor au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle: Pouvoir cédde et conquête coloniale* (Paris, 1990); Searing, "Accommodation and Resistance"; Boubacar Barry, *La Sénégambie du XV<sup>e</sup> au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle: Traite négrière, Islam et conquête coloniale* (Paris, 1988); Roberts, *Warriors, Merchants, and Slaves*; Weiskel, *French Colonial Rule and the Baule Peoples*; Elliot Skinner, *The Mossi of the Upper Volta: The Political Development of a Sudanese People* (Stanford, Calif., 1964); David Robinson, *Chiefs and Clerics: Abdul Bakar Kan and the Futa Toro, 1853–1891* (London, 1975); Finn Fuglestad, *A History of Niger, 1850–1960* (Cambridge, 1983); Jean Suret-Canale, "La fin de la chefferie en Guinée," *Journal of African History* 7, no. 3 (1966): 459–93; Jacques Lombard, *Autorités traditionnelles et pouvoirs européens en Afrique noire* (Paris, 1967), 106–20. After World War I, French hostility to chiefs diminished somewhat, due to a series of revolts led by dispossessed chiefs during the war, as well as to growing French concern that their earlier "emancipatory" policies now threatened their own authority. For details regarding this change of heart, see Alice Conklin, "'Democracy' Rediscovered: The Advent of Association in French West Africa, 1914–1930," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 36, no. 1 (1997).

<sup>20</sup> The influence of earlier experiences in Algeria on later policies in West Africa is also a subject that deserves further investigation. On French attitudes toward Algerian notables, see Julia Clancy-Smith, *Rebel and Saint: Muslim Notables, Populist Protest, Colonial Encounters (Algeria and Tunisia, 1800–1904)* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994); Charles-André Julien, *Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine*, Vol. 1, *La conquête et les débuts de la colonisation, 1827–1871* (Paris, 1954).

<sup>21</sup> The classic study of the French encounter with these empire builders remains A. S. Kanya-Forstner, *The Conquest of the Western Sudan: A Study in French Military Imperialism* (London, 1969); on French antipathy to chiefs generally, see Charles-Robert Ageron, *France coloniale ou parti colonial?* (Paris, 1978), 69; Michael Crowder, *West Africa under Colonial Rule* (London, 1968), 187–98.

<sup>22</sup> For example, in 1907, Governor Clozel wrote to Roume that he would attempt to take into account as much as possible "the principles repeatedly posed by the Governor General, that is to say the disappearance of the great native commands." ANS, 5 E 15, Lieutenant Gouverneur de la Côte d'Ivoire to Gouverneur Général, no. 30, May 20, 1907. In 1917, the governor of Guinea also makes a reference to the "instructions of 1907 aimed at destroying the great native commands." ANS, 5 E 40, Conseil de Gouvernement, Documents, 1917.

<sup>23</sup> While the trend was toward destroying regimes in place, the pattern was hardly uniform throughout the federation, since individual lieutenant governors and field administrators still had considerable discretion to act as they saw fit. Thus in parts of Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, and Niger, local authorities opposed Dakar's directives. For more details on local French decisions, see Searing, "Accommodation and Resistance," 86–171; Weiskel, *French Colonial Rule and the Baule Peoples*, 142–54; Fuglestad, *History of Niger*, 66–70.

the slaves, to ruin the great commands, to eradicate feudal vestiges." The administrative cadres responded by putting "all their youthful energy and secret instincts at the service of the oppressed."<sup>24</sup> Thus did democratic France distinguish itself from England, which, "under the semblances of a doctrinaire liberalism," allowed to persist in West Africa "all that [was] oppressive in the feudal regime in place when they arrived."<sup>25</sup>

Roume's successor, William Merlaud-Ponty (1908–1914), was, if anything, even more hostile to chiefs. Upon assuming office, he introduced what he called a policy of ethnically homogeneous commands, or *politique des races*, specifically designed to remove chiefs who were currently ruling Africans of a different ethnic or religious group from their own and replace them with legitimate leaders drawn from the ethnic or tribal group in question. The governing idea here was again democratic and egalitarian: "by allowing each ethnic group to evolve within its own mentality . . . we are furthering the birth of individual effort within each group and thus liberating the entire group from the religious or political influence of the neighboring group."<sup>26</sup> Previously and arbitrarily formed groups "created by the tyranny of local chiefs or the bloody madness of conquerors and marabouts" would thus disappear, and the right of all people "to exist" would be respected.<sup>27</sup>

In the end, the French could not get rid of African chiefs altogether; French personnel were too scarce to ever have ruled directly. Even with the "great commands" and ostensibly "bloody conquerors" gone, the French field administrators (*commandants de cercle*) remained dependent on a hierarchy of local village and canton chiefs to collect taxes and enforce local regulations. Republican sentiment nevertheless continued to influence the way these local chiefs were treated. Unhappy about having to continue to rely on such unpalatable intermediaries, Dakar instructed the field administrators to act as watchdogs and maintain constant contact with the local population to protect them against abuses. Local administrators were to conduct as many inspections as possible within their districts.<sup>28</sup> The inspector of administrative affairs of each colony was to visit every circle in his colony at least once a year.<sup>29</sup> Finally, it was necessary, in Roume's words, "to avoid . . . granting [chiefs'] commands that are too extensive, which they too often . . . abuse, and which only add . . . unjustified extra burdens to the population's normal ones."<sup>30</sup> In this way, "the native" would realize that, "thanks to

<sup>24</sup> ANS, 17 G 293 Fonds Moderne (hereafter, FM), "Note au sujet du rôle des chefs," n.a., n.d. (ca. 1920). There was no "massacre" in the literal sense, just a figurative beheading of aristocrats in the form of their removal from power.

<sup>25</sup> ANS, 17 G 293 FM, Gouverneur Général to Ministre des Colonies, March 26, 1921.

<sup>26</sup> ANS, 17 G 38, Circulaire, Gouverneur Général to Lieutenants Gouverneurs, September 22, 1909. As this quotation suggests, there was also an anti-clerical dimension to the *politique des races*. Dakar was as suspicious of Islam as it was of aristocratic power. For an excellent discussion of this subject, see Christopher Harrison, *France and Islam in West Africa, 1860–1960* (Cambridge, 1988).

<sup>27</sup> Paul Marty, "La politique indigène du Gouverneur Général Ponty en Afrique occidentale française," *Revue du monde musulman* 31 (1915): 7.

<sup>28</sup> Circulaire no. 75c "a. s. des tournées devant être effectuées par les Administrateurs," Gouverneur Général to Lieutenants Gouverneurs, September 6, 1911, *JOAOF*, 623.

<sup>29</sup> ANS, Circulaire no. 57c "a. s. de la politique indigène et du fonctionnement de l'Inspection des Affaires Administratives," Gouverneur Général to Lieutenants Gouverneurs, August 12, 1911.

<sup>30</sup> Ernest Roume, Discours, Conseil de Gouvernement, December 4, 1905, *JOAOF*, 586.



us, the rights of the individual exist.”<sup>31</sup> Dakar paid a high price for its liberal sentiments: chiefs divested from office took advantage of a reduced French presence during World War I to rebel—often with the support of masses for whom administration by the French was perceived to be no less “tyrannical” than the “feudal” regime it replaced.

Forms of bondage seemingly reminiscent of Old Regime France thus moved administrators serving under the Third Republic to intervene actively in African social relations. Yet the late nineteenth-century discourse of progress privileged liberation of the mind as much as it did unchaining the body. A second leitmotif of the civilizing mission in Dakar, not surprisingly, was that the republican state would also promote education in its overseas colonies. At first glance, there appears to be nothing particularly “republican” about the approach to schooling taken in West Africa. There can be little doubt that the republic failed to carry out in the federation as extensive an educational program as in provincial France.<sup>32</sup> What little was done, moreover, seems to have been inspired by very different principles from those operating in the metropole, where a universal, and nationally uniform, education was made free, secular, and compulsory in the 1880s.<sup>33</sup> Given the vastness and ethnic diversity of the federated territories in West Africa and the limited French personnel, Dakar opted from the outset not for uniformity and assimilation but for schools “adapted” to local conditions. “Adapted education”—which was organized in 1903—took the French curriculum as a starting point but then replaced information relevant to France with comparable information drawn from the African context.<sup>34</sup> The stated goal was to help Africans evolve “materially and

<sup>31</sup> ANS, 2 G 1–2, “Rapport politique,” Gouverneur Général to Ministre des Colonies, 1901. See also references to the policy of dismantling “the great native commands” in ANS, 5 E 15, Lieutenant Gouverneur de la Côte d’Ivoire to Gouverneur Général, no. 30, May 20, 1907; and ANS, 5 40, Conseil de Gouvernement, Documents, 1917.

<sup>32</sup> This is the major conclusion of Denise Bouche, *L’enseignement dans les territoires français de l’Afrique occidentale de 1817 à 1920: Mission civilisatrice ou formation d’une élite?* 2 vols. (Lille, 1985); see also Gail Kelly, “The Presentation of Indigenous Society in the Schools of French West Africa and Indochina, 1918–1938,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 36, no. 3 (1984): 523–42; and “Interwar Schools and the Development of African History in French West Africa,” *History in Africa* 10 (1983): 163–85; Priscilla Blakemore, “Assimilation and Association in French Educational Policy and Practice: Senegal, 1903–1939,” in Charles Lyons and Vincent Battle, eds., *Essays in the History of African Education* (New York, 1970), 85–103.

<sup>33</sup> On republican schools generally, see Antoine Prost, *Histoire de l’enseignement en France, 1800–1967* (Paris, 1968), chaps. 9, 12, 14, 16; Theodore Zeldin, *France 1848–1945: Intellect and Pride* (1977; Oxford, 1980), chap. 4; and the relevant chapters in Nora, *Les lieux de mémoires*, Vol. 1, *La République*. As an aspect of the *mission civilisatrice* in the provinces, see Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford, Calif., 1976), chap. 18; and James Lehning, *Peasant and French: Cultural Contact in Rural France during the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1995), chap. 6. For more critical views of the Jules Ferry system, see Sanford Elwitt, *The Making of the Third Republic: Class and Politics in France, 1868–1884* (Baton Rouge, La., 1975), chap. 5; Linda Clark, *Schooling the Daughters of Marianne: Textbooks and the Socialization of Girls in Modern French Primary Schools*, chap. 2; Robert Gildea, *Education in Provincial France, 1800–1914: A Study of Three Departments* (Oxford, 1983), chaps. 7–8. Recent scholarship is beginning to contest the older view of primary school education under the Third Republic, which has maintained that the Ferry Laws’ principal mission was to transform “peasants into Frenchmen.” This was to be done at the expense of local languages and cultures, as peasants were assimilated into a national culture through instruction in French. It is now being argued that the republican school was in practice quite accommodating of local *patois* and cultural practices. See in particular Jean-François Chanut, *L’école républicaine et les petites patries* (Paris, 1996).

<sup>34</sup> Arrêté no. 806, November 24, 1903, in *Bulletin administratif du Sénégal*, 647–56.

morally” in a manner consistent with their state of “development” by offering them a practical course of study based on the “superior ideas of France.” Africans were to learn elementary agricultural techniques and hygiene along with basic reading and writing. Adapted education was also to guarantee that such evolution occurred within an African tradition, rather than a French one. The schools were to focus on preserving those aspects of African culture that did not affront French standards of civilization, which Dakar claimed to be superior as well as universal. This was to be accomplished by combining lessons in French morality with as many references as possible to African history and local folklore.<sup>35</sup>

Despite this rhetorical emphasis on adaptation, closer scrutiny confirms that aspects of the same republican universalism that officially prevailed in French schools affected the education of Africans. Dakar’s stated objective, mirroring the laws sponsored between 1879 and 1886 by French statesman Jules Ferry, was free, lay, and universal education for all Africans, and the Government General anticipated making schooling compulsory in the near future.<sup>36</sup> As Ponty put it, education of youth had always been “one of the essential preoccupations of the Republic,” “in the colonies as well as in the metropole.”<sup>37</sup> Education, he insisted, was “the most efficient instrument of our civilizing work,” since it imposed “on the natives the idea that they can and must improve their living conditions” and provided them “with the means to do so.”<sup>38</sup>

Another sign of French republican principles at work was the somewhat paradoxical decision, given the expressed goal not to assimilate Africans, to make French language instruction an integral part of adapted education. British missionaries, in contrast, who did much of the educational work in the British West African colonies, almost always preferred to teach in local languages. In French West Africa, colonial administrators believed that learning French would help move Africans along the path to civilization by teaching them to love their own ancestry and France simultaneously.<sup>39</sup> Through the African village schools or “schools of language where the children learn to understand and speak French,” French “influence will permeate the masses, penetrate and envelop them like a thin web of new loyalties.”<sup>40</sup> Even if Africans quickly forgot the French words they had learned at school, they would not forget the ideas they conveyed, “ideas that are our own and whose use endows us with our moral, social and economic superiority” and that “will little by little transform these barbarians of yesterday into disciples and agents.”<sup>41</sup> Establishing a common language in France had been an important part

<sup>35</sup> Arrêté no. 806, November 24, 1903, in *Bulletin administratif du Sénégal*, 647–56; ANS, 5 E 4, Camille Guy, “Rapport sur l’enseignement,” Conseil de Gouvernement, Documents, 1903.

<sup>36</sup> That Ponty would have liked to make education compulsory is evident in his Circulaire no. 62c “a. s. de la refonte des textes de l’enseignement en AOF,” August 24, 1911, *JOAOF*, 575–76; and Circulaire 16c, February 2, 1910, *JOAOF*, 84, which argued that, although compulsion was not possible, all African employees of the French should be “the first to provide this elementary example of devotion to our institutions and comprehension of our ideas, which consists of sending their children to school.”

<sup>37</sup> Circulaire no. 16c “a. s. de la fréquentation de l’école,” February 2, 1910, *JOAOF*, 84.

<sup>38</sup> Circulaire no. 44c “relative aux programmes scolaires,” May 1, 1914, *JOAOF*, 461–62.

<sup>39</sup> See Bouche, *L’enseignement dans les territoires*, 2: 568.

<sup>40</sup> William Ponty, Discours, Conseil de Gouvernement, June 20, 1910, September 12, 1912, *JOAOF*, 405, 732.

<sup>41</sup> Circulaire “relative aux programmes scolaires,” Gouverneur Général to Lieutenants Gouverneurs, May 1, 1914, *JOAOF*, 462–82.

of the First and Third Republic's plans for creating an enlightened citizenry and democratic nation.<sup>42</sup> Although Dakar never expected to transform its subjects into French citizens, it did not question that all Africans could and should learn to speak French as part of an apprenticeship in civilization.

A final republican dimension of Dakar's approach to education was an insistence that the Africans who attended their schools be drawn from all social milieus, not merely the old ruling classes.<sup>43</sup> Military administrators before 1870 had often adopted the opposite tactic, in the belief that the sons of Africa's traditional chiefs would remain France's natural collaborators.<sup>44</sup> As we have seen, however, the new Government General had no desire to preserve the "great commands," seeking instead to democratize social and political relations as much as possible. Schools could serve as valuable allies in this quest; placing slaves and sons of the old aristocracy side by side in a classroom was the best way to convince "children and parents alike . . . that intelligence alone creates social superiority." Thanks to such efforts, power would no longer be "the exclusive appanage of the aristocracy" but would belong to those "who have profited from our instruction in order to learn our civilization."<sup>45</sup> Previously restricted to an elite whose collaboration was deemed necessary, education would now be extended "to all classes of society,"<sup>46</sup> regardless of "origin, race, caste or religion."<sup>47</sup> As in late nineteenth-century France, education in Africa, it was hoped, would promote social mobility and help create a society in which careers would be, according to the Napoleonic dictum, open to talent rather than based on privilege.

Through their adapted schools, then, as well as through attacks on "feudal" remnants, French republicans imagined that they were forging a new African humanity—one cast as much in their own moral image as marked by indelible difference. This concern with emancipating the individual from the various "chains" that bound him did not mean, however, that the Government General was somehow less concerned with improving the material aspect of African existence. To the contrary, a final theme of Dakar's *mission civilisatrice* in this period was that French colonization would also free Africans from nature's tyranny through the use of modern science and technology—which together would unlock the earth's re-

<sup>42</sup> It is interesting to note that Dakar's emphasis on teaching Africans French occurred at the same time that metropolitan republicans were imposing linguistic uniformity throughout the French provinces much more vigorously than in the 1880s. Caroline Ford has explained this change as part of a renewed effort to republicanize the masses in the face of the threat posed by the New Right during and after the Dreyfus Affair. Caroline Ford, "Which Nation? Language, Identity and Republican Politics in Post-Revolutionary France," *History of European Ideas* 17, no. 1 (1993): 31–46. On republican education as a preparation for citizenship, see Pierre Rosanvallon, *Le sacre du citoyen: Histoire du suffrage universel en France* (Paris, 1992), 362–90; Philip Nord, "Republican Politics and the Bourgeois Interior," in Suzanne Nash, ed., *Home and Its Dislocations in Nineteenth-Century France* (Albany, N.Y., 1993), 201–05; Katherine Auspitz, *The Radical Bourgeoisie: The Ligue de l'enseignement and the Origins of the Third Republic* (Cambridge, 1982).

<sup>43</sup> ANS, Circulaire no. 82c, Gouverneur Général to Lieutenants Gouverneurs, August 30, 1910.

<sup>44</sup> This policy was typical, for example, of Louis Archinard, who had organized a special school for the sons of chiefs during the conquest era.

<sup>45</sup> ANS, 2 G 9–2, "Rapport d'ensemble de la Guinée," Lieutenant Gouverneur de la Guinée to Gouverneur Général, 1909.

<sup>46</sup> ANS, 2 G 8–7, "Rapport sur l'enseignement," Gouverneur Général to Ministre des Colonies, 1908, first version.

<sup>47</sup> Circulaire no. 16c, February 2, 1910, JOAOF, 84.

sources, promote new commercial exchanges, and thus help create a better standard of living for both French and Africans. "The most important result of colonization is to increase world productivity. It is at the same time a great social force for progress . . . the scientific development [*mise en valeur*] of the planet."<sup>48</sup> The Third Republic was, moreover, clear about the kind of scientific know-how most likely to release Africa's economic potential: the railroad and, to a lesser extent, the clinic. The Government General was created specifically to facilitate the construction of railroads in West Africa; without a modern communications network, France's colonies would never prosper.<sup>49</sup> A secondary preoccupation was improved urban and rural hygiene. Between 1895 and 1914, Dakar not only raised several loans to get railroad construction in West Africa under way and start a program of public health and hygiene (*assainissement*) and African medical assistance (Assistance Médicale Indigène)<sup>50</sup> but also eloquently defended its actions as "a tool of social progress and truly a work of humanity." Other countries "have been able to attain some degree of civilization . . . without railroads." But in West Africa, because of its isolation and lack of natural communications, "no noteworthy progress in any direction has occurred" in the absence of the railway. "It is therefore our duty . . . as a civilized nation to take those steps that nature itself imposes."<sup>51</sup> "A dirt road creates a void; a railroad or steamboat brings the population back, and with it a fecund and joyous activity."<sup>52</sup> In addition to accelerating commercial exchanges, the development of agricultural production, and a "progressive decrease in human portage," railroads would profoundly modify "the current African social organization as a result of the facility with which, more and more, the freed laborer will have to sell his labor."<sup>53</sup> In short, investment in both railroads and modern hygienic and medical services was part of the "debt that republican France, faithful to its tradition of generosity and human fraternity, owes it to itself to honor"—to quote the solidarist language of the time, which presumed an organic functioning of society, French or African.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Deherme, *L'Afrique occidentale française*, 14. These same ideas can be found in the work of another publicist, and future governor of Senegal, Camille Guy, *Les colonies françaises: La mise en valeur de notre domaine coloniale* (Paris, 1900).

<sup>49</sup> Dakar's railroad program is discussed in Georges François, *L'Afrique occidentale française* (Paris, 1907), 135–39; Colin Newbury, "The Formation of the Government General in French West Africa," *Journal of African History* 1, no. 1 (1960): 111–28; Margaret Maclane, "Railways and 'Development Imperialism,' in French West Africa before 1914," *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History* 18 (1991): 505–14; and Paul Pheffer, "Railroads and Aspects of Social Change in Senegal" (PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1975).

<sup>50</sup> For the decree on public health, see Décret, April 14, 1904, *Journal officiel de la République française, Édition des lois et décrets* (hereafter, *JORF*), April 17, 1904, 2397–99, arts. 1 and 16; ANS, H 19, Extrait du Décret "relatif à la protection de la santé publique en AOF," April 14, 1904. The AMI was created by Arrêté no. 131, December 10, 1904, *JOAOF*, 84–86, later modified by Arrêté no. 24, January 7, 1907, *JOAOF*, 11–15. Hygiene and medical assistance were given considerably more attention after World War I, when Governor General Cardé embarked on his policy of *faire du noir*. For a case study of French medical policy in one colony, see Dominique Domergue-Cloarec, "Politique coloniale française et réalités coloniales: L'exemple de la santé en Côte d'Ivoire, 1905–1968" (Thèse pour le doctorat d'Etat, Université de Poitiers, 1984).

<sup>51</sup> ANS, 5 E 1, "Projet d'emprunt des 65 millions: Exposé des motifs du projet de loi," Conseil de Gouvernement, Documents, 1902.

<sup>52</sup> Quoted in François, *L'Afrique occidentale française*, 315–16.

<sup>53</sup> ANS, 5 E 1, "Projet d'emprunt des 65 millions."

<sup>54</sup> Archives Nationales, Section Outre-Mer (hereafter, ANSOM), AP 3236, Speech by Governor

Dakar's belief in the transforming power of railways and improved hygiene was part of a general fascination in the metropole during the 1880s and 1890s with science and its power to provide progress for all. Although the July Monarchy and the Second Empire had also romanced the railroad, the Third Republic's infatuation with modern technology was particularly strong. It was the Third Republic, after all, that chose in 1889 to proclaim the achievements of liberalism to the rest of the world by constructing two industrial structures of monumental scale: the Gallery of Machines, made of wrought iron and glass, and the Eiffel Tower, made entirely of steel.<sup>55</sup> And even before the Eiffel Tower was conceived, the Third Republic had committed itself through the Freycinet plan to building railroads throughout rural France in a conscious attempt to integrate another group of "savages," its own peasants, into both the marketplace and the nation.<sup>56</sup>

As for a concern for public hygiene, this was a longstanding republican ideal, which both the *fin-de-siècle* revolution in microbiology and specific developments in public health legislation in the metropole only helped intensify. Thanks to the germ theory of disease pioneered by Robert Koch and Louis Pasteur, the etiology of some of the most killing diseases—cholera and typhoid—began to be understood in the 1890s; attention then turned to the tropical climates, where the greatest challenges still lay. In 1894, the bacillus of bubonic plague was isolated, and in 1897 and 1901 respectively, the vectors for malaria and yellow fever were identified. In France, in response both to the revolutionary findings of bacteriology and to the efforts of a newly organized and professionalized group of hygienists, the first new public health law since the mid-nineteenth century was passed in 1902; the point of the law, in theory at least, was to introduce up-to-date health standards.<sup>57</sup> These metropolitan successes quickly reverberated in the colonies, as Dakar's public health and native medical assistance measures attest. The unstated assumption was that African subjects would respond in exactly the same way as metropolitan citizens to market incentives and new technologies imposed by a progressive state.

Republican themes old and new thus suffused the discourse of French administrators in West Africa and affected their decisions vis-à-vis the colonized. This finding is important, because it suggests that the notion of a specifically French civilization nevertheless open to all was not mere phraseology fabricated for

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General Roume to the Comité Supérieur d'Hygiène et de Salubrité Publique, during their session June 17–21, 1904.

<sup>55</sup> Debora Silverman, "The Paris Exhibition of 1889: Architecture and the Crisis of Individualism," *Oppositions* 8 (1977): 71–91; and *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), 1–5.

<sup>56</sup> Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, chaps. 12, 28–29; Elwitt, *Making of the Third Republic*, 146. See also Roger Price, *The Modernization of Rural France: Communications Networks and Agricultural Market Structures in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York, 1983).

<sup>57</sup> Research on developments in medicine and hygiene under the Third Republic has increased dramatically. See Claire Salomon-Bayet, et al., *Pasteur et la révolution pastorianne* (Paris, 1986); Bruno Latour, *The Pasteurization of France*, Alan Sheridan and John Law, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1988); Anne Marie Moulin, "Bacteriological Research and Medical Practice in and out of the Pastorian School," in Ann La Berge and Mordechai Feingold, eds., *French Medical Culture in the Nineteenth Century* (Amsterdam, 1994), 327–349; Martha Hildreth, *Doctors, Bureaucrats and Public Health in France, 1888–1902* (New York, 1987); Lion Murard and Patrick Zylberman, "De l'hygiène comme introduction à la politique expérimentale (1875–1925)," *Revue de synthèse*, 3<sup>e</sup> ser., no. 115 (1984): 313–41; and "La raison de l'expert ou l'hygiène comme science sociale appliquée," *Archives européennes de sociologie* 26, no. 1 (1985): 58–89.



domestic consumption in an era of mass democracy. The rhetoric of generosity and universal solidarity was a central part of how the Third Republic conceived of itself as an imperialist nation at home and in the colonies. And as republican imperialists, the French knew exactly wherein their generosity lay. A speech by Socialist deputy Maurice Violette in Parliament in December 1912 confirms that a whole generation of statesmen interpreted France's *mission civilisatrice* in the same way. "Whatever may be said, republican France has remained profoundly idealistic." It was won over to colonization because the government explained that such a policy served not only France's material interests but also "the cause of civilization and humanity." The country was made to understand "that there was cannibalism to suppress, slavery to destroy, the awful tyranny of bloody kinglets to repress." France, by thus "appearing as a great liberating power," would awaken the curiosity of "peoples still immersed in barbarism"; they would then "turn toward us in order to draw upon our reasoning, our methods and our tastes, and, steeped in our genius without dreaming of an impossible assimilation, they would continue magnificently France overseas . . . To produce men in the economic and moral sense of the word . . . capable . . . of integrating themselves into the movement of universal exchanges, this is the task."<sup>58</sup>

These were stirring words, which testify—especially in the period from 1895 to 1914—to the allure that the idea of a common French-African humanity held for the nation at the dawn of the twentieth century. Their colonial subjects, Violette's words imply, were not just barbarians; they were barbarians capable of, and in the process of receiving, civilization understood in the most democratic and universal sense. Thanks to French native, educational, and public works policies, there was just enough "liberation" occurring in West Africa to lend credence to these claims in the eyes of local administrators and metropolitan legislators. These policies enacted in the name of republican liberties, however underfunded and incomplete (they were always both), constituted one of the fundamental ways the governing elite of the Third Republic managed to reconcile itself to the essential illegality of acquiring and ruling an empire by force in the first place.

Yet if republican universalism appeared most obviously at work in the attack on feudalism, ignorance, poverty, and disease, it can also be detected in another set of policies, ones that at first glance seem exclusively racist in content. These include a system of native justice set up by Dakar in which administrators had extraordinary powers of punishment, a systematic recourse to forced labor in the federation, and the decision to designate all Africans as subjects rather than citizens. Each of these policies denied basic rights to Africans on the grounds that they were inherently different from the French; in each case, however, the Government General tempered this denial by codifying—again in the name of civilization—the amount of coercion that could be used against the colonized. That a continued recourse to force was, by definition, necessary to help "barbaric" Africans progress, Dakar never questioned. Nevertheless, the French Republic apparently could not in good conscience leave any fellow human beings, however "uncivilized," totally deprived of legal protection. It therefore placed limits on imperial violence in all its guises.

<sup>58</sup> Débats, Chambre des Députés, *JORF*, December 19, 1912, 3306.

Along with the abolition of “feudalism” in the form of slavery and chiefs, the availability of education and the construction of railroads and clinics, these regulatory limits helped convince the French public that even the most coercive and discriminating colonial policies still represented the forward march of the universal rights of man.

FROM THE OUTSET, THE THIRD REPUBLIC designated all Africans as subjects rather than citizens. This should have been a contradiction in terms; for a democratic regime to have subjects is a violation of its founding principles. One excuse used at the time to explain away this anomaly was that Africans were too primitive to be citizens; only fully autonomous individuals, it was argued, could be safely entrusted with abstract political rights. Yet, as feminist historians have shown when analyzing a parallel exclusion of women from suffrage in France, a general charge of immaturity and difference was not the only way that French men justified their monopoly on political power. When men denied women the franchise, they were also careful to assign them an alternative political role of “equal” value: that of constructing the nation through reproduction and domesticity.<sup>59</sup> This alternative role diverted most women from questioning their exclusion and convinced men and women alike that the Third Republic was a true democracy. In a similar spirit, but through different means, France went beyond the description of Africans as barbarians in its attempt to justify, to itself and to Africans, the presence of subjects within the republic. One additional way it sanctioned the political exclusion of the African was to pass a naturalization law, through which “deserving” subjects could become French citizens.

Dakar evinced early on a concern that meritorious Africans be allowed to progress from subjecthood to citizenship. In 1907, Roume petitioned the minister of colonies to approve a naturalization bill. Its purpose was to create “a new situation.” On the one hand, there would be a large majority of “natives who are our subjects by right of conquest, or by voluntary submission.” On the other hand, there would be an elite who would become “French citizens, in the real and full sense of the term, justifying their ascension in the social hierarchy by their merit and by services they have rendered, legitimately enjoying all rights that French law confers, by which they will have agreed to be bound . . . in every way our equals.” Roume’s conditions for acquiring French citizenship included a West African place of birth and residence, proof of devotion to France or occupation of a position in the colonial administration, knowledge of French, proof of good financial standing and

<sup>59</sup> On republican attitudes toward women, see Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988); Geneviève Fraisse, *Reason’s Muse: Sexual Difference and the Birth of Democracy*, Jane Marie Todd, trans. (Chicago, 1994); Joan Wallach Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996); James F. McMillan, *Housewife or Harlot: The Place of Women in French Society, 1870–1940* (New York, 1981); Clark, *Schooling the Daughters of Marianne*; for a more general discussion of the meaning of citizenship in France, see Rosanvallon, *Le sacre du citoyen*; and Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).

moral rectitude, no criminal record, and no history of bankruptcy.<sup>60</sup> It would, however, take another five years before a naturalization law was actually issued. When it was finally signed on May 15, 1912, Dakar added two additional requirements: a certificate of primary studies and proof of payment of taxes by property owners.<sup>61</sup>

Clearly, then, the French did not assume that all Africans would eventually raise themselves to citizenship; a minority at most would be affected. Nevertheless, the notion that some Africans could become equals helped deflect attention away from the fact that most would remain subjects. In this instance, the Third Republic obscured the contradiction posed by the existence of "subjecthood," and the violation of rights it entailed, by regulating the conditions of its selective disappearance. No African male who deserved to be a citizen would, in theory, be denied entry into the republican brotherhood of *citoyens*.

In addition to posing the possibility of citizenship, there was a second way the Third Republic dealt with the embarrassing problem of colonial "subjecthood." This was to endow France's subjects, like its citizens, with certain rights as well as duties—to make republican "subjecthood," so to speak, a variation of republican citizenship. Subjects under the Third Republic were given none of the political prerogatives but many of the obligations of citizenship. Although they were not governed by French law and did not participate in any way in their own government, African subjects were expected to pay taxes, contribute free labor, and serve under French colors. In return for fulfilling these obligations, these subjects had the right to expect that the power exercised in their name by the republic and its agents be legally constituted and genuinely in their own interest. Both the administration of justice and the codification of forced labor illustrate this particular aspect of French civilization ideology in West Africa.

In 1903, the Government General declared that it was part of its duty as civilizer to guarantee the rule of law and to institute a fair and humane system of justice throughout West Africa.<sup>62</sup> A concern for helping Africans to progress was not—in this case as in the other policies so far discussed—the only motivation for taking an interest in the administration of justice. Political and economic considerations made such judicial control imperative, and it was the interests of the colonizer that the system at first glance appeared exclusively to favor. The 1903 decree organizing West Africa's legal system established two different hierarchies of courts: an urban hierarchy, made up of French courts and practicing French law, and, in the rural areas, a hierarchy of "native" courts, practicing customary law insofar as it did not

<sup>60</sup> ANSOM, AP 2759/2, "Politique indigène: Naturalisation des indigènes, législation et projets," Gouverneur Général to Ministre des Colonies, no. 1015, May 30, 1907.

<sup>61</sup> ANSOM, AP 2759/4, "Note sur l'opportunité d'un décret permettant aux indigènes de l'AOF d'accéder à la qualité de citoyen français," March 15, 1911; Arrêté no. 907 "promulguant en AOF le décret du 25.5.12 fixant les conditions d'accession des indigènes de l'AOF d'accéder à la qualité de citoyen français," *JOAOF*, 395.

<sup>62</sup> The decree organizing justice was issued on November 10, 1903, and is reprinted in Pierre Meunier, *Organisation et fonctionnement de la justice indigène en Afrique occidentale française* (Paris, 1912); also relevant is Gouvernement Général de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, *Justice indigène: Instructions aux administrateurs sur l'application du décret du 10 novembre 1903 portant réorganisation du service de la justice* (Gorée, 1905). The following discussion of the 1903 judicial system is summarized from these two sources.

conflict with the principles of French civilization.<sup>63</sup> French courts were presided over by professional magistrates. Native courts (village, subdivision, and circle), in contrast, were almost entirely in the hands of French administrators or their African collaborators. In theory, the latter were qualified by tradition to administer justice. But most French administrators had no legal training whatsoever before World War I.<sup>64</sup>

Despite this lack of experience, “native” court judges had powers of punishment far greater than their metropolitan counterparts. Village chiefs could issue fines from 1 to 15 francs and jail sentences from one to five days without appeal. The circle court, over which the local French administrator presided, tried all felonies committed by Africans. In these cases, in a flagrant abuse of the principle of the separation of powers, the French *commandant* acted as public prosecutor as well as judge, for it was he who, after a preliminary investigation, referred felonies to his own court for adjudication. A 1912 reform of the system granted the French administrator even more leeway: it empowered him to appeal sentences rendered at the subdivision level, when he considered the sentencing too lenient or too harsh.<sup>65</sup> He would then retry the very cases he had appealed. Independent of these powers, French administrators could also levy fines, order arrests, and issue jail sentences for up to fifteen days without appeal under the provisions of the *indigénat*, a special penal code applicable only to Africans.<sup>66</sup>

These extraordinary powers of repression on the part of the French state would seem to suggest that, whatever the rhetoric of the civilizing mission, African subjects stood little chance of ever having their interests adequately protected. Yet the system was not as biased as it first seems. Dakar introduced from the outset a counterweight to state authority in the form of a special appeals procedure for Africans. The 1903 decree provided that all circle court sentences exceeding five years were automatically reviewed by the highest court of the federation—the *Chambre d’Homologation*. This was a special chamber of the French Appeals Court and was presided over by its vice president. With the help of two legal counselors, two members of the administration, and two African notables, this judge determined whether criminal sentences exceeding five years had been properly and fairly rendered. The 1912 reform further expanded these powers of review, by allowing the prosecutor general of the federation to refer any judgment rendered by a native

<sup>63</sup> In committing themselves to respecting “customary law,” the French did not explain exactly what they meant by the term. On the one hand, they believed that there was a pre-colonial legal form in place comparable to how common law functioned in France. On the other hand, they did not assume that this law was in any way static and constantly stressed that any attempt at codifying it would interfere in that custom’s natural evolution under French influence. The French also divided customary law into two categories: civil law, whose application they left almost entirely in the hands of Africans, and criminal law, whose application they arrogated on the grounds that it was in the prosecution of crimes that African custom was most “barbaric” and in need of “enlightenment.”

<sup>64</sup> Out of 299 administrators serving between 1897 and 1905, 34 had law degrees. William Cohen, *Rulers of Empire: The French Colonial Service in Africa, 1880–1960* (Stanford, Calif., 1971), 35.

<sup>65</sup> *Gouvernement Général de l’Afrique Occidentale Française, Justice indigène: Instructions aux administrateurs sur l’application du décret du 16 août 1912 portant réorganisation du service de la justice en AOF* (Dakar, 1913).

<sup>66</sup> On the history of the *indigénat*, see A. I. Asiwaju, “Control through Coercion: A Study of the *indigénat* Regime in French West African Administration, 1876–1946,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Fondamental d’Afrique Noire*, ser. B, 41, no. 1 (1978): 35–71.

court, whose fairness he questioned, before the chamber. The chamber's subsequent rulings were only enforceable if they benefited the accused.

The institution of the *Chambre d'Homologation* went against the advice of the lieutenant governors of the federation, because it introduced an element of French control from a source outside of the colonial administration into the native court hierarchy. Called upon to justify this innovation to his subordinates, Roume maintained that some form of supervision by professional magistrates was necessary for ideological as well as political reasons. "We must provide the natives with the guarantees essential to the good distribution of justice and lead them prudently and consistently to a higher level of civilization."<sup>67</sup> This could best be accomplished by insisting that, where serious crimes were concerned, a judicial authority distinct from the political authority predominate.

The provisions of the 1903 judicial system confirm that the Government General accepted, as one of the responsibilities of empire, the guaranteeing of certain rights to the colonized. These rights were not particularly impressive and were entirely determined by the French. This said, the *Chambre d'Homologation* left a legacy of active intervention in criminal sentencing in West Africa.<sup>68</sup> And what little research has been done on African use of the courts suggests that they did indeed provide an arena in which individual subjects could successfully challenge the French administration.<sup>69</sup> The point here, however, is not to determine how real or empty such rights were but rather to underscore how effective the existence of some self-policing in the name of republican universalism was at normalizing the exorbitant recourse to violence in which the administration of justice in particular and the larger French colonial enterprise were embedded. Because there were institutional limits to the administration's power to punish, imperialism in general in France during this period went unquestioned. The codification of forced labor in West Africa illustrates this process even better.

By no longer legally recognizing slavery in 1905, the Government General had implicitly declared its belief in the superiority of free labor and the law of the marketplace. This belief was an unquestioned tenet of all republicans. Yet one of the most paradoxical features of the French colonial system in West Africa was administrative-sanctioned recourse to forced labor, which the Government General made no effort to conceal. To the contrary, it maintained that the use of forced labor was a temporary necessity to help Africans progress along the path of civilization; and, rather than abolish the practice, it chose increasingly to regulate

<sup>67</sup> ANSOM, AP 1645/3, "Note pour le Ministre," July 15, 1903.

<sup>68</sup> See Gilbert-Desvallons and Edmond Joucla, eds., *Jurisprudence de la Chambre d'homologation* (Gorée, 1910); and Dominique Sarr, "La Chambre spéciale d'homologation de la Cour d'appel de l'Afrique occidentale française et les coutumes pénales 1903-1920," *Annales africaines* 1 (1974): 141-78.

<sup>69</sup> See, for example, David Groff, "The Dynamics of Collaboration and the Rule of Law in French West Africa: The Case of Kwame Kangah of Assikasso (Côte d'Ivoire), 1898-1922," and Richard Roberts, "The Case of Faama Mademba Sy and the Ambiguities of Legal Jurisdiction in Early Colonial French Soudan," in Kristin Mann and Richard Roberts, eds., *Law in Colonial Africa* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1991), 146-66 and 185-204. These studies, along with those of Dominique Sarr, suggest that the courts were used by both the French and Africans, although to what extent and for what reason awaits further research.



its use from 1912 on.<sup>70</sup> “For a long time yet it will be necessary for our subjects to be brought to progress against their will . . . It will involve the special intervention of our authority; we shall exercise this authority in essence to make Africans work, a notion they do not yet have.”<sup>71</sup>

Dakar’s willingness to endorse and regulate the use of forced labor should have conflicted with the free labor ideology that had led to the non-recognition of slavery in 1905. Instead, many French officials argued that coercion, though unpalatable, was often a short-term expedient to inculcate in the African a universally valid work ethic—which their subjects ostensibly now lacked yet without which the free labor principle could not operate in the future. In the face of an African labor shortage, Dakar also maintained that coercion alone would ensure sufficient manpower for building essential civilizing projects, such as the construction of an infrastructure and the cultivation of cash crops. Since the development of railroads and agricultural production for export would presumably benefit West Africa as much as France, the Government General reasoned, it had the right forcibly to mobilize Africans to work on both types of projects—as long as the worker was adequately protected from abuse. This last point, as we shall see, was particularly important to how the French justified forced labor, because, as in the case of the administration of justice, it at least placed theoretical limits on the power of the colonizer.

Before World War I, the French administration imposed a variety of labor obligations on its African subjects: *prestations*, or work taxes (reminiscent of the feudal *corvée* in France), to build and maintain local roads and administrative compounds, the forceful levying of porters for use both by commerce and the administration, and the forcible recruitment of workers for public works construction. Local governors also began to pressure Africans to produce certain crops for export and to force Africans to work for private concessionary companies. These last two practices became even more pervasive after the war, when Dakar began to focus more intensely on development. At the same time, the war marked a second change in regard to the use of forced labor. As recourse to coercion intensified in the 1920s, the Government General attempted to regulate its use more systematically. Between 1895 and 1914, the only form of forced labor officially organized by Dakar were the *prestations*, legalized in 1912.<sup>72</sup> After the war, Dakar issued guidelines for a variety of other labor requisitions.

<sup>70</sup> France was hardly the first “post-emancipation” state to suppress slavery only to turn around and justify other forms of compulsory labor. For a survey of forced labor practices in countries that had abolished slavery, see Willemina Kloosterboer, *Involuntary Labour since the Abolition of Slavery: A Survey of Compulsory Labour throughout the World* (Leiden, 1960). Also of interest is P. C. Emmer, ed., *Colonialism and Migration: Indentured Labour before and after Slavery* (Dordrecht, 1986); Eric Foner, *Nothing But Freedom: Emancipation and Its Legacy* (Baton Rouge, La., 1983); Frank McGlynn and Seymour Drescher, eds., *The Meaning of Freedom: Economics, Politics, and Culture after Slavery* (Pittsburgh, 1992).

<sup>71</sup> Quoted in Weiskel, *French Colonial Rule and the Baule Peoples*, 243.

<sup>72</sup> In 1912, Dakar did address a circular to the various governors suggesting that they submit proposals for regulating labor contracts in their colonies, but nothing came of it. ANS, Circulaire no. 20c “a.s. de la réglementation de la main d’oeuvre indigène et du régime du travail,” Gouverneur Général par intérim to Lieutenants Gouverneurs, June 3, 1912, *JOAOF*, 180–81.

THE 1912 DECREE LEGALIZING *prestations* offers a good example of how the French went about regulating—and thereby legitimating—forced labor in West Africa. *Prestations* were defined as annual labor requisitions owed by each African over the age of fifteen to the administration, and were not to exceed a maximum of twelve days a year. French citizens and Europeans in general were automatically exempt. The labor thus made available was to be used exclusively in the district for small-scale public works of immediate interest to the community: roads, bridges, and the upkeep of local buildings. The administration was to make sure that fulfillment of a subject's *prestations* never interfered with the planting and harvesting season. Those who could afford it could buy out of their labor tax.<sup>73</sup> Looking ahead briefly, in 1925 Dakar built on the 1912 precedent to draft a labor code regulating another form of forced labor: the recruitment of African workers for private employers. In theory, such recruitment was to be voluntary, but, as Governor General Carde freely admitted:

Everyone knew, and the Missions of Inspection that came to AOF also knew, about the actual help the authorities gave to private individuals, not only in the Ivory Coast but in other colonies of the group (Sudan, Upper Volta, Guinea, Dahomey) for recruiting labor. Illegal, perhaps, this aid was nevertheless justified for reasons that no one, among people of good faith, questions.<sup>74</sup>

Dakar's 1925 labor code imposed certain obligations on employers in return for what was essentially a guaranteed labor supply enforced by the administration; these obligations included the establishment of arbitration councils and the provision of transportation, health care, and food and housing for African workers. The code also established a minimum wage and maximum work week.<sup>75</sup> A 1930 decree authorizing compulsory cash-crop cultivation was similarly limiting in theory: this form of "obligatory public labor" could only be used by the administration for two purposes—education and experimentation. Unlike the new labor code of 1925, which was a local initiative, the 1930 decree emanated from Paris. It represented an alternative to signing a treaty sponsored by the International Labor Organization condemning certain forms of forced labor, including compulsory cultivation programs. The French, along with the Portuguese, refused to sign the treaty. Represented by the African deputy from Senegal, Blaise Diagne, France claimed that the treaty favored Great Britain, whose West African territories were more advanced economically and much more populated than its own.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>73</sup> ANS, Arrêté 1930 "portant réglementation de la prestation des indigènes dans les colonies et territoires du Gouvernement Général de l'AOF," November 11, 1912; Fall, *Le travail forcé*, chap. 6. *Prestations* had been introduced in France in 1836 for the upkeep of local roads. They were not to exceed three days a year and could be commuted to a cash payment if desired. Price, *Modernization of Rural France*, 264–66.

<sup>74</sup> ANSOM, AP 31, Papiers Henri Dirat, Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie to Gouverneur Général par intérim de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, July 13, 1931.

<sup>75</sup> Arrêté "promulguant en AOF le décret de 22.10.25," March 29, 1926, *JOAOF*, 304–51.

<sup>76</sup> Arrêté "promulguant en AOF le décret de 21.8.30," February 18, 1930, *JOAOF*, 258. In passing this decree, the government stressed the importance of using the term "obligatory public labor" rather than "forced labor." The latter term evoked the horrors of the slave trade, whereas the former supposedly underscored the progressive nature of the labor regulation. ANSOM, PA 28, Papiers Moutet, 4/127; Charles Fayet, *Esclavage et travail obligatoire: La main d'oeuvre non-volontaire en Afrique* (Paris, 1931).

The purpose of such regulation was straightforward. It was to ensure that, in exchange for being forcibly made to work, the “legitimate rights, well-being and security of the laborers” were protected.<sup>77</sup> As the above examples illustrate, although the local administration never doubted that Africans were lazy and had to be forced to work, this stereotype did not prevent Dakar from applying the principles of economic liberalism to African labor, once it had been forcibly mobilized. One classic tenet of free labor ideology was a belief that the free market should and would ensure equitable remuneration for labor expended. Such fair prices and the material rewards to which they gave access, this same ideology maintained, provided the free worker with the incentive to work harder and better than the bondsman. This ideology was clear in Dakar’s insistence that forced labor in West Africa prove remunerative to those subjected to its provisions. As one high official put it:

The moral right to use coercion [is] the automatic corollary to the idea of colonization . . . Colonial rule rests on an act of violence. Its only justification lies in the intention to substitute a more enlightened authority for the one in place, one capable of bringing the conquered peoples to a better existence . . . This result can only be achieved by applying pressure to individual actions. Such pressure is legitimate, on the sole condition that it is in the best general interest as well as in that of the natives.<sup>78</sup>

Indeed, the administration’s continuing emphasis on the notion that the interests of the colonized be respected suggests that, despite its recourse to coercion in the short term, the Government General’s long-term objective remained, in Africa as in France, a free labor economy, in which the self-directed laborer worked to satisfy ever-expanding wants. This thinking was not consciously duplicitous; rather, it further confirms that the rhetoric of rights touched every aspect of colonial rule, even where one would least expect to find it. In the realm of forced labor, Africans paid a particularly high price for France’s civilizing blinders. The limits on this most obvious form of coercion may have existed in theory, but they were never adequately enforced.

FRENCH IMPERIALISM UNDER THE EARLY THIRD REPUBLIC was the product of a number of paradoxes, not the least of which was the vast territorial expansion of the existing empire by the new democratic regime during the years it consolidated its republican institutions, formerly viewed as usurping the monarchy. Republican universalism surely strengthened the nationalist conviction that French civilization was superior to all others, while the forced labor policies overseas were more reminiscent of the oppression suffered under the *ancien régime* than anything properly democratic. What is striking in hindsight about these paradoxes is not their existence but the manner in which contemporaries managed to accommodate them within the

<sup>77</sup> ANS, Circulaire no. 120 “a.s. de la réglementation du travail en Afrique occidentale française,” Gouverneur Général to Lieutenants Gouverneurs, August 7, 1923. These reasons for drawing up a labor code were further developed by Governor Carde before the Council of the Government General in December 1924. ANS, 6 E 48 FM, Conseil de Gouvernement, “Procès verbaux,” 1924.

<sup>78</sup> ANSOM, Affaires Economiques 105, Mission Sol, Haute Volta, 1932–1933, “Rapport no. 45,” July 27, 1933.

reigning republican orthodoxy. This essay has explored one such set of accommodations in the West African context before World War I shifted the terrain and introduced new assumptions about African backwardness and French civilization. In several realms, the governors general acted sufficiently on their universalizing principles of *liberté, égalité, fraternité* to render their civilizing claims believable—at least to themselves and their fellow citizens; they built schools, hospitals, and railroads in part because they were so sure that France had found the key to how all societies progress. In other cases, the governors general tried to reconcile the irreconcilable, with disastrous consequences for Africans: forced integration into the world market on unfavorable economic terms, suspension of political rights, *corvée* labor, as well as the denial of full legal protection.

The republican dimensions of French discourse and policy in West Africa between 1895 and 1914 suggest that it is not sufficient to examine the construction of difference alone when analyzing the cultural and ideological forms of Western domination in the era of the new imperialism. While unquestionably essentialist in many of their most elementary assumptions about West Africans, Dakar's policies in realms as separate as education and forced labor confirm that the language of France's *mission civilisatrice* between 1895 and 1914 was never only racializing in content. Until the war attenuated French confidence and triggered the first African demands for full political rights, difference was embedded in an Enlightenment narrative of universal progress that made it difficult for many republicans to see how inconsistent the very notion of a civilizing mission was with their government's commitment to freedom and the rights of the individual. This narrative—while it lasted—was as productive of images of shared humanity as the more familiar objectifying gaze of the colonizer.

In the preceding pages, I have looked principally at the articulation of French republican ideals at the site of overseas expansion. My findings, however, also suggest—and here I add my voice to that of several other “new colonial historians”—that it is artificial to think of “metropolises” and “colonies” as discrete entities; liberal discourses and practices deserve to be studied both more closely and more widely in the modern global age.<sup>79</sup> Long neglected, the history of liberal ideology is coming back in fashion, at least in the case of France.<sup>80</sup> While this trend is only to be welcomed, it must not overlook the complex ways in which Enlightenment universalism simultaneously included and excluded people, at home and overseas. Women, Jews, and immigrants of color, as well as colonial subjects and the “decolonized,” have all endured the shifting tensions and ambiguities of Western claims to universalism over the past century. To capture the full complexity of not just the French-West African colonial encounter but the myriad other democratic imperialisms during this period, all the contingent and contradictory registers of

<sup>79</sup> See, in particular, the historians discussed in note 5; the essays in Cooper and Stoler, *Tensions of Empire*, also all seek in one way or another to transcend or problematize the colonial divide.

<sup>80</sup> See, for example, Claude Nicolet, *L'idée républicaine en France (1789–1924)* (1982; rpt. edn., Paris, 1994); Dale Van Kley, ed., *The French Idea of Freedom: The Old Regime and the Declaration of the Rights of 1789* (Stanford, Calif., 1994); François Furet, *La gauche et la Révolution française au milieu du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*; Edgar Quinet et la question du Jacobinisme, 1865–1870 (Paris, 1986); François Furet and Mona Ozouf, eds., *Le siècle de l'avènement républicain* (Paris, 1993); Philip Nord, *The Republican Moment: Struggles for Democracy in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995); and Judith Stone, *Sons of the Revolution: Radical Democrats in France, 1862–1914* (Baton Rouge, La., 1996).

liberal discourse must now be recovered and analyzed. The challenge in each case will be not to underscore how far liberals fell from their own ideals—that is the easy part—but to understand better the conditions in which their blind spots arose and functioned in the first place, in order that, perhaps then, the ideal of universal human rights might finally be met.

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## Bodies and Names: The Emergence of Commemoration in Interwar France

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DANIEL J. SHERMAN

SPEAKING AT THE DEDICATION OF A WAR MEMORIAL in Villerbon, in the Loire Valley in 1921, the town's mayor, Lesourd, observed that although the town's dead had proved themselves the equals of the heroes of recorded history, "for history they are, alas, anonymous, because too many." The monument's list of names thus became for Lesourd a kind of alternative history:

The tribute to the unknown soldier in Paris, offered in the name of all France, is a tribute to all, but if history cannot preserve the names of those hundreds of thousands of brave men who fell in defense of the sacred soil of the fatherland, those who knew them, at least, must retain an imperishable memory of them. Their names must be synonymous with glory and abnegation, with patriotism and duty fulfilled, in the countryside [*pays*] where they were born and lived. Finally, future generations must be able in case of need to reinvigorate themselves through the reading of these valiant names.<sup>1</sup>

As in many similar speeches in the immediate postwar years, names here represent a supplement, not a rival, to traditional historical writing. They construct a bridge between collective tribute and the memory of individuals, claiming to offer a catalog of patriotic virtues and a permanent lesson for future generations.<sup>2</sup>

Names as an auxiliary form of historical chronicle, names as linchpin in the continuity of a patriotic discourse emphasizing glory and sacrifice, hardly resonate with our current understanding of commemoration in the West. At least since the work of Philippe Ariès in the 1970s and 1980s, we have seen lists of names as the fruits of mass democracy, fundamentally different from earlier memorial forms that paid tribute to generals and rulers while leaving common soldiers forgotten in mass graves. In this dichotomy, names constitute signs of mourning, expressing an

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<sup>1</sup> "Villerbon," *La République de Loir-et-Cher*, March 6, 1921.

<sup>2</sup> For further adumbrations of these themes, see for example a speech by the minister of war, André Maginot, making the connection between collective and individual tribute even more explicit: "En l'honneur de nos morts glorieux," *Le républicain de l'est*, May 19, 1923, ceremonies in Commercy.

individual and communal grief indifferent, if not actively hostile, to the ideology of patriotism and military glory.<sup>3</sup>

In the wake of Maya Ying Lin's Vietnam Veterans' Memorial in Washington, D.C., completed in 1982, a number of scholars and critics cast the inscription of names of the dead as a distinctly modern form of commemoration. Writing about the Vietnam Memorial itself, Marita Sturken observes that the inscription of names on monuments enacts a kind of resistance to totalizing discourses that would subsume individuals into some single larger meaning.<sup>4</sup> Thomas Laqueur argues that the serial inscription of names of the dead epitomizes the way in which, in the modern, "semiotically arid world, a solution is to eschew representation and the production of meaning as far as possible and to resort to a sort of commemorative hyper-nominalism."<sup>5</sup> The meaning of this form of commemoration resides in the very lack of meaning, the reduction of signification to a vast aggregation of names.

In the passage quoted, Laqueur is discussing not the Vietnam Memorial but British commemoration of the World War I dead. Nor is this an accident: it has become a commonplace that "the principle and production of memory that is so characteristic of our time may be said to date from the Great War of 1914–1918."<sup>6</sup> Lin's monument makes the move back from our own time to World War I appear both seamless and natural. If her design conspicuously lacks the conventional pieties associated with representative sculpture, so do some of the most celebrated monuments of the Great War. Lin herself has acknowledged a conceptual debt to Sir Edwin Lutyens' Memorial to the Missing of the Somme at Thiepval (Figure 1).<sup>7</sup> Like his contemporaries, Lutyens was struggling to find a way to represent a war the paramount sign of which had become human loss. Like Lin's memorial, his multiple arch surrounds the visitor with names in a pattern of complex repetition that resists attempts to assign that loss a simple or a single meaning. Thiepval and the Vietnam Memorial together establish a lineage in which modern commemoration, with the listing of names as its central practice, originates in the aftermath of World War I.

In a recent book, Jay Winter challenges the view that World War I marked a sharp break, or even a decisive stage, in what he calls "the onward ascent of modernism." Winter emphasizes the continuing value and utility, in commemoration during and after the war, of traditional motifs, defined as "an eclectic set of classical, romantic, or religious images and ideas." Such images, Winter believes, offered a more comforting and reassuring response to the "universality of bereave-

<sup>3</sup> Philippe Ariès, *Western Attitudes toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, Patricia M. Ranum, trans. (Baltimore, Md., 1974), 78–82; Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, Helen Weaver, trans. (French edn., 1981; New York, 1991), 548–50; George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York, 1990), 9–10; Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London, 1996), 228.

<sup>4</sup> Marita Sturken, "The Wall, the Screen, and the Image: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial," *Representations*, no. 35 (Summer 1991): 126.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas W. Laqueur, "Memory and Naming in the Great War," in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, John R. Gillis, ed. (Princeton, N.J., 1994), 160.

<sup>6</sup> Arno Mayer, "Memory and History: On the Poverty of Remembering and Forgetting the Judeocide," *Radical History Review*, no. 56 (Spring 1993): 9.

<sup>7</sup> Sturken, "The Wall," 138, n. 6; Vincent Scully, *Architecture: The Natural and the Manmade* (New York, 1991), 366. Lin first learned of the Thiepval memorial through Scully's lectures at Yale University.

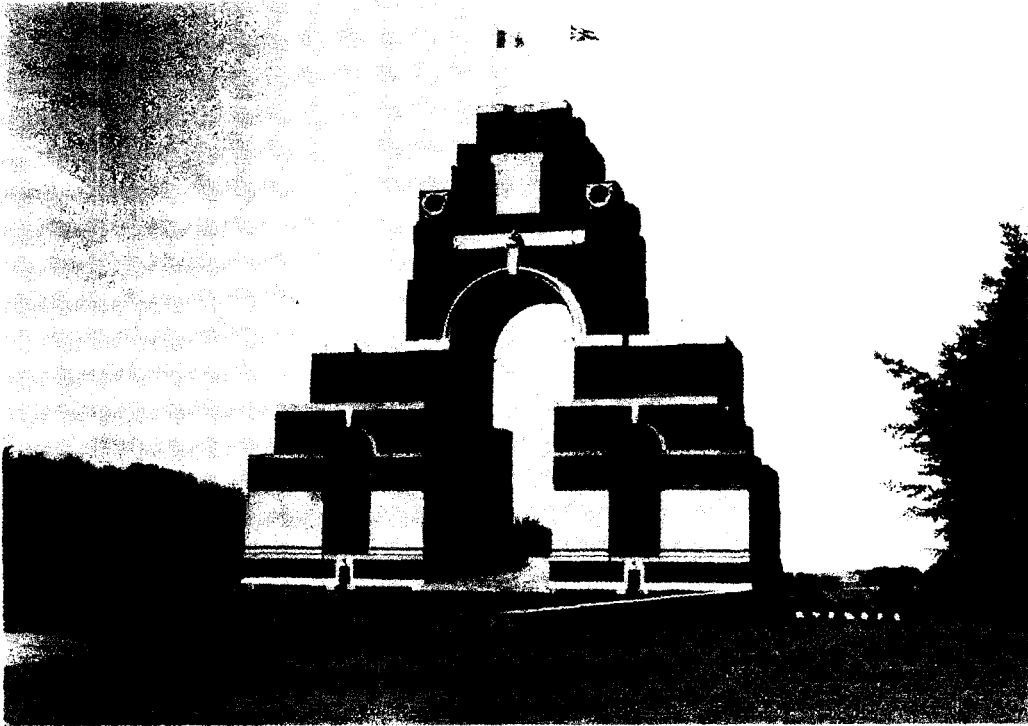


FIGURE 1: Memorial to the Missing of the Somme, Thiepval, dedicated in 1932 (architect, Sir Edwin Lutyens). The white panels are inscribed with the names of 73,357 British soldiers who fought at the Somme and have no known grave. A portion of a small Franco-British military cemetery is visible to the right. Copyright Daniel J. Sherman.

ment” than did the corrosive irony of modernism.<sup>8</sup> Yet Winter does not completely abandon the notion of an evolution or progress toward a “modernist” commemoration characterized by irony, simplicity, and abstraction. Rather, he simply transposes the decisive rupture from the first to the second world war, conceding that World War I marked “at least the beginning of the end” of a phase of European cultural history.<sup>9</sup> Nor does Laqueur, for his part, claim that the commemorative practices he sees as distinctly modern were created out of whole cloth. Rather, mourning practices centering on names and anonymous bodies responded to a sensibility that typified nineteenth-century Britain, notably a desire to recover the past and the belief, rooted in novel reading, that “everyone has a memorable life to live, or in any case the right to a life story.”<sup>10</sup>

The differences between Laqueur and Winter involve longstanding debates over the meaning and periodization of the terms “modern,” “modernity,” and “modernism.” Laqueur makes more discriminating use of these terms, and in showing how new practices can arise out of longstanding beliefs and forms of behavior makes both a stronger and a subtler argument. But in both cases, the recourse to such

<sup>8</sup> Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1995), 2–6, 115, quotations from 3, 5.

<sup>9</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 8–10.

<sup>10</sup> Thomas W. Laqueur, “Names, Bodies, and the Anxiety of Erasure,” in *The Social and Political Body*, Theodore R. Schatzki and Wolfgang Natter, eds. (New York, 1996), 127, 131–35.

contested categories diverts attention from the specificity of the practices in question and obscures the larger dynamic of contestation that constituted the war's principal legacy to twentieth-century commemoration. For Winter, practices of public commemoration respond directly to individuals' need for consolation: commemoration is simply an extension of mourning, the "acts and gestures through which survivors express grief and pass through stages of bereavement."<sup>11</sup> But these "acts and gestures" also have a social and cultural derivation and, as with any form of representation, take on a set of purposes that extend beyond those of its primary cultural materials. In general, commemoration seeks to restore the socio-cultural order that the commemorated event has disrupted. The resulting practices almost inevitably transform, and sometimes completely invert, the individual emotions and forms of behavior at their core.

For the first time in the twentieth century, those responsible for public commemoration often seek to replicate, and thus seem merely to reproduce, the private practices they appropriate. But this appearance is an illusion, for it conceals both the ways in which commemoration seeks to naturalize particular versions of history and the conflicts to which its appropriations of personal practices give rise. I want to argue, indeed, that since World War I European commemoration has embodied a continual struggle between the desire to find meaning as part of some larger collective "history" and the refusal of such histories in an attempt to find meaning at a more local and personal level. Names play a central part in this struggle, not because they inherently resist meaning but because their resonance for individual mourners enhances their value as commemorative signifiers.

Michel Foucault's notion of "emergence" usefully captures the complexity of this contest over commemoration. First, unlike the word "origins," which Foucault eschews, an "emergence" does not postulate a continuous evolution that then entails a search for similarities over time; it attends to "the details and accidents that accompany every beginning." For Foucault, new discourses and practices arise not out of willed actions and intentions but out of a confrontation of forces that clears a new political, cultural, and emotional terrain. An "emergence" thus consists of both conflict and the recasting of that conflict in new terms. The struggle out of which commemoration emerges, in other words, involves not simply the appropriate means of honoring the dead or of comforting survivors but the nature of the French polity itself. Second, the terms Foucault uses to describe emergence capture the basic representational role that commemoration plays: "substitutions, displacements, disguised conquests, and systematic reversals."<sup>12</sup> At its most basic, representation involves one thing standing for or taking the place of another, as in a "substitution," but it can also entail a more forcible transposition, or "displacement," which it can conceal behind apparent continuity ("disguised conquest") or seek to render virtually automatic ("systematic reversal"). Third, an emergence consists neither of a single event, nor of a neat sequence, say from substitution to reversal, but of a number of steps that occur simultaneously. Mayor Lesourd's

<sup>11</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 29.

<sup>12</sup> Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, Donald F. Bouchard, ed. and trans., with Sherry Simon (Ithaca, N.Y., 1977), 139–40, 144, 149–51; quotations from 144, 151.

speech, for example, both consecrates a substitution, in which a memorial takes the place of the tombstones that would mark the graves of the absent dead, and seeks to displace the memories of the dead in favor of a celebration of the values that spurred their deaths.

Many monuments, both local and national, give formal expression to the multiple meanings of commemoration. Most local monuments combine lists of names with a sculptural or architectural motif, typically a statue of a common soldier or a simple stele or obelisk, thus conjoining the collective and the individual dimensions of commemoration (Figure 2). In the war zone, too, the commemorative landscape includes not only cemeteries and largely abstract monuments like Thiepval but many figural monuments as well, ranging from a caribou (the Newfoundland memorial in the Somme) to a defiant skeleton in the Verdun theater. The coexistence of monuments in these distinct spaces, the scene of battle and the hometown, itself bespeaks one kind of conflict, and even gave rise to a disguised conquest. Occasional references on local monuments to important battles, such as the Marne, Ypres, and Verdun, appear to cast these monuments as stand-ins for the battlefield sites, implying the priority of the latter. Yet from early in the war, the commemorative urge manifested itself virtually simultaneously on the battlefield and in soldiers' hometowns; neither needed, in the first instance, to imitate the other.

In the cities, small towns, and villages of France, names stood for bodies that lay, often in pieces, entangled with the debris of war on the battlefields. These were names without bodies; in contrast, bodies without names littered the war zone. Local monuments thus literally *embody* a discourse of commemoration centered on grief and individual loss, but that discourse always remained subject to recombination with, and appropriation by, more traditional collective narratives. Those responsible for the construction of monuments on the former front seized on one of the most notable features of local monuments, their lists of names, to secure the support they needed for their own enterprise. In the first instance, names offered various groups a way of providing consolation to the bereaved. At the same time, names provided the basis for new forms of commemoration that subsumed private mourning, centering on the memory of individuals, into collective narratives about the meaning of the war.

OF THE INSTITUTIONS SEEKING TO APPROPRIATE local commemoration, including the state, veterans' associations, and political movements, few could match either the motivation or the resources of the Roman Catholic church. Disestablished in 1905, long the object of suspicion and hostility on the part of French Republican leaders, the church rushed to embrace the national cause during the war. Bishops organized patriotic prayer services and urged France's cause among Catholics in neutral countries, while thousands of young seminarians volunteered for military service, many at the cost of their lives.<sup>13</sup> At the end of the war, church leaders at all levels hoped that their record of service and devotion to the country would help not only

<sup>13</sup> René Rémond, ed., *Société séculaire et nouveaux religieux (XX<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Paris, 1992), 116–22.



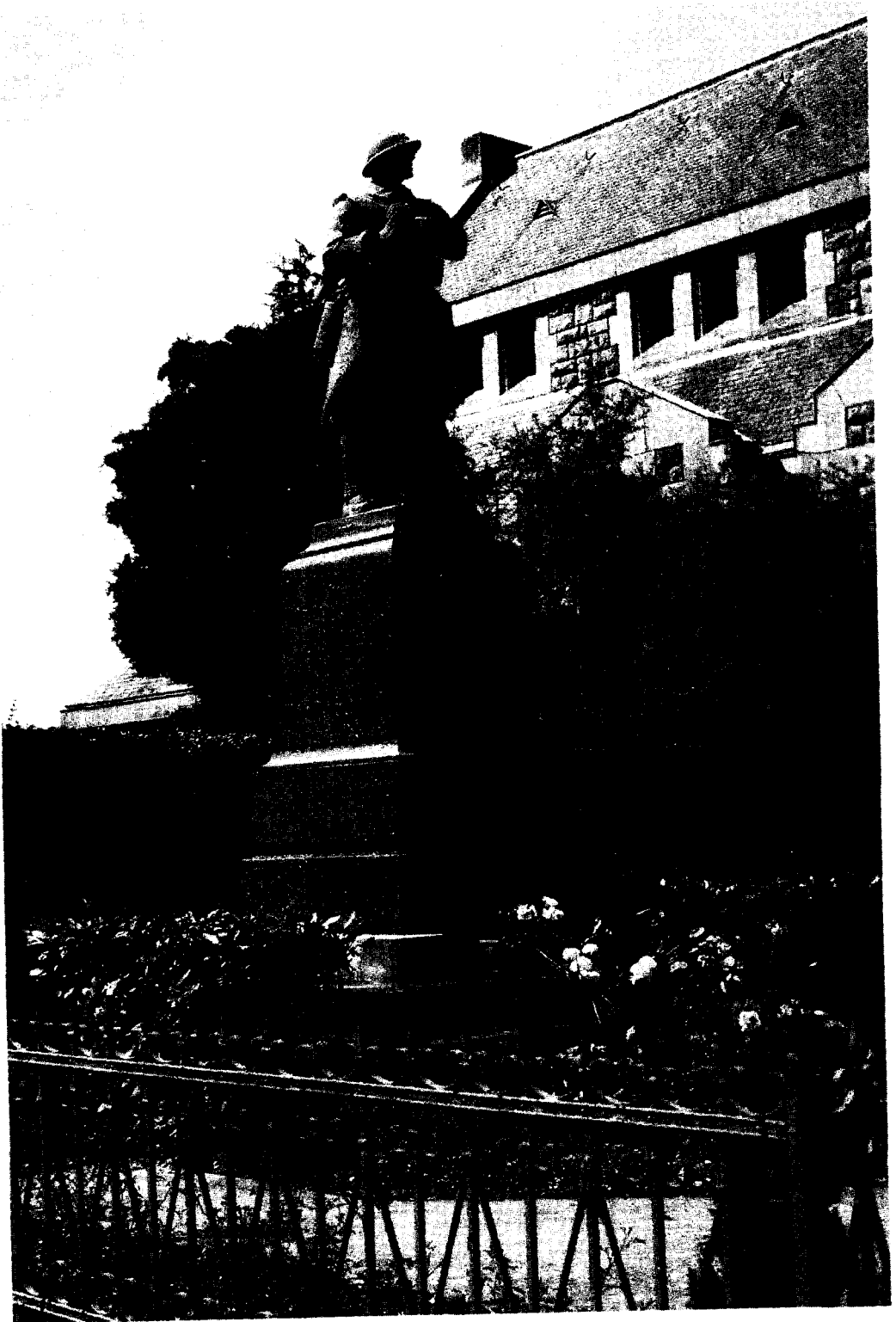


FIGURE 2: Communal War Memorial (Monument aux Morts), Rambucourt (Meuse), dedicated in 1926. The statue, by a local sculptor, represents a poilu, or French foot soldier. The base of the monument contains inscriptions of the names of the village dead. Copyright Daniel J. Sherman.

to consolidate the position of the church but actually to restore it to its pre-separation centrality in national life. But four years of conflict, and growing problems of morale, had reduced the credibility of virtually all large-scale institutions that had supported the war effort. Following an increase during the war, church attendance seems to have resumed its long decline after 1919, and the arrival in power of a center-left coalition in 1924 brought a resumption of church-state hostility.<sup>14</sup> Thus, instead of memories fading with the passage of time, as the 1920s progressed the church had if anything increasing need of its wartime reputation to protect and improve its status.

Although the church was present at all levels of commemoration, notably in dedication ceremonies of monuments throughout the country, it invested particular energy in the construction of ossuaries to house the remains of the unidentified dead on the battlefields. Although ossuaries exist in cemeteries throughout the former war zone, four major ones have the status of national monuments: at Douaumont (Meuse) in the Verdun theater, Notre Dame de Lorette (Pas-de-Calais) in Artois, Dormans in the Marne, and Hartmannsweilerkopf in Alsace. All, however, were the fruits of private initiative, built by specially constituted committees headed by bishops and including prominent generals, local politicians, and society ladies who had been active in war-relief work. The state provided only minimal financial assistance—less than 10 percent of the cost of the Douaumont ossuary, 14 million francs, for example—but it did grant sites in the midst of national cemeteries (except at Dormans), and their status derived primarily from these prestigious locations.<sup>15</sup>

The ossuaries differ considerably in their styles and implicit messages. Lorette (Figure 3), with its hulking Romanesque basilica and cruciform tower, presents an unabashedly Catholic vision of death and resurrection, implicitly blaming the war on the sins of a secular republic. Douaumont, in contrast, a kind of industrial abstraction in poured concrete (Figure 4), mutes its Christian symbolism, though hardly to the point of disappearance, offering instead an oblique commentary on the horrors of modern warfare. Yet, notwithstanding these differences, the ossuaries shared certain common features. All consisted of actual repositories for bones as well as religious and commemorative spaces, although a variety of architectural devices kept the chapels separate from the strictly memorial areas. All proclaimed as their purpose the perpetuation of memories of the war and, especially, of the dead.

Both ossuaries and local monuments grew out of the very practical need, both physical and emotional, to bring order and resolution to the chaos of bodies that remained one of the most poignant legacies of the war. The problem involved not simply the sheer numbers of the dead but the total disorder in which they had been buried. The rapidly shifting fronts of the last phase of the war, in 1918, had undone much of the military burial service's work over the previous two years to replace

<sup>14</sup> Annette Becker, "The Churches and the War," in Jean-Jacques Becker, *The Great War and the French People*, Arnold Pomerans, trans. (Leamington Spa, 1985), 178–91; Rémond, *Société séculaire*, 123–26.

<sup>15</sup> The figures on state support come from Antoine Prost, "Verdun," in Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire*, 3 vols., 2: *La nation* (Paris, 1986), book 3, 124; the article provides a good, concise history of the construction of the Douaumont ossuary.

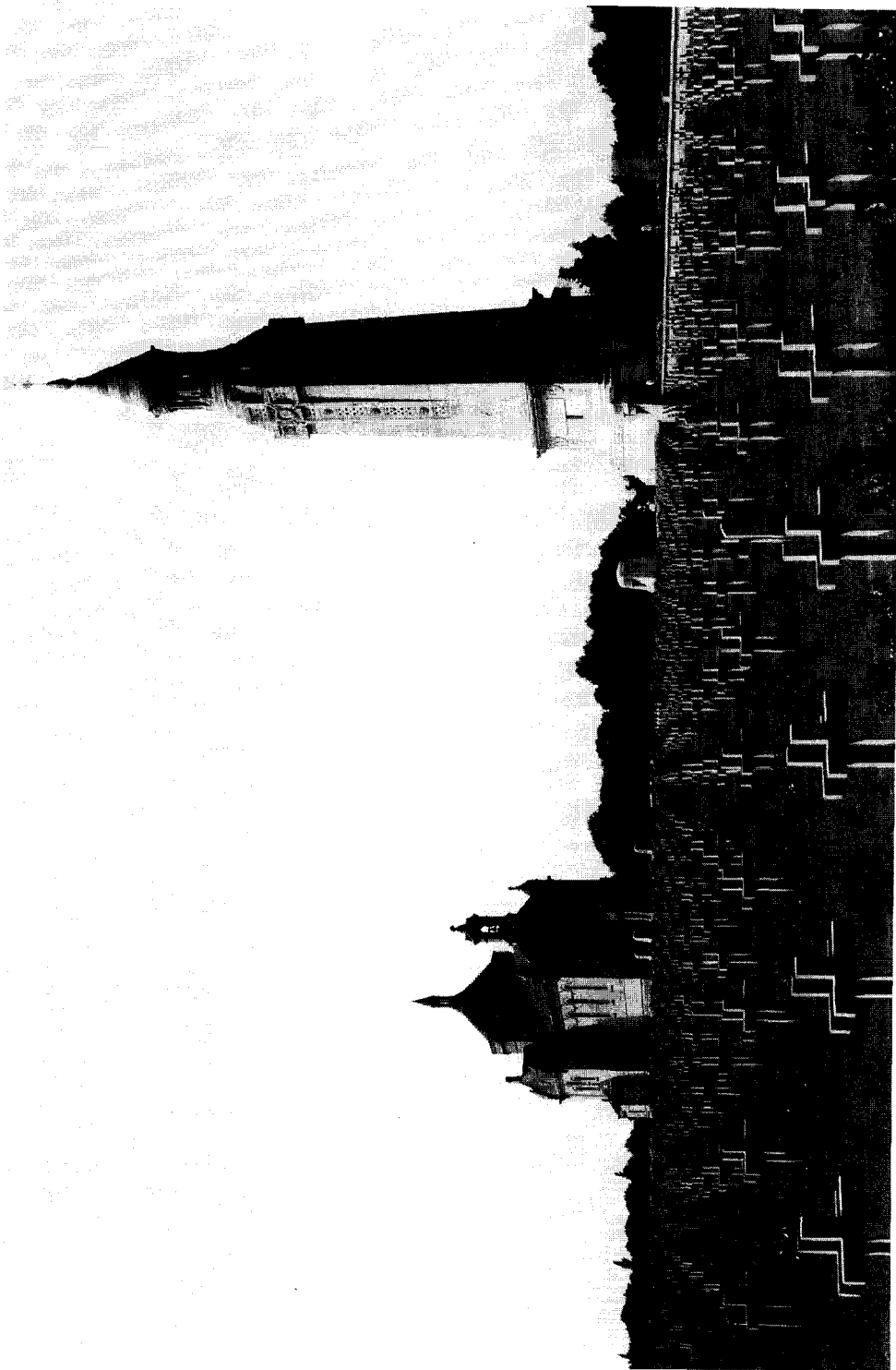


FIGURE 3: Basilica, lantern tower, and cemetery, Notre Dame de Lorette (Pas-de-Calais), dedicated in 1927 (architect, L. M. Cordonnier). The ossuary is located in a crypt at the base of the lantern tower. Copyright Daniel J. Sherman.

mass graves with individual tombs and to regroup them in distinct military cemeteries. The understaffed service also had to contend with masses of fragmentary, unidentifiable remains and with an enormous number—a later report put it at 200,000—of isolated graves, many without proper identification, scattered throughout the former war zone.<sup>16</sup> The situation in these areas rapidly reached the proportions of scandal. Impatient with the slow pace of identification and regrouping, families of means hired private contractors to carry out clandestine (and illegal) exhumations and return the bodies of their loved ones to them.<sup>17</sup> Corruption among these contractors fueled further controversy, as did stories of incompetence and indecent profits among those officially hired to search for bodies. Rumors about the lack of respect for the dead shown by some battlefield tourists also aroused indignation.<sup>18</sup>

Partially concealed under the noise of controversy and the common rhetoric of patriotism and mourning lay a divisive struggle over a fundamental question of policy: where to bury the dead. France's allies had managed to resolve the issue relatively simply, if not without controversy, the British by forbidding exhumations, the Americans by permitting them, while at the same time creating at Romagne (Meuse) a cemetery that became the envy of many French observers. Matters were not so simple in France. On the one hand, veterans and families of the dead insistently called for a liberal exhumation policy, in which the state would pay for the transfer to local cemeteries of all remains requested by relatives.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, authorities in the still-scarred battle areas urged that the dead be left where they had fallen. Although both sides justified their positions in terms of the presumed wishes of the soldiers themselves, self-interest also came into play. One of the leading advocates of burial at the front, a periodical called *La voie sacrée* (the name given to the only viable supply route to Verdun in 1916) was the organ of the national tourist board, which regarded visits to graves as an important element in reconstruction.<sup>20</sup> The wholesale removal of bodies would also have had undesirable symbolic overtones for residents of the devastated *départements*, jealous of both the attention and the resources of a nation they feared might too quickly forget the intensity of their particular sufferings.

In other parts of France, however, the families of the dead, and the local officials they elected, felt keenly not only the absence of the dead but the lack of a place where they could mourn them. In August 1919, in a speech delivered at a ceremony marking a "Journée de la Reconnaissance Nationale" for French soldiers, the

<sup>16</sup> Archives Nationales (hereafter, AN), F<sup>2</sup> 2125, "Résumé du fonctionnement du Service des Inhumations entre le 2 août 1914 et le 10 janvier 1919," May 10, 1919; "Rapport sur le fonctionnement du Service de l'Etat Civil aux Armées entre le 10 janvier et le 10 mai 1919," May 12, 1919.

<sup>17</sup> See AN, F<sup>2</sup> 2125, dossier "Entretien des sépultures militaires," letters regarding clandestine exhumations, July 1919.

<sup>18</sup> "Respect à nos morts!" *La voix du combattant*, July 27, 1919; "On profane toujours les tombes de nos camarades," *La France mutilée*, October 9, 1921; "Autour du scandale des exhumations," *La France mutilée*, November 9, 1924; AN, F<sup>2</sup> 2125, dossier "Violations de sépultures—incidents," regarding reports of "indecent" behavior by visitors (although none were confirmed in this archival record), 1919–1920.

<sup>19</sup> "Transfert des corps des militaires tués aux armées," *Bulletin de l'Union fédérale*, November 21, 1920; "A propos des exhumations: Respectons la volonté des morts," *La voix du combattant*, May 7, 1922.

<sup>20</sup> *La voie sacrée*, November 1920, December 1920–January 1921, and March–April 1921.

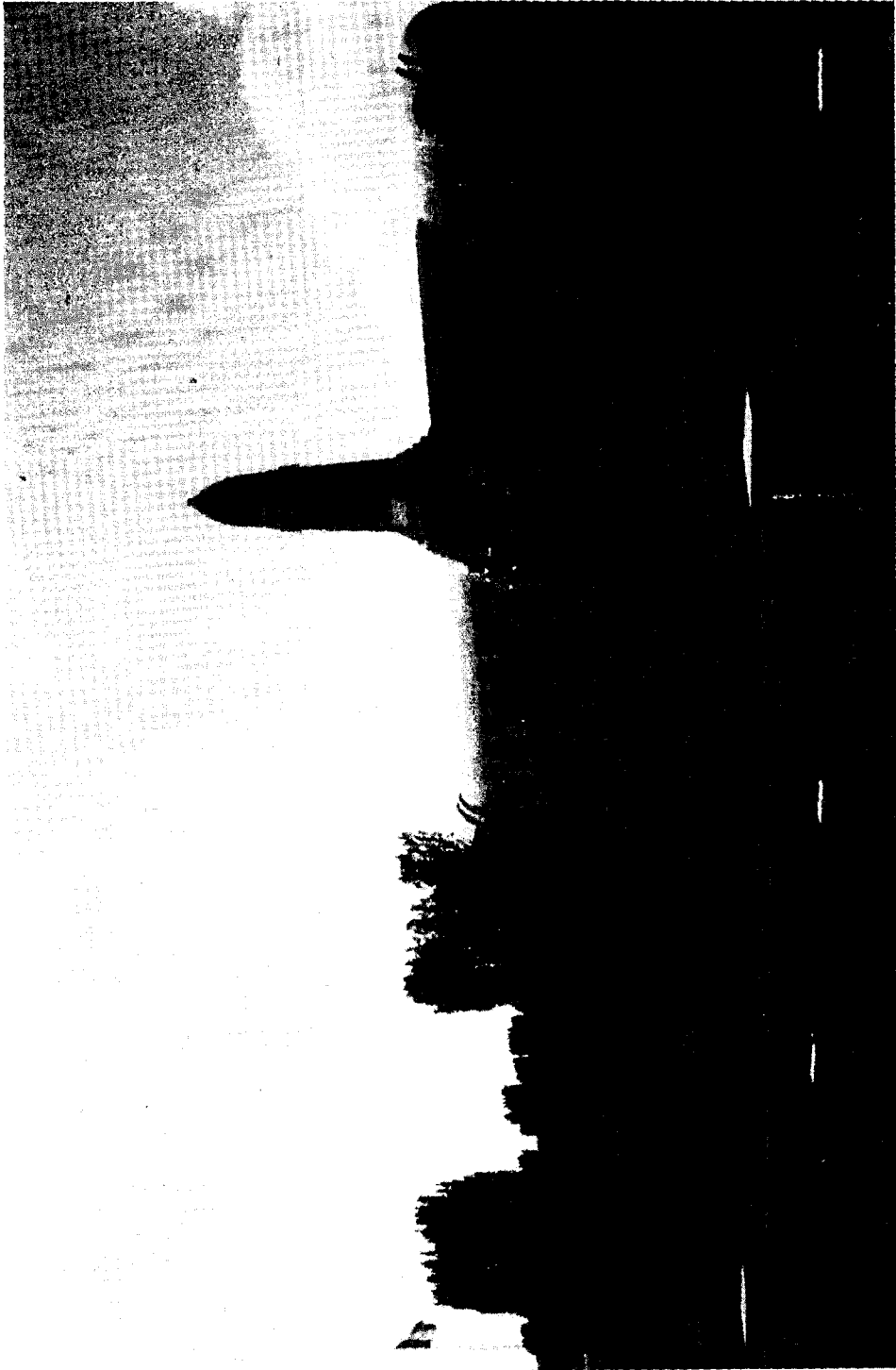


FIGURE 4: Ossuary and cemetery, Douaumont (Meuse), dedicated in 1932 (architects, Jacques Azéma and Léon Hardy). The “cloister” containing the catafalques with remains from different sectors of the war front extends to either side of the tower; the Catholic chapel is at the rear of the ossuary, on axis with the main entrance. Copyright Daniel J. Sherman.



mayor of Blois spoke of the absent bodies in these terms: "But how many sons of our region [*pays*] lie far away, in cemeteries in the midst of ruins, enfolded by the land where their sacrifice stopped the invading horde? Though we cannot visit them, let their names remain engraved in our memories."<sup>21</sup> The metaphor of "engraving in memory," with its obvious connection to monument inscriptions, would become virtually a cliché of commemorative ceremonies; its utility lay in the implicit parallel it establishes between the monument and the bodies it represents, not only the dead but the living, whose memories the monument seeks to fix in stone.

The desire literally to inscribe memory in names, far from being innovative in 1918–1919, intensified a local practice that dated to the beginning of the war. To a great extent, however, this practice functioned initially as a substitution for more traditional mourning rituals centered on the bodies of the dead. The town of Moréac, in the Morbihan, had by the fall of 1916 drawn up plans and organized a public subscription to raise funds for its monument. Clearly, that monument was meant to function at least in part as a substitute tomb: it was built in the cemetery plot where the town's dead were to be buried after the war.<sup>22</sup> As delays in returning bodies proved even longer than those involved in assembling lists of the dead, names increasingly became the focus of local monument construction, but their substitutive functions did not disappear. In August 1919, the mayor of Chitenay, in the Loir-et-Cher, promised that the town would build a monument on which the names of the dead would be "inscribed . . . in gold letters." Little more than a year later, the mayor had the satisfaction of dedicating that monument, but at that time he expressed the hope that the town would soon be able to bury its dead around it.<sup>23</sup> With a member of parliament present, he could not resist the chance to stake the town's claim to the bodies of its sons.

The state, of course, found itself in the middle of this debate. The government could not openly oppose the desire of relatives to reclaim the bodies of their loved ones, but it had too many demands on its own limited resources to countenance calls for universal reinterment in local cemeteries. It thus arrived at a compromise position: while acknowledging the family's right to request exhumation and reinterment at public expense, it offered incentives, in the form of perpetual care and fairly generous travel allowances to visit the graves, to those who were willing to leave their dead at the front.<sup>24</sup> This policy did not satisfy everyone, and one of its concomitant elements aroused further controversy. The state's effort to find and identify bodies went along with a project to regroup them in large battlefield cemeteries. This regrouping had a number of justifications: on a practical level,

<sup>21</sup> "La grande manifestation nationale," *L'avenir, moniteur de Loir-et-Cher*, August 4–5, 1919.

<sup>22</sup> Archives Départementales du Morbihan, O Moréac, plan by J. Caubert, Vannes, February 26, 1916, and city council minutes of September 3, 1916; city council minutes of July 5, 1920, in which the mayor declares the city can proceed to inscribe the names, "now known"; estimate for the inscriptions, September 7, 1922.

<sup>23</sup> "Chronique locale et départementale," *L'avenir, moniteur de Loir-et-Cher*, August 6, 1919; "Chitenay: L'inauguration du monument," *La République de Loir-et-Cher*, December 12, 1920.

<sup>24</sup> "Le retour des corps: Les démarches à faire," *La voix du combattant*, August 1, 1920; "A la chambre: Quelques explications sur les exhumations," *La voix du combattant*, December 11, 1921, account of a speech in which André Maginot, then minister of pensions, congratulates those families who have chosen to leave their loved one at the front.

bodies could hardly be left scattered in fields and forests and by the sides of roads. Symbolically, battlefields offered more fitting sites of mourning than the cemeteries in small towns near the front where many soldiers dying of wounds had been buried. From the point of view of national pride, too, many felt the need in some way to match the tidy plots and the careful landscaping of the Allies' cemeteries. But families and veterans found this policy wanting both in principle and in practice. Complaining that they were often not notified of the transfer of remains, they saw the regrouping as contradicting the very rationale for leaving bodies at the front: that the French common soldiers had wanted to be buried as close as possible to where they fell.<sup>25</sup> Survivors may have sensed, too, that this physical displacement of remains provided the state with the opportunity for a discursive displacement as well, in which bodies would serve as the focal point not simply for private mourning but for public ceremonies and speeches.

So, undaunted by urgings to the contrary, many families did avail themselves of the opportunity to reinter their sons' and husbands' bodies in local cemeteries. In some towns, the war memorial either stands near these transferred remains or incorporates vaults in which they are interred.<sup>26</sup> More generally, the construction of local monuments, and the ceremonies marking their completion, took place in counterpoint to a continual series of rituals, notably funerals, surrounding the return of bodies from the front. Most of these funerals took place as public events involving a procession of villagers and a speech by the mayor at the grave site, the whole fully covered in the local press. At one such funeral, in the Breton town of Ploërmel in July 1922, the mayor drew an explicit contrast between monument dedication ceremonies, by this time a regular feature of provincial Sundays, and funerals, declaring the latter more moving because more intimate.<sup>27</sup>

But however much some may have preferred the presence of tangible remains to their simulacra, they had to face the fact that a large number of dead would never be recovered as identifiable bodies. On the morning of the dedication of the monument in Dieue, in the Meuse, in October 1922, the president of the local veterans' association observed that only seventeen of the town's fifty-two dead had been returned there. Some of the remainder were buried in military cemeteries, but many, he sighed, "are forever buried in the mud of Flanders and of the Somme, the chalky soil of the Marne, the forests of the Argonne, in our own Lorraine region,

<sup>25</sup> "Pour le repos de nos morts: Histoires lamentables," *La France mutilée*, November 19, 1922; "Les exhumations: La plainte d'une mère indignée," *La voix du combattant*, March 5, 1922; "A la recherche des tombes," *La voix du combattant*, September 14 and 21, 1924, the latter articles describing the experiences of family members who had gone to the original gravesite only to find the body missing. On regrouping as betraying the wishes of the dead, see, for example, "A propos des exhumations: Respectons la volonté des morts," *La voix du combattant*, May 7, 1922; "A propos des cimetières militaires," *La France mutilée*, December 7, 1924.

<sup>26</sup> In the Vaucluse, 38.2 percent of monuments are in cemeteries: see Jean Giroud, Raymond Michel, and Maryse Michel, *Les monuments aux morts de la guerre 1914-1918 dans le Vaucluse* (L'Isle sur la Sorgue, 1991), 104. Figures for the Morbihan and the Loir-et-Cher, based on my own research, are 28.4 percent and 29.6 percent respectively. If one adds to the Loir-et-Cher monuments located outside cemetery gates, the percentage rises to 38.4, but there are good reasons to put such sites in the category of open rather than of enclosed spaces.

<sup>27</sup> "Nos glorieux morts," *Le Ploërmelais*, July 9, 1922.

and under the pines of the Vosges.”<sup>28</sup> If the mayor of Ploërmel used the reinterment of soldiers as an occasion to wax eloquently nostalgic, stressing the town’s close acquaintance with them, others spoke in the same terms about names. A senator attending the dedication of a monument on the Ile de Groix spoke of having known most of the names—not the people—inscribed on the monument, and, according to a local newspaper, “great is his emotion to reread them today.”<sup>29</sup>

As signs of absent bodies, names served not only to trigger memory but also to stake communities’ claims to be central, not merely peripheral, spaces of commemoration. In some large towns and cities, including Blois, Nantes, and Versailles, the monument consists of little more than a large wall covered with inscribed names. But whatever its formal position in relation to the rest of the monument, the list of names stands for the sum of a community’s sacrifice—already a displacement of individual memories—and thus for memory as both right and responsibility of the community. Again and again, speakers at dedication ceremonies stressed that the newly completed monument now belonged to the commune (the administrative unit of a town or village), which thereby assumed the responsibility to care for it and to preserve the memories it embodied.<sup>30</sup> Children often participated in these ceremonies in their role as future custodians of the communal memory, and, in a moment that certain monuments capture (Figure 5), officials sometimes addressed remarks specifically to them, admonishing them to respect the monument and to learn the lessons it had to offer.

If some articulated a fairly prosaic vision of teachers lecturing to their pupils before the monument, many assigned names a central role in this commemorative pedagogy.<sup>31</sup> At a city council meeting in Vannes, in the Morbihan, in December 1918, a returning prisoner of war said of the dead: “Their names should be glorified not only by the generations that have witnessed their heroism, but by all generations . . . They must therefore be forever engraved on our most durable monuments, so that they may be transmitted to our children, who will return to them in tribute what they receive from them in examples.”<sup>32</sup> Names here become the vehicle for the transmission of meaning, a civic pedagogy in which they stand for “heroism,” receive “tribute,” and provide “examples” of imitable virtue. Through this process of displacement, names are made to embody precisely the values that undergird military service, and commemoration establishes itself as a ritual of continuity. One Lorraine mayor declared, for example, that on reading the names of the dead, children would dream of following soldiers’ examples. The many pacifist and

<sup>28</sup> “L’hommage des communes à leurs enfants tombés pour la Patrie,” *L’avenir de Verdun*, November 2, 1922.

<sup>29</sup> “Les belles cérémonies du souvenir: L’inauguration du Monument aux Morts de Groix,” *L’ouest républicain*, June 8, 1922.

<sup>30</sup> For example, “L’inauguration du monument de Cellettes,” *La République de Loir-et-Cher*, September 11, 1921; see also “L’inauguration du Monument aux Morts de Landaul,” *L’ouest républicain*, April 19, 1923.

<sup>31</sup> And the two were often linked. See “Les visites de M. Alphonse Rio, Sous-Secrétaire d’Etat des Ports, de la Marine Marchande et des Pêches dans le Morbihan,” *Le progrès du Morbihan*, September 11, 1921, speech of Bouligand, deputy; and “L’inauguration du Monument aux Morts d’Auray,” *L’ouest républicain*, November 19, 1925, mayor’s speech.

<sup>32</sup> “A L’hôtel de ville,” *Le progrès du Morbihan*, January 4, 1919.



FIGURE 5: War Memorial at Guémené-sur-Scorff (Morbihan), *circa* 1925 (sculptor, Gaston Schweitzer). A mother in Breton costume shows her young son the names of the village dead; on the left, a military decoration, the *croix de guerre*, and on the right, a Latin cross entwined with laurel, which evokes the standard French use of the cross as a grave marker. Copyright Daniel J. Sherman.

anti-militarist survivors of the war must have regarded such assertions less as continuities than as a reversal of the admonitory, almost pacifist purposes they ascribed to commemoration.<sup>33</sup>

But monuments demanded another kind of displacement, a transfer of emotion from the body of the deceased to the inscribed name, and this elision of bodies and names hardly proceeded without resistance. The space of mourning in which the major ossuaries sought to establish themselves remained highly contested, and those responsible for their construction were far from neutral. On the contrary, the ossuary associations strongly advocated leaving the bodies at the front, and they also favored the creation of large military cemeteries to provide both a fitting setting and a ready-made visitor pool for their own enterprise. The Douaumont bulletin admitted, “We prefer—and who could reproach us for it?—to keep close to us, close to the front, along the line of battle, those who so valiantly defended us.”<sup>34</sup> Describing the 1931 exhumation of six bodies for return to their families, the bulletin of Notre Dame de Lorette wrote pointedly, “God willing, may the night of forgetfulness never descend on their memory, and may their graves, carefully distinguished from other graves, always receive what the dead of the cemetery of

<sup>33</sup> “Département,” *Le réveil de la Meuse*, April 3, 1921, ceremony in Savonnières-devant-Bar. On veterans’ anti-militarism, see Antoine Prost, *Les anciens combattants et la société française, 1914–1939*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1977), 3: 89–119.

<sup>34</sup> *Echo de l’Ossuaire de Douaumont*, no. 4 (March–April 1922): 124–25.



Lorette will never lack: a special tribute of admiration, gratitude, and prayer.”<sup>35</sup> Playing on the fear of forgetting at the heart of commemoration, the Lorette committee challenges the claims of localities that *their* monuments and inscriptions could secure memory for future generations. After all, the text suggests, that way is untried; the church has been in the memory business for centuries.

The ossuary committees also worked hard behind the scenes to secure the settings they desired for their monuments.<sup>36</sup> Local leaders, like the bishop of Verdun, Ginisty, relied heavily on the support of such influential politicians as Raymond Poincaré, president of France from 1913 to 1920 and three times prime minister in the 1920s, and André Maginot, who as minister of pensions from 1920 to 1924 had direct responsibility for military cemeteries.<sup>37</sup> Indeed, only the repeated intervention of the Douaumont committee and its influential supporters could have brought about the creation of a cemetery on such an unpropitious site as that proposed for Douaumont. State officials soon discovered that the ossuary association had grandiose designs: the architect wanted 30 hectares (nearly 75 acres) cleared for the cemetery, whereas the ministry anticipated no more than 10. The smaller figure was more than adequate for the ossuary and a cemetery containing 20,000 individual graves, and, given the hilly terrain and its state of total devastation, the cost of clearing even 10 hectares bordered on the prohibitive.<sup>38</sup> As work on the site dragged on and its cost mounted, the ministry, responding to the continued flow of exhumations and to pressure to preserve other cemeteries in the area, gradually reduced the size of the plan.<sup>39</sup> Supporters of the ossuary waged a vigorous campaign to keep the cemetery at its originally planned size, and by the time the ossuary opened in the summer of 1932, the cemetery contained more than 15,000 bodies, in addition to the unidentified remains of an estimated 32,000 inside (Figure 4).<sup>40</sup>

But to have fought openly against the reburial of the dead in their hometowns would have damaged the committees' prestige and perhaps put off potential contributors. The brilliance of the tactic they chose to make their public case lay in their ability to appropriate the issue of burial for their own ends while circumvent-

<sup>35</sup> *La voix de Notre-Dame de Lorette*, no. 71 (October–November 1931).

<sup>36</sup> The ossuary committees seem to have had little difficulty obtaining effective control over unidentified remains, which were technically the responsibility of the state. The provisional ossuary built at Douaumont had been receiving remains since before the end of the war, but this was a purely informal arrangement, only later made official. See Archives du Secrétariat d'Etat aux Anciens Combattants et Victimes de Guerre, Sépultures Militaires (hereafter, SEACVG/SM), Box 88, Chef d'Office des Sépultures Militaires to Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat à l'Administration, Ministère de la Guerre, July 18, 1919, and Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat to Bishop Ginisty and to Chef de l'Etat Civil, Châlons-sur-Marne, July 29, 1919.

<sup>37</sup> From 1922 to 1924, Maginot was also minister of war. Maginot was a deputy from the Meuse, the *département* in which Verdun is located; Poincaré had also represented the Meuse in Parliament prior to his election to the presidency, and he maintained a residence in the *département*. Another prominent supporter of the ossuary was Marshal Pétain, who was honorary president of the Douaumont committee; Bishop Ginisty served as president.

<sup>38</sup> SEACVG/SM, “Note au sujet du cimetière militaire de Douaumont,” May 11, 1922.

<sup>39</sup> SEACVG/SM, Box 88A, Chef du Secteur de l'Etat-Civil, Meuse, to Ministre, July 1, 1925, and Chef de l'Etat-Civil, 6<sup>e</sup> Région to Ministre, August 17, 1925.

<sup>40</sup> SEACVG/SM, Box 88A, Victor Schleiter to Minister (Louis Marin), July 26, 1926; Box 88, Philippe Pétain, Ginisty, Polignac, and Schleiter to Minister, September 24, 1926; Marin to Ginisty, November 29, 1926; “Note au sujet du Monument et du Cimetière de Douaumont (Meuse),” July 19, 1932.



ing its most contentious points. By focusing on the emotionally resonant but spatially indeterminate names of the dead, yet portraying their attitude toward bodies as one of sensitive concern, the ossuary committees defused potential controversy, guaranteed their prestige, and secured a position as one of the leading sites of postwar commemoration.

THE PUBLIC STRATEGY OF THE OSSUARY ASSOCIATIONS had two distinct but related components, and both involved names. First, the associations' periodic bulletins, the subscribers to which constituted the only effective membership they had, characterized themselves as a kind of information bureau at the service of families searching for remains. They regularly printed the names of identified bodies found in their sector, inventories of the objects found on unidentified remains, and, later, notices of the transfer of remains. They also publicized their services in both local and veterans' newspapers.<sup>41</sup> Lorette's newsletter published a section called "Spes Contra Spem" (Hope Against Hope) consisting of letters from readers who had found the remains of their son or husband on the basis of information they had read in the journal.<sup>42</sup> Strictly speaking, the role of the ossuaries was limited to housing unidentifiable remains. But the building committees made themselves, in effect, the moral guardians of all the dead of their respective theaters, bolstering their positions in their ongoing rivalry with local communities.

Second, the ossuary committees played on the obsession with names that communal monuments all over France had made manifest. First Lorette, then Douaumont, offered contributors the opportunity to inscribe the name of a loved one inside its ossuary. At Douaumont, the cost ranged from 200 francs for name and regiment number alone to 500 francs for a more prominently located inscription of first and last names, regiment number, and dates of birth and death; Lorette asked a more modest 100 to 250 francs.<sup>43</sup> At least at Douaumont, the idea met with all the success the committee could have wished. The Douaumont committee first proposed paid inscriptions not long after reporting a drop-off in individual contributions (as opposed to those gathered by parish or other local groups). In the first months thereafter, the committee reported that a large proportion of the increased contributions it was receiving came from those wishing to inscribe stones.<sup>44</sup>

Annette Becker has recently argued that postwar commemoration grew seamlessly out of the revival of faith evident during the war.<sup>45</sup> All the ossuary associations, it is true, placed their activities in a framework of popular Catholic

<sup>41</sup> "Pour ceux qui recherchent les corps des soldats disparus," *La France mutilée*, November 19, 1922; "Pour les familles des disparus," *La France mutilée*, April 29, 1923; "Soldat identifié," listing the Comité de Lorette as the source of the information and providing its address, *Courrier de la Sologne*, October 15, 1922.

<sup>42</sup> "Spes Contra Spem," *Bulletin du souvenir* (June 1922): 314–18. The actual lists of both named and unidentified remains were in separate sections.

<sup>43</sup> *Echo de l'Ossuaire de Douaumont*, no. 10 (March–April 1923): 37, 40–41, 46; no. 13 (September–October 1923): 139; *La voix de Notre-Dame de Lorette*, no. 48 (December 1927–January 1928): 28–30.

<sup>44</sup> *Echo de l'Ossuaire de Douaumont*, no. 6 (July–August 1922): 162; no. 12 (July–August 1923): 98–99.

<sup>45</sup> Annette Becker, "From Death to Memory: The National Ossuaries in France after the Great

piety: novenas, pilgrimages, requiem masses, and the like. The devout could also earmark their contributions to the ossuaries' Catholic chapels rather than to the secular burial spaces.<sup>46</sup> Beyond this, the ossuary bulletins regularly published speeches and lectures that construed the war in terms of Christian sacrifice and patriotic devotion to country.<sup>47</sup> Yet the recourse to paid inscriptions points to the limits of a memorial discourse based on traditional notions of collective sacrifice and to its gradual elision, even in these spaces of high Catholic observance, into a discourse of individual loss. In 1928, a priest writing in the Lorette bulletin reflected: "Doubtless the cult of memory is not necessarily religious, and if purely touristic visits hardly seem compatible with the solemnity of the site, it is easy to imagine that even those who have neither faith nor hope in the afterlife [come] to wander among the tombs as philosophers, patriots, and good Frenchmen, thinking human thoughts and offering the fallen heroes their share of human glory."<sup>48</sup> Effectively acknowledging that commemoration did not afford the church the chance to vanquish its secular opponents openly, this text espouses an unabashed pragmatism, or, in Foucault's terms, offers a prescription for disguised conquest. By not insisting too much, the church could assure itself a dominant role in postwar commemoration, as well as all the occasion it needed to promulgate its own interpretation of the war.

In contrast to the ossuaries' sale of inscriptions, local officials went to considerable trouble to establish definitive lists of the dead, in general including all those who had been born in a town or whose death certificates listed the town as their official residence.<sup>49</sup> Yet at the local level, too, inscriptions operated as part of a larger economy of commemoration. Most towns raised at least part of the cost of their monument through public subscription; relatives of the dead were among those who typically solicited contributions. People who feared some lapse or oversight in the recording of a name, for example, members of families that had left a commune before or during the war, often enclosed a contribution with their inquiry, though of course they were not obligated to do so.<sup>50</sup> When a soldier had been born in one town, married in a second, and mobilized in a third, it could be difficult to find any community willing to accept responsibility for inscribing his

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War," *History and Memory* 5 (1993): 32–49; and Becker, *La guerre et la foi: De la mort à la mémoire, 1914–1930* (Paris, 1994).

<sup>46</sup> On pilgrimages by family members, see *La voix de Notre-Dame de Lorette*, no. 49 (February–March 1928): 41; on fund-raising for the Catholic chapel, see "L'oeuvre de Douaumont," *Echo de l'Ossuaire de Douaumont*, no. 65 (January–March 1933): 467–69.

<sup>47</sup> See, for example, "Allocution de M. L'Abbé Bergey," *Echo de l'Ossuaire de Douaumont*, no. 66 (April–June 1933): 498–511.

<sup>48</sup> *La voix de Notre-Dame de Lorette*, no. 49 (February–March 1928): 35.

<sup>49</sup> For a particularly revealing debate on this issue, see the account of a meeting of the monument committee in Pontivy (Morbihan), *Journal de Pontivy*, May 29, 1921. Mayors frequently put up preliminary lists of the dead, culled from the official notices they received, in town halls, or sent them to local newspapers, inviting townspeople to come forward to make corrections or signal omissions. Examples include a list with notice from the mayor of Commercy, *Le républicain de l'est*, December 23, 1922; and Archives Départementales de Loir-et-Cher, 274 O6 VII/37, Vendôme city council minutes, September 15, 1921, announcing the posting of a list in the town hall.

<sup>50</sup> Compare Archives Départementales de la Meuse (hereafter, ADMe), E Dépôt 260/1 M 3 (Les Monthairons), Veuve Eudot to Mayor, September 2, 1920; E Dépôt 357/1 M 7 (St. Maurice sous-les-Côtes), letters from a variety of former residents with inquiries and contributions, 1920–21.

name. Such uncertainty represented an opportunity for the ossuaries, which could propose a (paid) inscription as, in effect, a substitution for one on a communal memorial.

In the association bulletins, the lists of names form an uninterrupted sequence: names of the dead inscribed by contributors and names of bodies recently unearthed, the latter continuing through the 1930s. Publishing names inscribed inside the ossuaries as well as names found outside on individual tombstones proclaimed the associations' commitment to a generalized "cult of memory" devoted to individuals. In this way, the ossuary committees appropriated not only local mourning practices but also a basic strategy of the state in its dealings with veterans and families of the war dead. Avoiding the shared responsibility of the state and of national institutions for the enormous collective loss, church and state officials cast themselves as the guardians and protectors of the dead as individuals. They thus effected a double reversal. At the level of commemorative practice, the individual dead became the touchstone of observances carried out in the name of a collectivity, whether the church or the nation. The narrative accompanying those practices, meanwhile, transformed compulsory service into voluntary sacrifice, obscuring the relationship of domination that had sent to their deaths the "heroes" whose memory both church and state vowed to preserve.

Wherever it occurred, in other words, public commemoration found its justification in the private, individual practices it replicated and continued to facilitate. The emergence of commemoration as such involved subsuming such practices into discourses affirming the worth of very different sets of values, whether civic or religious. Yet the competing claims of the agencies effecting this transformation hinged on their ability credibly to identify themselves with private grief. In this competition, the ossuaries' sites afforded them a certain prestige, but they also had various disadvantages vis-à-vis communal monuments: distance, for one, which made frequent memorial observance difficult, but also the impersonality of vastness. Some even expressed regret at the disappearance of the more intimate temporary ossuary at Douaumont as the definitive structure neared completion in 1931.<sup>51</sup> The provisional structure bore, at least in scale, a certain resemblance to local monuments, which were familiar, central to local commemorative activities, and close at hand. To overcome this disadvantage, names were helpful but not sufficient; the builders of the ossuaries had to emphasize that they also had bodies.

The Douaumont committee worked with the winners of the design competition to provide a visible and legible grouping of unidentified remains based on the sector of the Verdun theater in which they had been found. Each of the symbolic tombs in the central nave of the ossuary thus contains remains found in a precisely delimited sector of the war front. (Most of the bones are located, without any topographical specificity, in the crypt below.) This disposition was so central to the ossuary's purpose that mention of it appeared in the Michelin travel guide to the Verdun sector even before the opening of the definitive structure.<sup>52</sup> For, as the

<sup>51</sup> "Chronique de l'Ossuaire," *Echo de l'Ossuaire de Douaumont*, no. 60 (October–December 1931): 368–69.

<sup>52</sup> *Verdun, Argonne, Metz (1914–1918)*, Guides Illustrés Michelin des Champs de Bataille (Clermont-Ferrand, 1926), 97.

builders never ceased to remind subscribers and potential visitors, the sectoral arrangement allowed those who had no tomb to visit to feel that, in kneeling before the appropriate catafalque, they might be close to “a little bit of him.”<sup>53</sup> Only through this kind of visceral, corporeal relationship to the dead, a closeness approximating that normally offered by local cemeteries, could the ossuaries attract crowds.

The builders of the ossuaries sought to inculcate in visitors not only a commemorative discourse with which they were already familiar but also more traditional Catholic doctrine. In a self-consciously artless sermon to a group of children at the dedication of the Douaumont ossuary, Bishop Ginisty took note of the cruciform shape of the tower walls, characterizing them as a giant tomb marker:

The monument is a mausoleum: the most humble of graves has its monument, the little wooden cross that stands above it. And what a fine mausoleum this is: [it is] the cross of Christ, cross of the Redemption, the cross that has been set on every tomb, the cross placed on the chests of our brave heroes; the cross of honor to which everyone aspires, the cross of immortality, whose extended arms cry out unceasingly for the mercy of Almighty God.<sup>54</sup>

But this kind of undisguised displacement in favor of the Catholic salvation narrative could not hope to vanquish republican secularism completely. For the religious character of the ossuaries provoked fairly predictable kinds of opposition. Both before and after the completion of the Douaumont ossuary, individuals ranging from prominent French masons to radical politicians objected to the prominence of the Catholic chapel there and called for the creation of a “neutral” organization to administer the ossuary.<sup>55</sup> At Lorette, veterans’ groups protested the committee’s sale of religious objects inside the basilica; eventually, the state intervened, and the sales were stopped. Although the veterans couched their opposition in terms of the unseemliness of “commerce” inside the cemetery, the state read their position as secularist as well.<sup>56</sup>

The scope of their commemorative efforts exposes with considerable clarity the appropriations and displacements in which both church and state engaged. By contrast, local commemorative practices appear closer to the Foucauldian category of “local knowledges.” Genealogy, among its other goals, seeks to rescue local knowledge from the marginality to which unitary or totalizing discourses, such as those of the nation-state and of Catholic dogma, consign it.<sup>57</sup> Yet, even within the local community, commemoration does not simply reproduce such knowledge but transforms it. For if people experience and even articulate loss and grief largely within the bounds of local knowledge, the recording of that experience necessarily draws on outside agencies, and thus comes with a particular set of constraints. In

<sup>53</sup> “Discours de la princesse de Polignac à la séance patriotique de Verdun, le 17 février 1924,” *Echo de l’Ossuaire de Douaumont*, no. 15 (January–February 1924): 15.

<sup>54</sup> *Echo de l’Ossuaire de Douaumont*, no. 63 (July–September 1932): 423.

<sup>55</sup> SEACVG/SM, Box 88B, Secrétaire du Conseil de l’Ordre, Grand Orient de France, to Ministre de la Guerre, July 28, 1924; “Au sujet de l’Ossuaire de Douaumont,” typescript four-page protest calling for a “neutral” management of the ossuary, undated but post-1932, probably 1934, from context.

<sup>56</sup> SEACVG/SM, Box 1C. Notes on a meeting between veterans’ groups and representatives of the ossuary committee, October 8, 1930; “Note au sujet des cimetières militaires,” undated but after 1931.

<sup>57</sup> Michel Foucault, “Two Lectures,” in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, Colin Gordon, ed. (New York, 1980), 82, 85.

this context, the practice of naming had its own role to play in the commemorative struggle over meaning.

Names constitute the first level of the ideology of a civil society consisting, in the West, of individuals demarcated on the basis of patrilineal descent. They assign individuals to the first (and last) place they occupy in that society, without which a place in history would be literally unthinkable.<sup>58</sup> A conservative French veterans' newspaper articulated this social function of the name in attacking a court decision that upheld a father's right to oppose a memorial inscription of his son's name. The paper called the decision an "absolute error . . . The patronymic is in no way a piece of property, but an institution of public order, even of security. To bear a name is an obligation as much as a right."<sup>59</sup> Names, in their role as social regulators, had far less flexibility of movement than did individuals, and this rigidity starkly constrained the potential of commemoration to offer consolation. In 1921, a postal worker nearing retirement and thinking of returning to his native village of St. Maurice-sous-les-Côtes, in the Meuse, wrote to the town's mayor to ask whether the name of his son, who apparently had never lived in the village, could be carved on its monument. If it were not, he wrote, he would probably choose to move elsewhere, for even though he was in possession of his son's remains, "seeing this war memorial with its inscriptions, my son not among them, would be very painful to me."<sup>60</sup> We do not know the outcome of this plea, but in similar circumstances the petitioners invariably met with polite but firm refusals. If monumental inscriptions began with private loss, their recording was a collective act constrained by the arbitrary and largely inflexible ways in which society categorizes individuals.

Indeed, despite its intimate connections to private mourning, local commemoration lent itself with sometimes startling ease to narrative displacements of various kinds. Despite a long history of centralization, the French state, particularly in its republican manifestations, had long cultivated an ideal of the nation as rooted in local communities.<sup>61</sup> Such a discourse made possible a casting of commemoration, even at the local level, in a conservative, nationalist, and not coincidentally patriarchal mold. "The Fatherland [*La Patrie*], my dear friends," declared the mayor of Caro (Morbihan) at the dedication of its war memorial in 1923, "is that small patch of land that our ancestors inhabited, the land where you are, where your descendants will be; it is the earth you live off of, the field you cultivate, the house where you reside, your relatives, your friends, your churches, your beliefs, in short everything that surrounds you."<sup>62</sup>

When, moreover, local voices sought to link their commemoration to a sense of "history," it is hardly surprising that they should invoke a sense of history's transcendent meaning. Two weeks after the inauguration of the war memorial in Ploërmel, a Catholic newspaper there published an astonishing poem entitled "Leurs Noms." The poem begins with an invocation: "I sing to you, o sacred names

<sup>58</sup> On the relationship between inscriptions or public writing and the writing of history, see Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Steven F. Rendall, trans. (Berkeley, Calif., 1984), 133.

<sup>59</sup> "Les inscriptions sur les monuments aux morts," *La voix du combattant*, December 18, 1921.

<sup>60</sup> ADMe, E Dépôt 353/1 M 7, Linarez [?] to Mayor, May 23, 1921.

<sup>61</sup> See, for example, Hubert Pérès, "Identité communale, République et communalisation: A propos des monuments aux morts des villages," *Revue française de science politique* 39 (1989): 666–71.

<sup>62</sup> *L'ouest républicain*, June 3, 1923.



engraved in stone.” It moves on to meditate on the functions of names at various stages of the lives of the town’s dead, using the names as a device to address the dead directly. The sixth stanza is worth quoting in full, with a literal prose translation in brackets:

Ils sont écrits, nimbés du halo [sic] de gloire,  
 [They are written in haloes of glory]  
 Car vous fûtes, sans peur, les modestes héros  
 [For you were, without fear, the modest heroes]  
 Qui, sans fin brilleront au soleil de l’histoire  
 [Who will forever glow in the sun of history]  
 Dont les rayons très purs, éclairent vos tombeaux!  
 [That will light up your tombs with its purest rays!]<sup>63</sup>

Minus the religious tone, characteristic of only the most devout parts of the country, such grandiloquent rhetoric often surfaced as an accessory to local commemoration. The widely distributed notion that names contained lessons for future generations allowed speakers considerable license in attaching meaning to them, and in doing so they naturally had recourse to familiar discourses.

In the inevitably incomplete enterprise of accounting for the dead of World War I, the aggregate of local monuments has a comprehensiveness that the selective inscriptions in the ossuaries can scarcely claim. But the peculiar combination of bodies and names they offer, as well as their location in a dense fabric of monuments and memorial sites, lends the ossuaries a stature and a durability in commemoration that few local monuments, more subject to the ravages of time, can hope to achieve. This is undoubtedly what Arno Mayer meant in writing that “Douaumont originated in civil society but soon became an official undertaking.” Yet these massive and impersonal structures do not simply represent, as Mayer would have it, “a civic religion of nationalism whose officiators were political, military and religious leaders with essentially conservative world views and agendas.”<sup>64</sup> The ossuaries also embody a style of commemoration rooted in the emotion of individual mourning and given shape by small-scale, local commemorative practice. Whatever its claims to legitimacy, no memorial, no ritual, no sacred space could have taken root in postwar France without acknowledging and accommodating the enormous private loss the war had caused. Names functioned as the privileged sign both of this accommodation and of the displacements it made possible.

THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN private mourning and public commemoration reached a symbolic apex at the Arc de Triomphe in Paris, where France’s unknown soldier was buried on November 11, 1920.<sup>65</sup> In 1924, one prominent veterans’ leader, Henry de

<sup>63</sup> *Le Ploërmelais*, October 30, 1921. The poem is signed only with the initials “A.H.”

<sup>64</sup> Mayer, “Memory and History,” 10–11. It is worth pointing out that the observances at Douaumont could not invariably be called nationalistic in the interwar sense of the term, that is, as a discernibly right-wing movement hostile to the republican regime.

<sup>65</sup> Until a few days before this ceremony, plans had called for the unknown soldier to be buried at

Jouvenel, called “this nameless tomb” the heart of a “national network of funeral monuments . . . from which arise the countless protests of the dead against an unfinished civilization.”<sup>66</sup> He thus simultaneously paid tribute to the nameless body that sacralized the memorial, linked it to local commemoration, and inserted it into a clearly political discourse construing such commemoration as fundamentally anti-militarist. Of course, the site of the tomb, the Arc de Triomphe, begun by Napoleon as a celebration of the French imperium, can be said to lend itself to discursive constructions on a national scale, but de Jouvenel was actually speaking at the dedication of another memorial.

For the centrality of the tomb of the unknown soldier to French commemorative practice had to do with more than its location. Writing of the British unknown warrior, interred in Westminster Abbey on the same day France honored his French counterpart, Thomas Laqueur sees the veneration of nameless bodies as “the opposite end of the same discursive strategy that is evident in the enumeration of names.” The only body of a British soldier repatriated after World War I, “by being so intensely *a* body,” Laqueur writes, “it was *all* bodies.”<sup>67</sup> More specifically than that, however, the unknown soldier, in France as in Britain, represented all the dead who lacked an individual, denominated grave. Both local monuments and the ossuaries claimed a special duty to safeguard the memory of the dead who lacked distinct burial sites; indeed, in a fund-raising speech in 1924, Canon Collin, one of the clerics on the Douaumont committee, suggested that Bishop Ginisty’s original proposal for a definitive ossuary in Verdun had sought above all to give the missing a fitting memorial.<sup>68</sup> Thus the unknown soldier not only crystallized the rivalries over Great War commemoration but also represented their ultimate objective, unattainable in its entirety by either side: the bodies of the dead.

In the fall of 1921, a brief but intense polemic broke out over a new proposal to inter an unidentified body from the Balkan theater as an “Unknown Soldier of the East” in Marseilles. The outrage of the veterans’ community quickly led to the scrapping of this project and its replacement with a special monument, also in Marseilles, to be built with the assistance of a large state contribution. As one veteran wrote in *Le voix du combattant*, in response to the newspaper’s informal poll of its readers, “to multiply him would be, it seems to me, to diminish his moral character; the Unknown is not a personality but an idealization.”<sup>69</sup> As Victor Méric

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the Panthéon after a ceremonial passage through the arc. When the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate voted, on November 8, 1920, to give the soldier a permanent resting place under the arc, there was not sufficient time to create such a grave before the ceremony. The remains of the unknown were thus kept in a crypt beneath the arc and then definitively buried in a catafalque at street level in January 1921. See the following articles from *La voix du combattant*: “Au soldat inconnu,” November 7, 1920; “La sépulture du ‘soldat inconnu,’” December 19, 1920; “La cérémonie du 28 janvier: L’inhumation définitive du soldat inconnu,” January 30, 1921. For the actual bill and debate, see *Journal officiel*, Chambre des Députés (Documents Parlementaires), document 1542 (November 8, 1920): 5–6; *Journal officiel*, Sénat (Débats Parlementaires) (November 8, 1920): 1740–42.

<sup>66</sup> Henry de Jouvenel, “Au monument des volontaires morts pour la France,” *La France mutilée*, September 7, 1924.

<sup>67</sup> Laqueur, “Memory and Naming,” 163.

<sup>68</sup> “Conférence de M. le Chanoine Collin,” *Echo de l’Ossuaire de Douaumont*, no. 16 (March–April 1924): 53–57. The talk was given at the Ecole Centrale de Paris on March 25, 1924.

<sup>69</sup> “Notre enquête: Un seul poilu inconnu? ou PLUSIEURS?” *La voix du combattant*, October 16, 1921.

put it in the Communist daily *L'humanité*, for once in agreement with the right-wing *L'intransigeant*, if Marseilles were to have its unknown soldier, Lyons would be next, and then Toulouse, and then every commune in France, including the prototypical French endsville, "Fouilly-les-Oies."<sup>70</sup>

This insistence on a single unknown soldier has its puzzling aspects. It cannot be explained simply in practical terms, for the number of unidentified bodies easily exceeded the total of French communes in the 1920s, approximately 36,000. Even in the highly unlikely event that Méric's ironic prediction had come true, and every French village had wanted "its" unknown soldier, in strictly practical terms the demand could have been met. Moreover, given the intensity of the dispute over burial, the enormous number of unidentified bodies, and the pervasive suspicion of military cemeteries and ossuaries, some sort of compromise, involving the transfer of a limited number of unknown bodies to towns willing to give them a decent burial, certainly seems conceivable. That such a possibility struck commentators in the immediate postwar period as the height of absurdity, even as a kind of violation, illuminates both the complexity and the high stakes of the contest over commemoration in the interwar period.

The uniqueness of the memorial accorded to the unknown soldier both authorized the contestation over commemoration and provided a reassuring set of limits to it. The unknown had something that could appeal to all sides. As a common soldier—veterans' groups always referred to the "poilu inconnu"—the unknown spoke to the universality of loss and privileged the effort of troops over commanders. Buried beneath the Arc de Triomphe, however, the unknown affirmed the continuing legitimacy of the nation-state in whose name he had died and validated all narratives of the war that took the national polity as their basis, whatever their political perspective.<sup>71</sup> This combination of attributes permitted virtually any commemorative practice to claim the tomb of the unknown as its source and inspiration. At the same time, however, the uncertainty at the heart of this memorial site constituted the outer limit to the debate over commemoration, symbolically precluding any definitive resolution of the questions about the war that lay at its heart. The multiplication of unknown bodies would have compromised the implicit reassurance the unknown offered that the war did have meaning, a single or at least a knowable set of purposes that had brought the French nation together for four years and, if rediscovered, could do so again. It was equally important, however, that, again as a function of its anonymity, the tomb of the unknown left this reassurance simply as a possibility, without ever identifying the means of securing it. Just as names assigned individuals a place in society, their specificity on monuments authorized the competing narratives to which commemoration gave rise. The consecration of anonymity as the center of commemoration stood for the

<sup>70</sup> Méric's article is reprinted in "Notre enquête," *La voix du combattant*, October 16, 1921. "Fouilly-les-Oies" is difficult to translate, but it suggests something like "Gaggle o' Geese."

<sup>71</sup> The tomb of the unknown became the focal point not only for official ceremonies, as it still is, but for a number of anti-militarist and generally leftist demonstrations. In 1927, the right-wing press charged that communists protesting the execution of the Italian-American anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti had desecrated the tomb of the unknown by urinating on it; see "Le soldat inconnu outragé," *Le cri du Poilu de l'Union Nationale des Combattants* (Lorient), October 1927, reprinting a story from *Le gaulois*.

unity of the French nation over and above struggles to interpret its history and define its identity.

Together with ossuaries, war cemeteries, and countless local monuments, the tomb of the unknown soldier stands not for a single form of commemoration but for a plurality of commemorative practices that emerged out of a struggle to define the relationship between a democracy and its citizens. Throughout the twentieth century, commemoration in the West has served as privileged terrain for this contestation, and not only because it could accommodate a wide variety of positions. For, as a form of representation ostensibly dedicated to the past rather than the future, it seeks to remove the debates it engenders from the sensitive arena of contemporary politics, thus offering a kind of buffer zone for discussions of the fundamental character of the state and society. In this sense, the terms that describe a Foucauldian emergence—substitution, displacement, disguise, reversal—remain central to commemoration as it alters over time, continually appropriating newly resonant cultural materials and discarding those that become either obsolete or overly controversial. The attempt of commemoration to appear apolitical, moreover, only masks the depth of its political engagement. The competing narratives of commemoration construct and disseminate knowledge about the nation, making judgments, assigning blame, prescribing obligations. To this extent, commemoration always involves a contest over power. Regardless of the similarities to contemporary phenomena, historians studying commemoration should keep in mind that, as with any form of representation, its real stakes lie below the surface, and involve the present and future as much as the past.

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*Review Essay*  
Race Culture:  
Recent Perspectives on the History of Eugenics

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EUGENICS WAS A FUNDAMENTAL ASPECT of some of the most important cultural and social movements of the twentieth century, intimately linked to ideologies of "race," nation, and sex, inextricably meshed with population control, social hygiene, state hospitals, and the welfare state. Until recently, however, the historiographical focus on the most extreme expressions of race improvement in Germany, Britain, and the United States tended to perpetuate a one-sided representation, which ignored the multifarious dimensions and extraordinary appeal of eugenics to individuals of very different social backgrounds, political convictions, and national affiliations. Far from being a politically conservative and scientifically spurious set of beliefs that remained confined to the Nazi era, eugenics belonged to the political vocabulary of virtually every significant modernizing force between the two world wars. It was part of such widely discussed issues as evolution, degeneration, civilization, and modernity, and touched on a wide variety of emerging fields like maternity, psychiatry, criminology, public health, and sex education. It was supported by scientific societies, pressure groups, and political institutions in such different countries as India, Brazil, and Sweden. Widely seen to be a morally acceptable and scientifically viable way of improving human heredity, its main tenets were embraced by social reformers, established intellectuals, and medical authorities from one end of the political spectrum to the other, including British conservatives and Spanish anarchists.<sup>1</sup> Even after World War II, liberal intellectuals such as Aldous Huxley and Hermann Müller expressed their revulsion at Nazi practices while restating their belief in a "humane" and "scientific" way of genetically improving the human race. In the People's Republic of China today, eugenics has become official policy, but foreign critics sometimes forget the extent to which developed countries were in the thrall of similar ideas until a few decades ago.

Eugenics was not so much a clear set of scientific principles as a "modern" way of talking about social problems in biologizing terms: politicians with mutually

<sup>1</sup> The reference to Spain is from Richard Cleminson, "Eugenics by Name or Nature? The Spanish Anarchist Sex Reform of the 1930s," *History of European Ideas* 18 (1994): 729–40; two recent articles provide useful overviews of the field. Robert Nye, "The Rise and Fall of the Eugenics Empire: Recent Perspectives on the Impact of Bio-Medical Thought in Modern Society," *Historical Journal* 36 (1993): 687–700; P. J. Pauly, "The Eugenics Industry—Growth or Restructuring?" *Journal of the History of Biology* 26 (Spring 1993): 131–45.



incompatible beliefs and scientists with opposed interests could all selectively appropriate eugenics to portray society as an organic body that had to be guided by biological laws. Eugenics gave scientific authority to social fears and moral panics, lent respectability to racial doctrines, and provided legitimacy to sterilization acts and immigration laws. Powered by the prestige of science, it allowed modernizing elites to represent their prescriptive claims about social order as objective statements irrevocably grounded in the laws of nature. Eugenics promoted a biologizing vision of society in which the reproductive rights of individuals were subordinated to the rights of an abstract organic collectivity.

AN IMPORTANT RECENT CONTRIBUTION to the history of eugenics in Europe is the volume edited by Gunnar Broberg and Nils Roll-Hansen, *Eugenics and the Welfare State*. It fills a major gap by focusing on the programs of eugenics and sterilization laws that were part of emerging welfare systems in Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden.<sup>2</sup> This solidly researched volume documents how individuals alleged to suffer from mental retardation or mental illness became the main targets of eugenic practices from the 1930s onward. Despite a legal insistence on voluntary sterilization, the operation was generally performed without consent because individuals judged to be mentally disturbed had no right to make a legally valid decision. In 1929, Denmark was the first Scandinavian country to pass a sterilization law, the result of official efforts to implement eugenic policies that had started after the accession to power of the first Labor government in 1924. Support for reform eugenics continued up to the 1950s: initially pushed by the minister of justice and later of social affairs, eugenic sterilization was presented as a fundamental aspect of a desirable social welfare state. Other countries in Scandinavia passed similar laws, pushed by government officials and medical doctors in charge of psychiatric hospitals and institutions for the mentally retarded. Sterilization acts were passed in Sweden in 1934 and 1941. Social Democrats were the most vigorous defenders of racial improvement, as it was thought that the systematic sterilization of the mentally retarded would yield substantial economic gains by cutting the cost of institutional care and poor relief. An efficient administration ensured that the laws were thoroughly implemented by the Swedish government: by 1960, well over 50,000 people had been sterilized, initially on medical grounds but later for social reasons.

No special organizations, research institutes, or specialized periodicals existed in Finland. In fact, there was hardly any public debate on eugenics until the 1930s, as most medical practitioners were in favor of sterilization and few members of the public had the desire or opportunity to dispute expert opinion. In the absence of any substantial objections, almost 2,000 people were sterilized between 1935 and 1955. In stark contrast to the commonly accepted observation that eugenics declined rapidly after World War II, the total number of operations performed increased dramatically to 56,000 by 1970: with the enactment of the new steriliza-

<sup>2</sup> Gunnar Broberg and Nils Roll-Hansen, eds., *Eugenics and the Welfare State: Sterilization Policy in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Finland* (East Lansing, Mich., 1996).

tion and castration acts in 1950, compulsory operations became possible with the authorization of only two doctors. Based on a broad consensus among the population, similar laws were passed without much opposition in Norway, too, although they were initially moderated in order to assuage the lingering moral doubts of the public. The Lutheran church had some reservations about the sterilization law, but it remained remarkably silent, interpreting a program of eugenics as a contribution to the prevention of suffering. As in neighboring countries, eugenics in Norway was seen to be an integral part of a comprehensive program for social reform in a developing welfare state.

In all Scandinavian countries, the only real threat to sterilization laws came from a minority of people who emphasized the protection of individual freedom and the right to free individual choice, although such liberal values would only become influential with the advent of a more open and affluent society in the 1970s. Repeating a theme common to most eugenics movements, the Swedish Population Commission in 1936 found liberal attitudes to be "an extremely individualistic view" that could only harm the collective rights of society. In general, the rejection of individual rights and an emphasis on the collectivity remains a hallmark of all eugenics movements, from Sweden in the 1930s to the People's Republic of China today, where since 1988 the most stringent eugenic regulations have been passed at the provincial level. Sterilization laws in Scandinavian countries with a Lutheran state church encountered relatively little public opposition; concern about the increase in crime and the number of mentally retarded people contributed to a general consensus across the political spectrum on the necessity of mild eugenic measures. The eugenics movement, moreover, was linked to a liberal movement for social reforms rather than a politically conservative agenda. Scandinavian countries were virtually the only ones in Europe to have introduced sterilization laws in the 1930s under democratic governments, and they were characterized by relatively egalitarian societies, strong Labor parties, and rapidly developing welfare states. Leading scientists lent their support to the introduction of eugenic legislation, although some geneticists disputed the efficacy of such measures. Despite their scientific reservations, for example, Otto Mohr in Norway and Gunnar Dahlberg in Sweden nonetheless accepted the existing laws and approved on social grounds the practice of curtailing the reproduction of people judged to be insane or retarded.

In all four Scandinavian countries, as in many other modernizing nations, the majority of sterilizations were performed on people defined as mentally retarded. The number of eugenic sterilizations only started to drop in the middle of the 1940s, although this did not necessarily lead to a decline in the number of people sterilized: doctors simply turned from eugenic arguments to medical and contraceptive ones in their efforts to secure official approval for sterilization. The alleged cost of institutional care and the proclaimed inability of the mentally retarded and the mentally ill to raise children were increasingly invoked to justify sterilization: dysgenic groups were not only a threat to the quality of the race, they were a heavy burden on society.

ALTHOUGH TENS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE defined as mentally retarded have been consistently abused, locked up, and sterilized, on occasion even castrated, historians have had relatively little to say about this marginalized social group. The last decade has seen a thriving literature specifically concerned with questions of gender and race, and this timely focus has opened up new and exciting perspectives in the history of eugenics, although people with learning disabilities still have to gain a clearer place in these studies. While it is true that the overwhelming majority of people alleged to be mentally retarded and forced to undergo sterilization were women, the notion of "gender"—an analytical concept far too often used as a synonym for "women"—may not quite capture the ways in which individuals from very different personal and social backgrounds were systematically banned from society by being labeled "morons," "retardants," or "cretins." Women themselves, nevertheless, were keen participants in eugenics movements, the best-known cases being Margaret Sanger and Marie Stopes. In Scandinavia, women's organizations played an active and vocal role in the public support of sterilization laws. As the literature on eugenics in England, the United States, and Germany has grown to the point of saturation, a sustained focus on the intersection between eugenic discourse and questions of disability might fruitfully contribute to this issue. An excellent example is the illuminating book by Michael Burleigh, *Death and Deliverance*, on the systematic murder by the Nazis of as many as 200,000 mentally ill or physically disabled people, stigmatized as "life unworthy of life." Based on a wealth of archival material, its focus on the lives of the victims as well as the perpetrators highlights some profoundly disturbing moral issues related to eugenic practices.<sup>3</sup>

People alleged to be mentally ill were also the main targets of eugenic practices in the United States. In *Keeping America Sane*, Ian Dowbiggin highlights the professional reasons behind the appeal eugenics had for psychiatrists in North America.<sup>4</sup> Not only did concepts of heredity explain the difficulties psychiatrists had in curing institutional patients, they also legitimized the involvement of psychiatrists in the community outside hospitals in a period of intense professional dissatisfaction with medical service in public asylums. As heredity, reproduction, public hygiene, and racial anthropology became widespread subjects of concern during the interwar period, biomedical theories that stressed the hereditary basis of deviance had great appeal for professional psychiatrists who felt mired in state institutions for the mentally handicapped. Under pressure from state officials and politicians to cut costs, conscious of their professional vulnerability, adjusting their beliefs to prevailing policies, they promoted sterilization laws and immigration restriction while offering expert opinion that represented eugenics as impeccable science. Through a detailed study of such pivotal figures as G. Adler Blumer,

<sup>3</sup> Michael Burleigh, *Death and Deliverance: "Euthanasia" in Germany c. 1900–1945* (Cambridge, 1994); on Germany, see also, among others, Burleigh, *Ethics and Extermination: Reflections on Nazi Genocide* (Cambridge, 1997); Hans-Walter Schmuhl, *Rassenhygiene, Nationalsozialismus, Euthanasie: Von der Verhütung zur Vernichtung "Lebensunwerten Lebens," 1890–1945* (Göttingen, 1987); Manfred Berg and Geoffrey Cocks, eds., *Medicine and Modernity: Public Health and Medical Care in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Germany* (Washington, D.C., 1997).

<sup>4</sup> Ian Robert Dowbiggin, *Keeping America Sane: Psychiatry and Eugenics in the United States and Canada, 1880–1940* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997).

Charles Kirk Clarke, Thomas Salmon, Clare Hincks, and William Partlow, Dowbiggin shows that, while eugenics was sporadically explored and opportunistically exploited in ambivalent if not inconsistent ways for reasons that had no necessary relationship to heredity, few psychiatrists were fully committed to eugenic goals. He concludes that there were "precious few heroes among psychiatrists," yet, at the same time, there were "few certifiable villains." Here as elsewhere, eugenics crossed the political spectrum, appealing to liberals and socialists rather than being confined to a few conservative cranks.<sup>5</sup>

Eugenics also thrived in relatively isolated and provincial parts of the United States. As Edward J. Larson demonstrates in *Sex, Race, and Science*, an important contribution that moves away from the main centers of research in eugenics, a small number of determined individuals influenced eugenic legislation in the Deep South.<sup>6</sup> Practicing physicians blamed the "insane" and the "feeble-minded" for a variety of social problems. Invoking the language of science, to which they themselves contributed precious little, medical authorities proposed marriage restrictions, sexual segregation, and compulsory sterilization to curb the reproduction of people with presumed dysgenic traits. Introduced during the first two decades of this century, eugenic statutes providing for the sexual segregation of individuals defined as "unfit" in state institutions were passed in all states of the region between 1918 and 1920. Moves in favor of sterilization continued unabated in several states up until World War II, followed by a movement of repudiation and withdrawal from eugenic practices.

Scientific theories did not develop in the Deep South, and genetic research lagged far behind other parts of the United States. There were no major institutions, research programs, or prominent scientists to keep pace with developments elsewhere: as few scientists worked in the Deep South, the growing body of evidence invoked by geneticists against eugenic remedies in the 1930s was only gradually recognized, and mental health hospitals in many states continued to practice sterilization. Defenders of eugenic reforms rested their case on scientific arguments, which few opponents had the intellectual means to combat. Religious values as well as individual rights initially served as a more effective protection against the most extreme aspects of race improvement, although resistance against sterilization bills weakened over time. As Larson thoughtfully notes in his conclusion, a commitment to personal rights, including civil rights for handicapped people and reproductive rights for women, provides the best protection against compulsory programs of eugenics.

Besides its invaluable focus on an area hitherto ignored in the history of eugenics, Larson's study adds further evidence that regions making no major contribution to research were nonetheless eager to appropriate the language of science in order to propose and implement eugenic measures. On the basis of recent work, it appears that parts of the world on the periphery of scientific research, such as Finland, the American South, and China, harbored strident eugenicists who encountered relatively little resistance from medical experts, government officials, or the general public. Resistance to the implementation of sterilization laws and objections to eugenic reforms, it might

<sup>5</sup> Dowbiggin, *Keeping America Sane*, xi.

<sup>6</sup> Edward J. Larson, *Sex, Race, and Science: Eugenics in the Deep South* (Baltimore, Md., 1995).

be noted here, sometimes came from those countries that most actively contributed to scientific work, Britain being the best example.

THE EXAMPLES OF FINLAND AND THE AMERICAN SOUTH show that a direct contribution toward scientific knowledge was not a necessary prerequisite for the spread of eugenic practices. Taking this observation a step further, it might be noted that research in eugenics was unevenly spread across the globe, and that there were probably more researchers active in Tokyo, Shanghai, or Bombay than in Finland or the Deep South. The methods used by sexologists in Tokyo interested in eugenic reforms were far more sophisticated than the crude debates offered by medical authorities in Alabama,<sup>7</sup> while Chinese publications on eugenics circulated more widely than the few pamphlets published in Finnish during the 1930s. Fresh evidence also shows that support and encouragement for eugenics did not always flow in one direction: in May 1920, the maharajah of Mysore gave a generous donation to the Eugenics Education Society in London to help it with its work.<sup>8</sup> Recent research in the history of eugenics not only invalidates dubious distinctions between a so-called "West" and the Rest but also highlights an increasing imbalance in history research itself, as historians risk the creation of a veritable cottage industry of works about eugenics in Europe and the United States while ignoring entire subcontinents such as India.

Eugenics outside Europe is sometimes dismissed as a derivative manifestation of a more authentic discourse, a misleading interpretation that can only impoverish our understanding of the complexities of cultural history. When the history of eugenics is explored in a variety of cultural, social, and political contexts, it resists any reductive explanation, an observation that is all the more true as the less familiar shores beyond Europe come under investigation. As *The Hour of Eugenics*, Nancy Leys Stepan's important book now available in paperback demonstrates, Latin American eugenics was not a mere imitation of a European discourse but the result of an active process of cultural appropriation with its own peculiar dynamics.<sup>9</sup> Ethnically and culturally diverse, permeated with racial ideologies, deeply religious but influenced by secular forces, Latin American countries had their own eugenics activities and movements, shaped by indigenous concerns over a racially diverse and socially disparate society. As the intelligentsia in Latin America increasingly interpreted questions of health as a matter of heredity and race during the first decades of this century, legislative efforts to regulate human reproduction, medical initiatives to curb disease, and official attempts to control immigration were shaped by eugenic concerns. After World War I, eugenic ideas were systematically developed by specific societies and organizations, in particular in Brazil, seen as a racially diverse and economically underdeveloped country by a small European

<sup>7</sup> Sabine Frühstück, *Die Politik der Sexualwissenschaft: Zur Produktion und Popularisierung sexologischen Wissens in Japan 1908–1941* (Vienna, 1997).

<sup>8</sup> Patrick McGinn, "'Quality Not Quantity Tells': The Eugenics Movement in India," unpublished manuscript.

<sup>9</sup> Nancy Leys Stepan, *"The Hour of Eugenics": Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991, paperback 1996).



intelligentsia who believed that eugenic policies were a key to national revival. In contrast to Brazil, Argentina was a more scientifically advanced society and a wealthier place in which non-European population groups had long been reduced by campaigns of extermination and conquest. Marked by a context of large-scale European immigration, debates on eugenics were more focused on which European “races” and social “classes” best represented the racial foundation of Argentine nationality. In Mexico, following a revolution in 1910 that started to transform the social and political landscape, eugenics was associated with a revolutionary representation of the population as a superior and “cosmic” race in which all different groups in the nation merged.

Despite such profound social, cultural, and political differences, however, all three countries were bound by cultural ties to France. Contrary to eugenicist discourse in England and Germany, no strong link was established between heredity and genetics in France. A neo-Lamarckian approach to heredity, in which nature and nurture were seen to be mutually interdependent factors while acquired characteristics could be transmitted from parents to their offspring, was not incompatible with eugenicist discourse. The work of Anne Carol, *Histoire de l'eugénisme en France*, shows how proponents of neo-Lamarckism claimed that undesirable traits such as alcoholism were acquired in one generation and passed on to the next: the belief in the inheritance of acquired features did not need to be based on a genealogical analysis to demonstrate that a trait followed Mendelian laws.<sup>10</sup> While most eugenicists in France did not support genetics, they still called for the elimination of dysgenic groups, although they generally preferred to encourage the propagation of the “fit” and the improvement of the health of the “unfit.” Environmental determinism rather than biological determinism was used to advocate the sterilization of particular categories of people. Since neo-Lamarckian explanations did not draw a sharp boundary between nature and nurture, however, education also became paramount in eugenicist discourse: French medical experts campaigned for better public education in social hygiene and sexual health in the name of race improvement. While social order was seen to have a biological foundation, human intervention was thought to be capable of positively harnessing the laws of nature. France has often been characterized as the “home of neo-Lamarckian eugenics,” an emphasis explained partly by the prominent concern over the declining birth rate and fears of underpopulation.

France may have harbored some of the most outspoken defenders of a neo-Lamarckian approach to eugenics, but the case of Latin America illustrates that soft approaches, which combined an emphasis on the environment with hereditarian explanations, were far more widespread than previously suspected. In all three countries examined by Stepan, neo-Lamarckian notions were more important than strictly Mendelian explanations, an emphasis that supported a preventive approach to eugenics in which the environment had to be cleansed of all deleterious factors damaging racial health. As there is now mounting evidence of

<sup>10</sup> Anne Carol, *Histoire de l'eugénisme en France: Les médecins et la procréation, XIX<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1995); many of these observations were first made in the classic work of William H. Schneider, *Quality and Quantity: The Quest for Biological Regeneration in Twentieth Century France* (Cambridge, 1990).

the importance of neo-Lamarckism in such diverse countries as Russia,<sup>11</sup> Brazil, China, and France between the two world wars, a radical reassessment of its scientific and political meanings seems seriously overdue. A fresh historical appraisal of the available material that included countries outside Europe might reveal that the hard Mendelian eugenics familiar from studies of Britain and Germany was not a dominant approach in many developing parts of the world. The implications of neo-Lamarckism on non-Darwinian theories of evolution, which were dominant in a number of continents from the 1890s to the 1930s, also remain to be reconsidered, as the folk notion of "Social Darwinism" continues to be used in an uncritical way.<sup>12</sup>

COMPARATIVE APPROACHES TO THE HISTORY OF EUGENICS have highlighted the extent to which common medical knowledge has been mobilized and transformed by very distinct local styles of expression, dependent on the political, economic, social, and cultural variables of particular institutions and social groups.<sup>13</sup> The importance of traditional ideas in the emergence of eugenics within specific cultures, however, is rarely studied in any detail, although a few authors observe how popular notions of heredity—encapsulated in sayings such as "like begets like"—strongly reinforced the emergence and acceptance of eugenic ideas. One of the most original and important contributions of Carol's book is her focus on pre-Galtonian medical discourse. Well before 1860, French doctors envisaged the regulation of reproduction in order to improve the human race. The hereditary transmission of deleterious features, the need for matrimonial legislation, the physical degeneration of the human race, and the medical administration of human reproduction are some of the ideas broached by medical authorities concerned by the progress of civilization and the physical qualities of the population. In 1803, Louis Robert even proposed a new science called "megalanthropogenesy," which would enable the government to identify men of superior abilities, select women of outstanding breeding talents, and closely monitor the entire reproductive process from insemination to delivery in state institutions. Traditional ideas associated with reproductive health, from the quality of sperm to the choice of a mating partner, also reappeared in the guise of eugenic science after 1860. Carol sees a distinct line running through medical ideas in France from the late eighteenth century to the present day, specifically in an emphasis on soft approaches to inheritance, racial regeneration, and reproductive health. She demonstrates that eugenist discourse was to a significant extent shaped by older medical ideas. Recasting more traditional notions of reproductive health in the radically new language of racial science, eugenics in twentieth-century France can be seen to constitute more of a cultural reconfiguration structured by older modes of representation than a radical disjunction characterized by a merely notional relationship to the past.

<sup>11</sup> Besides Mark B. Adams, ed., *The Wellborn Science: Eugenics in Germany, France, Brazil, and Russia* (Oxford, 1990), see also Yuri Slezkine, "N. Ia. Marr and the National Origins of Soviet Ethnogenetics," *Slavic Review* 55 (1996): 826–62.

<sup>12</sup> Despite the publication of such a pioneering work as P. J. Bowler, *The Non-Darwinian Revolution: Reinterpreting a Historical Myth* (Baltimore, Md., 1988).

<sup>13</sup> Adams, *Wellborn Science*.

Unlike their counterparts in Germany and Britain, French eugenicists did not produce significant biological research or statistical studies. As in many other countries, however, race hygiene was part of the vocabulary of most political groups, from the far left to the extreme right, for many intellectuals shared a concern over the decline of modernity, a sense of nationalism, and an expectation that the government should reform society. An emphasis on the virtues of education accounts to a great extent for the relative absence of formal institutions, official organs, or professional organizations centered on the promotion of eugenic ideals in countries that adopted a neo-Lamarckian approach to questions of race improvement. Rather than emanating from a solid organizational foundation, eugenist discourse was often supported by a variety of voices in the social field, attracting popular journalists, social reformers, medical writers, sex educators, university professors, or political ideologues, all attempting to promote medical knowledge and reproductive health for the sake of a more eugenic nation. Thus an exclusive focus on institutions or a narrow emphasis on legislative processes would fail to highlight the dispersed but prevalent nature of eugenist discourse among medical circles, political elites, and professional groups in countries with a strong preference for preventive eugenics, from France to China. Shifting the focus away from leaders of the eugenics movement toward its more anonymous supporters, a greater emphasis on the reception of eugenics on more popular levels of culture, and a more sustained analysis of traditional hereditarian attitudes would help explain the widespread support for eugenics in many countries between the two world wars.

Even within countries dominated by hard Mendelian genetics and statistical science, a move away from the more conventional focus on medical institutions and intellectual elites toward an exploration of eugenist discourse among different levels of culture can be immensely rewarding, as Richard Soloway's meticulously researched monograph, *Demography and Degeneration*, now finally available in paperback with a new preface, amply demonstrates.<sup>14</sup> The works of Soloway and of Carol are distinguished by their move away from a narrow focus on the small and esoteric personnel who contributed to eugenics institutions and journals. Looking beyond the institutional boundaries of formal organizations, they find that eugenist discourse permeated the concerns of many ordinary men and women. As eugenics was popularized, it gave scientific credibility and respectability to attitudes, anxieties, and values that were prevalent primarily if not exclusively among the formally educated members of society. Soloway argues that social anxieties about the declining birth rate and its class differentials were behind the forms that eugenics took in Britain: presented as a statistical science of selective reproduction, eugenics was used to highlight the impending perils associated with a differential birth rate in which superior groups failed to reproduce at high enough rates to keep up with the inferior hordes that proliferated at the bottom of society. Generations of educated men and women in Britain discussed the meanings of birth-rate statistics and net reproduction ratios, which showed a precipitous decline in the fertility of their country. The demographic map revealed that the most uneducated

<sup>14</sup> Richard A. Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration: Eugenics and the Declining Birthrate in Twentieth-Century Britain*, new preface (1990; Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995).

reproduced themselves in large numbers as the wealthiest, best-educated, and most skilled classes were reducing the size of their families. Public attention focused on the inverse correlations existing between fertility and social status, as “race quality” and “race suicide” became the keywords of an age of anxiety over the genetically unfit. Building, as elsewhere, on a deeply entrenched belief in the power of heredity, eugenics was further transformed into an organized movement by post-Malthusian ideas of population control and demographic change.

EUGENIST DISCOURSE MAY HAVE BEEN WIDESPREAD, but it also encountered resistance. In Britain, leading scientists such as J. B. S. Haldane, Julian Huxley, Lancelot Hogben, and Herbert Jennings turned against eugenics and denounced the race and class prejudice it cultivated. If the decline in eugenics within scientific circles often preceded Nazi atrocities, as the important contribution *The Retreat of Scientific Racism* by Elazar Barkan shows, the cruelty of German policies eventually led to a strong reaction, supported by a longstanding and influential anti-eugenics coalition among people of both secular and religious backgrounds.<sup>15</sup> In France, moreover, widespread reluctance to interfere in the private lives of families, opposition from religious and liberal groups, as well as the professional duty of family doctors to respect the confidentiality of their patients combined to marginalize eugenic proposals. The case of the Netherlands, highlighted in the book by Jan Noordman, *On the Quality of Offspring*, is particularly illuminating.<sup>16</sup> In his detailed survey of debates about race improvement, Noordman shows how eugenics remained a marginal movement, as widespread resistance emerged against the medical regulation of reproduction and state intervention in the family. A biologizing vision that reduced human life to a hereditary mechanism was also attacked, while a long tradition of charitable aid combined with Catholic objections to contraception in a strong movement of opposition to eugenics. Equally important was the traditional reticence of the government itself to intervene in the private life of its citizens, since the state in the Netherlands traditionally viewed the family as a sacrosanct entity that should not be interfered with or intruded on. Open democracies with a vibrant civil society, such as Britain and the Netherlands, were generally less inclined to adopt extreme eugenic proposals than authoritarian regimes in Germany and the People's Republic of China.<sup>17</sup>

While most historians note an erosion of faith in eugenics after World War II, some also point out how recent medical innovations in reproductive technologies, including human gene therapy, the Human Genome Project, and in vitro fertilization, could lead to a resurgence in eugenic ideas.<sup>18</sup> This certainly was the case in the

<sup>15</sup> Elazar Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States between the Two World Wars* (Cambridge, 1992).

<sup>16</sup> Jan Noordman, *Om de Kwaliteit van het Nageslacht: Eugenetica in Nederland, 1900–1950* [On the Quality of Offspring: Eugenics in the Netherlands, 1900–1950] (Nijmegen, 1989).

<sup>17</sup> See also Paul Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism, 1870–1945* (Cambridge, 1989), an important book highlighting the significant changes in broader social, political, and disciplinary fields from the Weimar Republic to the Nazi era.

<sup>18</sup> See the new preface in Daniel J. Kevles's classic book *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity* (1985; Cambridge, 1995).

1970s in the Soviet Union, when parts of the liberal intelligentsia started proposing a form of "socialist eugenics," portraying themselves as a genetically superior elite destined by DNA to rule over the dysgenic fray. The systematic invocation of human genetics in political theories justifying social inequality even caused a prominent geneticist to denounce the abuse of science in an official organ of the Central Committee.<sup>19</sup> Eugenic arguments also continue to surface regularly in the United States, as illustrated by a proposal in 1991 by state representative David Duke, a former grand wizard in the Ku Klux Klan. His proposal for a law offering mostly African-American female welfare recipients in Louisiana cash payments for the use of the contraceptive device Norplant strongly echoes earlier eugenic reforms. In some Scandinavian countries, sterilizations continued to be practiced on a widespread scale until 1970. Forced sterilizations for eugenic reasons were also performed decades after the end of World War II in parts of Switzerland.<sup>20</sup>

The recent revelation by a Swiss historian that the canton of Vaud passed a sterilization law for mentally handicapped patients in 1928 caused widespread consternation in the international media, in contrast to the relatively muted reception given to eugenic legislation passed in the People's Republic of China. In Gansu province alone, a 1988 law proscribes marriage for mentally retarded people until they have undergone sterilization surgery; according to the figures announced by Gansu provincial authorities, thousands of people have been sterilized since the law was implemented. Eugenic legislation, passed under the rubric of "maternal and infant health," was also accepted at the national level in 1995. More generally, eugenic discourse in the People's Republic permeates virtually every field related to human reproduction, from birth control to sex education. Directly indebted to the eugenic vision elaborated in many countries between the two world wars, medical and economic explanations are used to curb the reproduction of marginalized people described as "unfit," while abstractions like the "nation," "future generations," and the "gene pool" are raised above the rights and needs of individuals and their families. A greater focus on less developed areas of the world that have not received detailed attention, an emphasis on the highly prevalent yet dispersed nature of eugenic ideas in developed countries, and attention to the different inflections of eugenics in a variety of historical contexts would contribute to a more general appreciation of the history of eugenics, in which China would appear not so much a lonely exception as an integral part of more global trends that have deeply marked and continue to affect the twentieth century.

As the books reviewed here demonstrate in different but complementary ways, eugenic ideas have had very powerful effects on ordinary people throughout the modern world. Historically, scientific advances in genetic research have brought not only greater knowledge of human reproduction to mankind but also increased social prejudice against minority groups and sterilization programs against devalued individuals. While crude programs of eugenics sponsored by the state may have become less frequent today, the legacy of eugenics is still with us in contemporary

<sup>19</sup> N. Dubinin, "Nasledovanie Biologicheskoe i Sotsial'noe," *Kommunist* 11 (1980): 62–74.

<sup>20</sup> On Switzerland, see Philippe Ehrenström, "Stérilisation opératoire et maladie mentale: Une étude de cas," *Gesnerus* 48 (1991): 503–16; and Frank Preiswerk, "Auguste Forel (1848–1931): Un projet de régénération sociale, morale et raciale," *Annuaire: Revue d'histoire contemporaine* 2 (1991): 25–50.



debates about new medical techniques for isolating and manipulating genes. Gene therapy, embryo selection, and prenatal screening are important tools that are open to race and class bias, threatening commitments to social equality and reproductive rights. Information about human genetics can be used to stigmatize not only people alleged to suffer from genetic diseases but virtually anyone deemed economically costly or socially undesirable. During the heyday of eugenics, assumptions about race, gender, and class pervaded genetic research: with the revolution in human genetics today, social and political factors continue to exert formidable influences on scientific research, although eugenic laws are unlikely to reappear in countries that protect reproductive freedoms and civil rights. Even in democratic countries, however, marginalized people may be treated in a discriminatory way, as social prejudice and economic interest could have an impact on genetic information made available to families, employers, hospitals, insurance companies, or welfare systems. An exploration of the history of eugenics illuminates how uncannily similar present ideas can sometimes be to past practices; whether or not it may help us avoid past mistakes is open to debate.

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## Reviews of Books

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### GENERAL

DAVID PHILIP MILLER and PETER HANNS REILL, editors. *Visions of Empire: Voyages, Botany, and Representations of Nature*. New York: Cambridge University Press, in association with the UCLA Center for Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Studies and the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library. 1996. Pp. xix, 370. \$59.95.

This book had its origins in a commemorative conference held at the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library of the University of California, Los Angeles, in January 1991. The conference was held to celebrate the purchase of a set of plates of the *Florilegium*, a volume of botanical illustrations originally prepared under the direction of Sir Joseph Banks, explorer, botanist, and grand panjandrum of British science in the late eighteenth century. From this occasion the book takes its set of connected themes: the role of science in British exploration of the Pacific, the imperial dimensions of botanical illustration and collection, and the importance of the imperial context for the natural sciences in general. These themes link scholarly contributions from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds that lack a single focus in terms of subject matter. Banks and the Pacific, the subjects of the early chapters, soon recede into the background. Later chapters shift attention to botany in other geographical settings, or they move on to consider the other sciences (medicine, anthropology, and the physical sciences), or they wander away from the eighteenth century to earlier or later periods. The editors have struggled commendably to impose a unity on this melange by reiterating the central themes in editor David Philip Miller's introduction, in commentaries by John Gascoigne and co-editor Peter Hanns Reill, and in an afterword by Simon Schaffer. Inevitably, however, the lack of unifying subject matter means that some important issues are passed over, and the volume as a whole fails to convey a satisfying sense of comprehensiveness. Even Banks is not present in all his aspects, and the story of how his projected *Florilegium* was finally brought to the press, a century and a half after it was abandoned, is never told.

Banks nonetheless dominates the early chapters. Miller describes how he capitalized on the experience

of sailing with Captain Cook on the *Endeavour* voyage of 1768–1771 to establish himself, upon his return to London, as the center of a global network of collaborators and correspondents who traded botanical specimens, descriptions, and pictorial images. David Mackay looks at the network of botanical collectors whom Banks recruited: the gardeners, doctors, civil servants, and military and naval officers from whom he drew samples and information. One begins to grasp the extent of Banks's botanical empire, with its dozens of collectors on all continents and its gardens at the Cape of Good Hope, Canton, Sydney, Calcutta, and Barbados. A massive enterprise of transplanting species to new locations was directed at exploring their potential economic utility. Captain Bligh's doomed attempt to bring breadfruit from Tahiti to feed the slaves of the West Indies was only the most famous of the many such efforts promoted by Banks. As Alan Frost points out in his chapter, Australia presented a new world of flora for such appropriation; it also provided *terra nova* into which plants from all other continents could be introduced. In the expansion of the European ecological regime into the territories of the Pacific, Banks played a singularly important role.

Traditional categories of the history of science begin to seem inadequate to understand this particular configuration of scientific knowledge and power. As Schaffer notes, "curiosity" and "interest" cannot be separated here. Imperial interests in botanical cultivation were pursued by building on the social apparatus of a polite curiosity about the natural world. Miller makes use of the sociological vocabulary of Bruno Latour, describing Banks as constituting a "center of calculation" where "immutable mobiles" (specimens, pictures, maps, descriptions) could be accumulated and correlated. Latour's categories appeal because they make the practices of science part of the apparatus of political power: the construction of knowledge unfolds through routines of discipline and control of the material and social worlds.

Not all questions can be answered within this framework, however, as Miller's colleagues repeatedly point out. Latour's account of the building of networks does not differentiate between the various forms and arrangements of power; nor does it have anything to say about why individuals play the parts they do or how

they understand their roles. The point can be made by comparing the approach taken in the chapters on Banks with Lisbet Koerner's fine chapter on the network created by the great Swedish botanist, Carolus Linnaeus. Linnaeus also drew on a geographically extended web of disciples and correspondents to acquire and transplant specimens. He attempted to cultivate tea in Uppsala; Banks was later to advocate its transplantation from China to India (with, initially, no greater success). In Koerner's reading, Linnaeus's motivations can be understood in terms of the goal of a Swedish "autarky," a self-sufficient ecological realm consistent with the aims of cameralist political economy. Banks's imperial vision, insofar as one can judge from the evidence presented here, seems to have been quite different, embracing as it did economic relations between quite distinct ecological realms in various parts of the world.

One value of the perspective that declines to segregate interest from curiosity is that it displays continuities between botanical exploration overseas and the cultivation of the science as part of polite culture at home. In their chapters, Janet Browne and Alan Bewell follow botany into the domestic garden and even the boudoir, illuminating the connections between scientific knowledge and the relations of power that invested human sexuality. Bewell gives a wide-ranging survey of the metaphorical traffic between botanical discourse and that on sexuality and gender in the late eighteenth century. While Linnaeus's sexual system of botanical classification licensed a kind of voyeurism among male botanists, arguments raged as to the suitability of the science for female students. Erasmus Darwin and William Blake were among those who invoked botanical imagery in texts on sexual morality and female education. Plants provided a semiotic currency for interactions between the sexes as well as around the globe.

In acquiring these meanings, visual images of plants were at least as important as specimens. Unfortunately, the chapters by art historians in this volume are rather off-target and do not help us understand the practices of visual representation used in these images. Martin Kemp discusses botanical representation in art from the late Middle Ages to the nineteenth century, but he has little to say about the eighteenth century. Barbara Stafford focuses on the right period but the wrong topic; her treatment of images of microscopic organisms makes no significant link with botany or voyages of exploration. Michael Dettelbach and Reill have interesting things to say about practices of visualization in the "global physics" of Alexander von Humboldt, but there is no parallel analysis of the images used in British natural history or in Pacific exploration.

A similar disappointment must be registered concerning the treatment of the anthropological aspect of the Pacific voyages. As Miller and Schaffer both note, there is much scope for discussion of the linguistic and ethnological observations of Banks and his contempo-

raries. The connections with botany are manifest. Practices of classification, visual representation, and even collecting were employed in both realms. Curiosity and interest intersected in studies of the native peoples of the Pacific no less than in explorations of its flora. Political and sexual power relations were at stake here as well. But the challenge is not taken up. The two chapters by anthropologists simply do not engage with material from the eighteenth century at all.

The book therefore ends with a sense of disintegration that even Schaffer's sparkling afterword cannot entirely remove. It is a pity that some of the contributors have been allowed to wander so far from the central subject, like undisciplined explorers who never reported back to base. The result is a fragmentary map of the terrain, with a variety of trails leading to different (sometimes quite distant) places. It is to be hoped that the trails can be pursued profitably by other investigators, but the central subject is also worthy of a more comprehensive survey.

JAN GOLINSKI

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LOUIS BERGERON, editor. *La révolution des aiguilles: Habiller les Français et les Américains 19<sup>e</sup>-20<sup>e</sup> siècles*. (Studies in History and Social Sciences, number 66.) Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. 1996. Pp. 199. 98 fr.

Strong is the temptation to package as a book a symposium of enthusiasts who appear, at the moment of their assembly, to indulge a kindred passion. This volume, edited by Louis Bergeron, is the offspring of a gathering whose shared passion was clothing and clothing objects (namely, the sewing machine) as sites of economic transformation, cultural display, and representation in France and the United States during the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Consumers of the published joint product must apply arduous labor to make it work as a book.

Philip Scranton, in the sole entry dedicated to a substantial U.S. theme, ushers the hardy reader through the rugged and statistically dreary—yet meticulously and expertly reconstructed—terrain of the nonlinear historical cycles of concentration and deconcentration in Philadelphia's resilient garment trade and manufactures. Then, in a whirlwind, studies by Helen Harden Chenut and Nancy L. Green race the reader past the festival of the haberdashery queen (celebrating one French city's tenacity in preserving quality handicraft manufacture amid growing mass consumption and novelty fashion) to witness a joust of discourses engaging fashion critics from the opposing Atlantic shores, who, in colorful, stereotype-laden displays of pride, anxiety, and revolt, defended the values and articulated the concerns surrounding clothing styles and clothing manufacture in their respective countries.

The real treat of this collection follows. Two hefty and intriguing studies by Monique Peyrière and Judith

Coffin analyze the Singer sewing machine as the site of industrial and marketing transformation as well as the centerpiece of a new kind of mass consumer culture centered on women. The analysis is directed primarily to France but has broader implications for Europe and America. Here, at last, essays treating related subjects work well together. They offer a sophisticated picture of the sewing machine's insertion into the complex matrix of French industrialization and commercial innovation, foreshadowing a type of international enterprise not unlike today's Nike. Singer's cultural significance, especially in the French *belle époque*, is also highlighted. The happy convergence of "revolutions" in consumption, credit, and advertising made this possible, with the aid of social reform agendas targeting sweatshop production and, on a broader cultural canvas, changing representations of women from workers and homemakers to more independent, self-fashioning spirits.

One short but pithy entry by Daniel Friedmann contextualizes the very important notion of "distinction" in modern fashion movements within a theory of dialectically reciprocating homogeneity and difference, and then offers a fascinating analysis of the way in which the "anti-fashion" blue-jean style has played on this dialectic to defy the normative lifespan projection of a given fashion style. The collection concludes with three short essays by Anne-Marie Thiesse, Louis Bergeron, and Jean-Marie Moine on oral history and memory and on autobiography in the world of industry. These have nothing to do with the clothing theme but offer useful introductions to their topics, most notably the little-studied genre of memoirs written by industrialists and entrepreneurs.

In a vague sort of way, the contributions to this collection—at least, most of them—elicit some common themes. They highlight the market, and more precisely the commercial sector, as the flashpoint of innovation—cultural as well as economic—in an era for which, in most of the historiography of industry and labor, productive forms and processes have commanded prime time. Several of the essays seek, successfully for the most part, to accent household production and subcontracting as essential to the viability of the emerging economy of mass consumption, at least in the clothing sector. These traditional forms therefore were recurring features of the changing industrial and entrepreneurial landscape and not merely remnants of a superseded past. Finally, on a more abstract plane, an affinity of intellectual style, emblematic of a shared postmodern temper, hovers over the discourses and reasonings of studies that are otherwise methodologically quite disparate: the recognition of a nonlinear path of forward movement in the modern economy and of the centrality of the exceptional or marginal case, the infatuation with paradox and with contradictions that unveil hidden identities (or the reverse). For the most part, however, the prime merit of this collection is that of a sampling, where readers sharing some interest in clothing history can

taste a wide variety of today's products in this field and, according to their own preferences, decide which are worth consuming on a grander scale.

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ROBERT ERIC FRYKENBERG. *History and Belief: The Foundations of Historical Understanding*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, in association with the Institute for Advanced Christian Studies. 1996. Pp. v, 377. \$27.00.

In this thoughtful and impressively wide-ranging book, Robert Eric Frykenberg explores the nature of historical understanding and the variety of forms it has taken in different cultural settings. Frykenberg attaches great importance to the part played by religion (beliefs about ultimate reality) in providing the conceptual and definitional framework for the historiography generated within each civilization. How it does this is the central question he poses.

In the first several chapters, Frykenberg goes over ground that will be familiar to working historians: the difference between "History" as the sum total of past events and "history" as what is *known* about past events, the essential role of memory in enabling a community to recall the things that are important to it and transmit this remembered past from generation to generation, and the narrative (or story) form in which such transmissions are typically framed. The essential requirement of historical narratives, Frykenberg asserts, is that they supply accurate information about the events of the past; the best of them will, in addition, spark the reader's interest. Surprisingly, although he alludes to it, Frykenberg does not really address the potentially problematic (and much debated) relationship between narrative and reality.

Frykenberg also has a chapter, somewhat less customary in overviews of this sort, on "history as anecdote." He sees anecdote as having "a very powerful kind of authenticity and potentiality in human discourse and understanding" (p. 96) and as "an ideal vehicle for conveying factual details about an actual event" (p. 98). What Frykenberg seems to be leading up to here is the vital part taken by anecdote in the earliest historical narratives, above all the historical portions of the Hebrew and Christian scriptures. One would never guess from his account that, among many historians, "anecdote" and "anecdotal" tend to be viewed in a strongly negative light, suggesting narrative material that is simplistic, one-sided, inadequately documented, and therefore unreliable as a reflection of the complexity of real historical situations.

The middle chapters of the book present three paired accounts of the historical understandings arrived at in antiquity in Egypt and Babylonia, India and Greece, and among the adherents of Judaism and Christianity in Western Asia. What interests Frykenberg in each of these superbly wrought profiles is how

different peoples conceptualized their own beginnings. The inhabitants of the Nile and Mesopotamian river valleys were concerned with portraying the past only to the degree that it touched on immediate, contemporary interests. The historical understandings that emerged out of ancient South Asia and Greece focused not on *what* had happened but on *why*, the concern of Greek and Indian thinkers being with the changeless and universal rather than the particular and transient qualities of events. The early Hebraic and Christian historical traditions, both of which saw History as moving forward toward a final consummation, emphasized human depravity but, instead of accepting the logical consequences of depravity as irreversible or final, assigned a vital part to redemptive events in which God revealed Himself in History.

Toward the end of his discussion of Jewish and Christian perceptions of history, Frykenberg underscores the incomplete, contingent, eternally tentative nature of all historical understanding. The "critical historian, with all sorts of scientific apparatus and discriminating methodologies, can neither definitively confirm . . . nor definitively . . . disprove many of the most . . . deeply held understandings of events" (p. 237). This theme recurs repeatedly in the balance of the book. While acknowledging the place of scientific methodology, Frykenberg maintains that history is both less and more than science. In a discussion of historical interpretation that is central to his argument, he stresses the degree to which historical understanding is built on the "structures and systems of belief which some individual or some larger aggregate of persons holds dear" (p. 263). Frykenberg also incorporates a scorching attack on the nihilism, impenetrability, and contempt for objective reality of postmodernist historiography, as mainly reflected in recent work in Indian history.

Although in some of his formulations concerning the role of belief in establishing historical meaning Frykenberg comes perilously close to the very cognitive relativism he elsewhere forcefully rejects, he also insists on the existence of an objective historical reality. This reality, however, is never fully knowable. At the heart of all historical perception, therefore, is an element of enigma and mystery. Belief and bias provide the frame of reference without which events cannot be known, but they also "bend and distort" all historical understandings. Belief and history—and this is the ultimate paradox—are "both incompatible and inexorably linked" (p. 308).

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ALAN B. SPITZER. *Historical Truth and Lies about the Past: Reflections on Dewey, Dreyfus, de Man, and Reagan*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. 162. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$12.95.

This provocative volume, compact and readable enough to be assigned in either graduate or advanced

undergraduate courses, is a hard-hitting defense of objectivity. Alan B. Spitzer concentrates on what he takes to be the Achilles heel of skepticism, the failure of skeptics to practice what they preach. His central claim is that when push comes to shove, all of us, whatever our epistemological convictions, argue as if we believed that some interpretations of the past are so superior that they deserve general acceptance. When the stakes are high, we all turn out in practice to be objectivists, suggesting that skepticism is unsustainable.

To show that this is so, Spitzer presents four case studies. Each examines the arguments people use when there is no substitute for knowing "what really happened": John Dewey's 1937 inquiry into Stalinist allegations against Leon Trotsky; the wrenching controversy that gripped *fin-de-siècle* France over the alleged treason of Alfred Dreyfus; the recent debate over the wartime writings of literary critic Paul de Man; and Ronald Reagan's controversial decision to visit the German military cemetery at Bitburg.

This choice of topics sets unacknowledged limits to the reach of Spitzer's analysis. Spitzer criticizes skeptics such as Hayden White, Louis Mink, and Frank Ankersmit, but these scholars earned their skeptical conclusions by closely examining the intractable interpretive rivalries that routinely exist among professional historians. In contrast to the disciplined and comparatively well-focused rivalries they had in mind, the case studies Spitzer selects were raucous public brawls in which political passions ran wild and professional historians played only peripheral roles. The polar opposition imbedded in his title—which pits truth-tellers against outright liars—is a blunt instrument, good enough for understanding why truth is ill-served by public brawls but incapable of shedding much light on the multitude of interpretive differences that cannot be reduced to intentional misrepresentation.

This is not to say that Spitzer employs an unsophisticated conception of truth or that the profession is too mature to need sermons on the virtues of truth-telling. The book is better than its title; Spitzer knows full well that honest differences of perspective inevitably count for much in the writing of history. Still, his case studies offer telling examples of the pathetic figures that intellectuals cut when their zeal for good causes overwhelms their devotion to simple candor and honesty. Anyone who doubts that the historical profession today routinely tolerates, and sometimes even celebrates, the subordination of intellectual integrity to political loyalties need only recall the basically exculpatory tone in which Peter Novick recounts recent misdeeds carried out by professional historians in the name of feminism, minority rights, and other good causes (*That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* [1988]).

Spitzer is no absolutist. The question he would ask about all truth claims in history is the same one that Dewey formulated at about the time he chaired the



commission evaluating charges against Trotsky: "Upon what grounds are some judgments about a course of past events more entitled to credence than certain other ones?" (p. 28). Dewey the pragmatist was no less confident in 1937 than Spitzer is today that the answer to that question lies in traditional criteria of validity and familiar conventions of empirical inference. Spitzer believes that those who followed the party line and submitted the Dewey commission to a storm of vituperation were more or less knowingly embracing lies. Although the conduct of the liberals who adopted a posture of agnosticism is understandable in view of the gathering clouds of war, they were, in Spitzer's view, flatly mistaken: not only as to the facts of Trotsky's life but as to their own ethical obligations as intellectuals.

The other case studies are less well-served by Spitzer's razor-sharp dichotomy between truth-telling and lying, but each case advances and usefully complicates his argument. The Dreyfus affair illustrates the compulsions felt even by frank irrationalists such as Georges Sorel grudgingly to abide by conventional rules of argumentation, if only for the sake of appearances. Although the de Man controversy supplies many an example of moral evasion and interpretive bad faith, taken as a whole the debate is construed by Spitzer as a reassuring demonstration of the power of unanticipated and unpalatable facts about the past to transform present values and loyalties. Reagan's Bitburg episode gives the author an opportunity to distance himself from conservatives who hypocritically complain that the modern academy betrays the search for truth, then turn around and endorse a presidential administration that systematically fosters a nationwide haze of comforting illusions. Spitzer's dedication to truth is sufficiently fierce and uncompromising that some readers will find it discomforting. It would serve the profession's current needs well to invite those who are disturbed by it to stand up and tell us why.

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RICHARD F. HAMILTON. *The Social Misconstruction of Reality: Validity and Verification in the Scholarly Community*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 289. \$32.50.

The title of this book does little to convey its contents. Richard F. Hamilton, best known for *Who Voted for Hitler?* (1982), considers the question of why claims unsupported by evidence sometimes come to be widely accepted within the scholarly world. What are the reasons for the spread and persistence of error? Hamilton is perhaps best seen as continuing in the line of Allen Johnson's much neglected classic, *The Historian and Historical Evidence* (1926). Johnson, however, was mainly concerned with how historical descriptions are to be justified. Hamilton adds an interest in historical explanations, where it is a matter of proposing and assessing causal claims.

The book can be read on two levels, the particular and the general. Hamilton pursues his general reflections by examining specific cases. He devotes substantial attention to three cases: the Weber thesis, which holds that "the Protestant ethic" had a causal relation to capitalism; the "lower-middle-class thesis," which holds that the lower middle class formed National Socialism's strongest base of support; and what one might call the "Foucault thesis," which holds that in the modern period there has emerged an apparently humane but actually highly controlled and repressive social order. Hamilton devotes about seventy pages each to the Weber thesis and to Nazism and about twenty-five pages to Foucault.

Well-informed experts will be largely unsurprised by what Hamilton says with regard to their fields of expertise. There was nothing that was new to me in his account of Michel Foucault, for example. On the other hand, I know little about Reformation history or about early modern European economic history, and I am an amateur rather than an expert in Weimar and Nazi Germany. My relative ignorance no doubt helped me to find Hamilton's discussions of the Weber thesis and of the "lower-middle-class thesis" well worth my time. Few historians take the Weber thesis seriously (as Hamilton points out, sociologists have been more inclined to do so, at least in passing). Hamilton shows how shockingly weak the supporting evidence was and remains. Most interesting is Hamilton's discussion of Nazism's social base. Even very recently, eminent historians have insisted that Nazism was essentially a lower-middle-class movement. *Who Voted for Hitler?* cast a dark shadow over that claim. In the present study, Hamilton brings matters up to date, taking account of more recent research. He concludes that religion was far more important than class in influencing whether someone voted National Socialist. Protestants were much more likely to vote for the Nazis than were Catholics; yet, in its relentless concern with class as the relevant determining variable, the literature on the subject glosses over this fact.

Hamilton's more general point has to do with the practice of scholarship. Why does the scholarly community sometimes allow unsubstantiated claims to be repeated for decades, even generations? Hamilton offers a number of reasons for this: the concern that scholars sometimes have with exploring the inner logic of a position rather than questioning its first principles; psychological attachment to one's world view; conformism; the general bias that intellectual gatekeepers have for the conventional wisdom of a field; and lax epistemological standards. His suggested cures include testing the negation of any general claim; attending systematically to alternative theories; preferring theoretical pluralism over commitment to one theory; and attempting to replicate historical studies, at least to the extent of selectively examining the relation between claims and evidence in any given work.

Hamilton's book is an attempt to put into practice the last of these recommendations. For this very

reason, it is a bit unsatisfying. Its demolitions are thorough, persuasive, and sometimes elegant. But one expects a positive dimension as well. A positive dimension is present, but it is undeveloped. Underlying Hamilton's demolitions is the suggestion that, in the rush for general explanations, social science has underplayed the "voluntarist" components of social life: effort, ability, intention, organizing drive, and the like.

Hamilton is perhaps less attentive than he ought to be to the value of overstatement in drawing attention to hitherto neglected problems. Yet it is true that overstatements—especially when they come from such creative and seductive intellects as Max Weber, Karl Marx, or Foucault—are often taken as substantiated and literal truth. It is also true that historians are sometimes less fastidious than they ought to be about matters of evidence. In exposing several instances in which claim and evidence have been at variance, Hamilton reminds us how easy it is to fall into error.

ALLAN MEGILL  
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GÉRARD NOIRIEL. *Sur la "crise" de l'histoire*. Paris: Belin. 1996. Pp. 343.

Although the practice of history has undergone periodic crises for almost two hundred years, the uniqueness of its present plight, according to Gérard Noiriel, is that it has been inflicted largely by Clío's own disciples; this includes the atomization of the scholarly community, proliferation of paradigms, multiplication of polemics, and growing distance from the public. In a detailed, occasionally fervent monograph, Noiriel, who has previously written on French labor and immigration, explores the background of today's malaise and also proposes some remedies.

Concentrating primarily on France, with occasional references to Britain, West Germany, and the United States, Noiriel examines the expansion of historical research since World War II, focusing primarily on the triumphs of the *Annales*. Based on a careful reading of contemporary as well as historical texts and incorporating political as well as institutional history, Noiriel's book traces the journal's intellectual origins, its founding era, and its two golden decades between the 1950s and 1970s. May 1968 signaled the impending crisis, not only of an overproduction of scholars and the blockage of professional advancement but also of the revival of old, nineteenth-century debates over the nature and purpose of history.

Before World War I, history's claims to be a human science had been largely contested by philosophers and social scientists. Noiriel identifies Marc Bloch's *Apologie pour l'histoire* (1949) as the "maturity of [the] paradigm" initiated by his positivist teachers and fulfilled by his conception of "histoire-problème" (p. 81). Noiriel, who neglects several important historical, personal, and editorial details of the publication of Bloch's *Apologie*, identifies serious lacunae in this model text: the problem of reaching a general audi-

ence, the question of the historian's political engagement, and the fact that Bloch defined the historian primarily as a craftsman without need for philosophical introspection.

During the Braudel era, Bloch's reticence was replaced by the master's active engagement in questions of epistemology and methodology and academic politics as well as public life. Social history, with its quantification, structures, and emphasis on the *longue durée* not only dominated the historical profession but also left its mark on other disciplines. Inevitably, there were critiques, initially from philosophers and social scientists and then from historians themselves. These academic debates, which began in the mid-1970s and spilled over into Britain and the United States, represented more than generational and ideological struggles for control of an increasingly crowded profession and media attention; Noiriel believes that the fierce attacks on the theoretical weaknesses of social history and the "frenzied" production of "new paradigms" since the 1980s have been the principal causes of the current crisis. He grimly details the various new forms of theorizing, the vogue of "thick description," and the lure of *Alltagsgeschichte*—promoted by star-studded colloquia and a flood of review articles—that have split historians into warring clans deserted by their reading public and unsure of their future. Moreover, he claims, historians have abandoned their old involvement with the social sciences, the fruitful collaboration and debates that sharpened the tools and imaginations of Charles Seignobos, Lucien Febvre, Bloch, and Fernand Braudel.

Noiriel's panacea is a robust Blochean form of "pragmatism" restoring history's original concerns with its civic as well as its intellectual role in society, the creation of *historien-épistémologues*, who combine the work (*métier*) with critical perspective (*savoir*). Paralleling the most recent turning of the *Annales*, Noiriel proposes that the *Apologie* become a base for new construction, enriched by Bloch's concerns over forms of communication and the creation of historical memory and Max Weber's meditations on power. Noiriel has included four of his own essays on French historiography, three previously published, to illustrate the turn from the author back to the subject.

These thoughtful, often eloquent arguments, combining traces of *fin-de-siècle* uneasiness with a long historiographic perspective, nevertheless raise concerns. Focused mainly on France, the restricted geography and time span limit the book's relevance to other parts of Europe, not to mention the rest of the world. Moreover, Noiriel's conception of power is largely confined to the academic realm. He is highly ambivalent over the virtues of writing contemporary history, distinguishing between the public's fickle, "political" tastes and the historian's need for "autonomy." Echoing the Braudelians, he finds journalists better prepared than historians to study the present, thus enabling the latter to remain balanced, innovative, interdisciplinary, and free from the "mania of judg-

ment" (pp. 205–206). Moreover, he calls for a "collective vigilance" against the profession's periodic waves of "promotional" revisionism, which retard the development of "pragmatic reason" (p. 207). Even if such aspirations were achievable, would they accomplish the recovery and the "democratization of history" or indeed express what Marc Bloch once had in mind?

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BRIGHTIE HAMANN, *Bertha von Suttner: A Life for Peace*. Translated by ANN DUBSKY. Foreword by IRWIN ABRAMS. (Syracuse Studies on Peace and Conflict Resolution.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1996. Pp. xxi, 360. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$17.95.

The life, work, and political environment of Bertha von Suttner, long obscured by the compelling authority of warfare and violence in twentieth-century politics, has found an appreciative chronicler and deserves a wide audience. Von Suttner, born Countess Kinsky in 1843 into a noble family with impeccable military credentials, died in 1914, a week before Sarajevo. She was arguably the most famous woman peace crusader at the turn of the century. Her novel, *Die Waffen nieder* (1889), sold millions of copies in over a dozen languages and earned her the sobriquet, the "Harriet Beecher Stowe" of the peace movement. Her name became the shorthand euphemism for everything the German Kaiser hated.

Over the years, only a handful of scholars have made acquaintance with von Suttner's remarkable *persona*, determination in face of public disdain and humiliation, and persistence in face of severe economic difficulties. Despite her noble origins, she grew up as the poor relation of the Kinskys, raised by a mother who loved gambling tables too much. In her twenties, she had to abandon her dream of an operatic career and take a post as a governess for the von Suttners, a well-to-do Austrian family. She and Arthur von Suttner, the son, fell in love—a wholly "unsuitable" relationship. To escape from this hopeless love, she applied for a job in Paris and went to work for Alfred Nobel but left after two weeks, returned to Vienna, and eloped with Arthur. The two made their way to the Caucasus, where they invented careers as journalists, writers, and correspondents. Surely this is not the stuff of conventionality!

Von Suttner earned a reputation as a capable writer, notably for *Das Maschinenzeitalter* (1886) an assessment of "modern times" that included remarkably liberal ideas about love, sexuality, social institutions, political practices, and war and peace. She also sent regular reports about the exotic worlds she inhabited, many published in the *Neue Freie Presse*. Forgiven by Arthur's family, the couple finally returned to Austria, where life became increasingly difficult financially. For years, they lived close to bankruptcy. Von Suttner's grand entry into fame and temporary fortune after 1889 brought her into the organized international

peace movement, which became her life's work until hours before her death. Despite her short stint in Nobel's employ, she had remained in correspondence with him and is generally recognized as the catalyst behind Nobel's famous will. When the peace prize finally became a reality, surviving his family's court challenges, von Suttner expected to enjoy its fruits, but the committee avoided giving it to her until 1905. Apart from the honor, she desperately needed the funding for her personal expenses, her family's upkeep, and for the Austrian Peace Society, which she valiantly maintained in a most unsupportive climate.

Von Suttner maintained an occasionally uneasy relationship with organized women's associations. With time, she became increasingly convinced that both women's and socialist groups would have major roles to play in bringing the peace message to fruition. She never supported socialist analyses but managed to remain friendly with the German socialist leadership.

Brigitte Hamann's biography is drawn extensively from the extant primary sources: a significant cache of correspondence with Alfred Fried, who was von Suttner's complete partner in peace movement publications and campaigns; some correspondence in the Austrian national depositories; and material in archives in the Caucasus. Chapters are chronologically presented under headings that summarize the subject's main interests in those years or months. This organization, while simple to follow, leads to repetition; there is too much direct quotation from letters and insufficient synthesis.

Hamann, who has written other biographies of Habsburg figures, has produced a book that signals the significant life of its unusual subject. But this is not the definitive or final statement that scholarship, especially feminist scholarship, warrants. A biography that synthesizes von Suttner's thought and activities more succinctly, with greater insight into the persistent commitments of a woman so amazingly willing to defy social convention while remaining an aristocrat, remains to be written. More familiarity with recent work on the international peace movement would also help to contextualize the ideology of "pacifism" in the years from 1889 to 1914, which are too monochromatically presented here.

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JOHN PATRICK DIGGINS, *Max Weber: Politics and the Spirit of Tragedy*. New York: BasicBooks. 1996. Pp. xvi, 334. \$35.00.

John Patrick Diggins has written a unique study of social theorist Max Weber that will interest historians of both Europe and the Americas. Diggins describes his monograph "as an appreciative study of a social scientist who knew and liked America" (pp. xi-xii). He stresses Weber's hard-headed realism and unrelenting critical acumen. Moreover, Diggins sees Weber's un-

derstanding of the oppositions and ironies of historical change as peculiarly relevant to present-day American crises. "The antinomic tensions," Diggins writes, "in Weber's anguished mind and thought are real, and they resemble the tensions that divide America, especially the tension between nationalism and authority on the one side, and individualism and freedom on the other" (p. xiv).

Like his predecessor, Alexis de Tocqueville, Weber visited the United States and ruminated about the meaning of American democracy. Both European visitors were intrigued by the profound influence of Protestant Christianity on American society and political culture. But while Tocqueville worried about the disintegrating force of American individualism, Weber recognized that popular concerns for individual rights would prompt the growth of the bureaucratic state as protector. In contrast to the diatribes of Randolph Bourne and other Progressives against the persistent "Puritanism" of American culture, Weber developed a subtler, more sympathetic analysis of America's fundamentally religious beginnings. Weber wrote appreciatively of a traditional Calvinistic understanding of ethical character. He hoped to draw from America's Puritan past the notion of "calling" to counteract the acids of modernity. At the same time, Weber was "no apologist for capitalism" and recognized that Puritan ideas had played a key role in the emergence of modernity (p. 41). The Puritan beginnings of the republic were both a burden and a blessing.

Perhaps the most significant element missing from the secondary literature on Weber is the biographical. Here Diggins makes probably his most important contribution. He paints a subtle portrait of an intellectual struggling with a variety of problems, both familial and romantic. Although he was close to his mother, Weber's relationship with his father was deeply troubled. Indeed, a confrontation with his father may have triggered Weber's prolonged period of mental illness and self-isolation. Between 1897 and 1904, he was severely depressed. His prestige enabled him to retain an academic appointment, but he declined to lecture. Although his marriage to Marianne Schnitger was a happy one, Weber indulged in a prolonged romantic relationship with a former student, Else Jaffé. His social and political theory was rooted in a profoundly personal sense of tragedy. He sought in his own life and in his scholarship a clear-eyed realism that would liberate, even though it inevitably revealed only "the conflict of irreconcilable choices" (p. 260).

As Weber emerged from this dark time, he published the initial version of *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904), which examined the complex and ironic relationship between the "inner-worldly asceticism" of Calvinism and the emergence of capitalist institutions (p. 99). As Weber explained, "wealth came to be seen as a sign not of enjoyment but of abstinence, the result of hard work, frugality, and self denial, precisely what was necessary for capital accumulation" (p. 99). Thus the Puritan who was told

that he could never earn his salvation worked feverishly to achieve the accepted signs of election, prosperity and wealth. Like the antimonies that characterized much of his thought, Weber's understanding of capitalism centered on the irony of an otherworldly creed giving rise to the "rationalization" of society and, ultimately, to modernity in general.

The last four chapters of Diggins's book explore Weber's thought within the context of his public life in Germany during and immediately after World War I. While highly critical of the imperial diplomacy that drew Germany into conflict, Weber contributed his considerable administrative skills to the cause on the home front. After the Armistice, Weber found himself a lonely centrist in Germany's increasingly polarized political scene. Although he freely admitted German responsibility for much of what had produced the Great War, he criticized the treaty's "guilt clause" as unfair and dangerous. Similarly, Weber sympathized with many of President Woodrow Wilson's political values yet found much of his idealism infuriating. To Weber's mind, Wilson failed to "fuse an ethics of intent with a [proper] calculation of consequences" (p. 216). As for Germany, if it was a choice (as Hugo Preuss believed) between Wilson or V. I. Lenin, Weber would fight for the democratic center. Unlike many of his liberal allies, Weber looked to the Anglo-American tradition rather than the French revolutionary model, although his understanding of history told him that the cultural and historical conditions that produced American liberalism were unrepeatable. For Weber, "freedom was born of a fortuitous combination of 'constellations,' a combination that Russia also lacked in 1917 (p. 239). Both the pacifists and the Bolshevik Spartacists in postwar Germany were functioning in a dream world that denied the practical "reality of politics" that Weber celebrated (p. 249). Notwithstanding his genuine empathy for the labor movement, Weber criticized the violence that erupted in Munich in 1918. It was in this atmosphere of revolution and reaction that Weber died in the spring of 1920.

Diggins has written a refreshingly unfashionable study that makes a laudable effort to grapple with the universal significance of Weber's ideas. Such an approach is not without its snares, however. Some readers may be frustrated as Diggins leaps from James Madison to Ralph Waldo Emerson to Georg Lukacs. Perhaps unavoidably, there is a lack of precision in this sort of excursion, even with regard to terms as central to Diggins's analysis as Puritanism and Calvinism. Neither of these is really defined theologically; it is unclear, for example, in what sense one should understand Weber and Wilson as "fellow Calvinist[s]" (p. 220). Moreover, to speak of American Protestantism in the nineteenth century as primarily Calvinist is problematic at best, as of Nathan Hatch and others have shown. What Diggins calls as "the waning of Calvinism" probably occurred a lot earlier than either Weber believed or Diggins implies. Such idiosyncrasies



aside, this is an enormously stimulating study that argues convincingly the case for Weber's enduring relevance to the New World and the Old.

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PHILIP IRONSIDE. *The Social and Political Thought of Bertrand Russell: The Development of an Aristocratic Liberalism*. (Ideas in Context, number 37.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 280. \$49.95.

Quentin Skinner's "Ideas in Context" series has produced some controversial works, among them Peter Novick's *That Noble Dream* (1988). This book by Philip Ironside has already provoked protests in book review columns and a crackling of outrage in cyberspace discussion groups. One can certainly question whether Ironside does a better job of traversing ground already covered by Alan Ryan's *Bertrand Russell: A Political Life* (1988). To begin with, Ironside only covers part of Russell's life, ending his account in 1938 for no good reason. And he conspicuously lacks Ryan's balance and directness.

Yet Ironside has discerned a consistent pattern in Russell's politics that Ryan missed. What was the common denominator of the miscellaneous causes—liberal imperialism, Fabianism, guild socialism, eugenics, Bloomsbury bohemianism, sexual freedom, anarchism, and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament—that Russell embraced in succession? Ironside calls it "aristocratic liberalism." Russell was passionately committed to preserving freedom for exceptional individuals such as himself, although he could be fairly arrogant toward the rest of humanity. He went to jail for his activism, but he deeply distrusted democracy and could not work with committees. Most nineteenth-century British intellectuals liked to imagine themselves as members of the "clerisy," an endowed mandarin class providing moral leadership to society, and Russell carried the idea into the democratic twentieth century. The result, Ironside concludes, was an ideology "by turns Gladstonian, Paterian, and proto-Wodehousian" (p. 12). As Virginia Woolf put it, "Bertie"—Russell, not Wooster—"takes his lectures very seriously, and thinks he's going to found new civilizations" (p. 123).

Although Ironside only mentions the book in a footnote, Russell to some extent fits the pattern discerned by John Carey in *The Intellectuals and the Masses* (1992). Like so many thinkers of his generation, Russell approached modern democratic culture with fear and loathing. As popular education narrowed the gap between the masses and the intellectuals, the latter proclaimed their own mental superiority with increasing shrillness. Russell was certainly not an enemy of mass enlightenment, but he did proclaim that "one Darwin is more important than 30 million men and women" (p. 30), and he too easily assumed that the lower classes led dull, mechanical, materialistic lives. "Miners earn good wages but are too uncivilised

to enjoy them," he wrote (p. 102), completely unaware of the vast network of libraries and choral societies created by Welsh colliers.

Much earlier than most on the radical left, Russell denounced Soviet repression—at least when people of his intellectual caste were repressed. That the Bolsheviks, a lot of "Americanised Jews," presumed to spy on him during his visit to Russia was intolerable. "I was stifled and oppressed by the weight of the machine as by a cope of lead," he told Lady Ottoline Morrell. "Imagine yourself governed in every detail by a mixture of Sidney Webb [the lower-middle-class Fabian] and Rufus Isaacs [the Jewish Lord Chief Justice], and you will have a picture of modern Russia" (p. 147). It was less unpleasant to imagine the Russian *muzhik* governed by such men: Russell was "persuaded that Russia is not ready for any form of democracy," and he praised the Communists for introducing "American efficiency among a lazy and undisciplined population" (p. 148).

The same Bloomsbury exclusiveness can be detected in Russell's socialism. A key plank in his platform was the "vagabond's wage" (p. 140), a guaranteed minimum income that would allow anyone with artistic tastes to pursue *la vie bohème*. But, in 1923, he wrote that only the white race was capable of socialism: until Asians and blacks had further evolved, "the less prolific races will have to defend themselves against the more prolific by methods which are disgusting even if they are necessary" (p. 167). The eugenic utopia that Russell outlined in *The Scientific Outlook* (1931) was so closely satirized by Aldous Huxley in *Brave New World* (1932) that Russell considered suing for copyright infringement. Certainly Russell envisioned a similar caste system: "For entirely inferior work negroes will be employed wherever possible" (p. 191), he proposed, evidently unaware that such a policy was already in force in the United States and the British Empire. In much the same spirit, he admired traditional Chinese culture in spite of its gross inequalities and periodic famines. The coolies who carried him in his chair during a visit to China were, he thought, really enjoying a high level of civilization and personal happiness.

"I am quite indifferent to the mass of human creatures," Russell wrote early in his career (p. 37). If Ironside had carried the story forward to the late 1940s, he would have encountered the Russell who proposed that a *Pax Americana* might be imposed on the Soviet Union through a preemptive nuclear war, even if that killed half a billion people. A few years later, he helped to found the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The philosopher's admirers have attacked Ironside's portrait as one-sided; but as far as he goes, Ironside explains Russell's stunning inconsistencies more satisfactorily than either Alan Ryan or Russell himself. The question that remains to be answered is how, given his views, Russell became a hero to the left.

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MICHAEL BESS. *Realism, Utopia, and the Mushroom Cloud: Four Activist Intellectuals and Their Strategies for Peace, 1945–1989*; Louise Weiss (France), Leo Szilard (USA), E. P. Thompson (England), Danilo Dolci (Italy). Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1993. Pp. xxviii, 322. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$19.95.

This book is an engaging account of four intellectuals who were concerned about the problems of international politics and the possibilities of human destruction in the post–World War II years. Michael Bess pulls together the stories of disparate individuals who, at first glance, do not appear to have much in common. In the process, he manages to convey that their conflicts and concerns had, in fact, a common focus.

Bess asks a variety of questions at the outset. “How can the world’s peoples fend off the aggressions of expansionist movements like Nazism except by relying on the ultimate arbiter of physical force?” he wonders. “Yet how long can the world’s peoples afford to rely on force, now that weapons have become powerful enough to threaten the entire biosphere?” (p. xv). In his introduction, Bess likewise notes that all four of the activists he describes were concerned with issues of the role of military force and the role of social hierarchy in national and international organization.

Bess examines a curious group of individuals, yet he manages to bring them alive. Each major chapter stands alone as an extended essay about a particular person, even as common themes run throughout the book. The first, and briefest, essay focuses on Louise Weiss, the French journalist and activist who presided over the first session of the European Parliament in 1979, at the age of eighty-six. Weiss served as a nurse during World War I, interviewed Leon Trotsky and other Bolsheviks in the postwar years, and became an advocate of women’s suffrage in the 1930s. As her early optimism about international cooperation faded, Weiss became a proponent of *Realpolitik* and the use of force. Bess shows how she came to argue that “the risks of possessing nuclear weapons were far outweighed by the advantages they would offer in the competitive struggle for world power” (p. 30) and notes that she was clearly different in this regard from his other subjects.

Leo Szilard, the Hungarian physicist who drafted the famous letter that Albert Einstein sent to President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1939, warning of the possibility that the Germans might develop an atomic bomb and thereby setting in motion the Manhattan Project, had a very different view of nuclear weapons. He spent the remainder of his life “desperately trying to put the genie back into the bottle” and became “one of the world’s first, and most imaginative, nuclear arms-control advocates” (p. xix). Bess describes Szilard’s efforts in pushing for talks among the world powers and his hopes for a long-range world federation.

The liveliest of the profiles in this book focuses on E.P. Thompson, the British social historian who eventually put his scholarship aside and devoted himself

entirely to the campaign against nuclear weapons in the 1980s. Bess describes Thompson’s early life and growing interest in Marxism and notes the influence of his wife Dorothy in both his intellectual and activist lives. “Not surprisingly,” he writes perceptively, “the theoretical concerns that motivated Thompson in *The Making of the English Working Class* were intimately related to his political work in the New Left” (p. 108). He goes on to describe Thompson’s involvement with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in the 1950s and then with the European Nuclear Disarmament campaign several decades later. In all of his efforts, Bess observes, Thompson believed in “the possibility of human beings to shape their own history” (p. 120).

Finally, Bess examines the career of Italian activist Danilo Dolci. He was a community educator in Sicily who gradually broadened his frame of reference. As Dolci looked at the developing East-West rivalry, Bess argues, he “believed that the deeper roots of this large-scale military and political competition lay in the values of common citizens and in the everyday social processes that shaped those values” (p. xxii). Like Thompson, he wanted to help establish a foundation of social peace and justice at the local level.

Bess concludes his thoughtful account by noting three controversies running through the preceding chapters. All of his subjects were concerned with “future of government on a global scale,” even as they came to different conclusions (p. 220). All debated the capacity of humans to change. And all of them argued about the role of power in the international arena. While not providing any final answers, Bess does a good job of raising questions that concern us all.

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ANDREW BELL-FIALKOFF. *Ethnic Cleansing*. New York: St. Martin’s. 1996. Pp. 346. \$45.00.

This book reviews the past and present of ten intractable ethnic conflicts and then proposes massive involuntary population transfers as their solution. Ideally, the transfers would include the entire ethnic group concerned and should be carried out speedily so as to shorten the period of hardship. The relocation of Sudeten Germans from Czechoslovakia to Germany in 1945 supplies Andrew Bell-Fialkoff with the model for returning Russians in fourteen former Soviet republics to Russia (p. 259). Bell-Fialkoff also proposes that the Tamils in Sri Lanka be resettled into an autonomous enclave at Trincomalee (fifteen percent of Sri Lanka’s population packed into two percent of its territory), which then “could become a great trading and commercial center of some 2 or 3 million people, similar to Hong Kong” (pp. 189, 262). Similarly, all three million Arabs in Israel and the West Bank could be packed into the Gaza Strip to become another “dynamic hub of international trade” (p. 264). Cyprus? Resettle either all Turks or all Greeks to their respective mainlands. Ulster? Transfer minor areas to the Re-

public of Ireland and give the remaining Catholics a choice between resettlement there or in England. Bell-Fialkoff's preferred option for Bosnia requires that all Muslims be shipped to Turkey. Split Transylvania and Kosovo, with obligatory transfer of people to the proper side of the ethnic divide. Move all Karabakh Armenians to Nakhichevan and hand it over to Armenia. Carve a Tutsi ministate out of Rwanda and Burundi, and transfer the people.

This book starts out with a fairly decent historical overview of ethnic cleansing as state policy ever since ancient Assyria, with its brutal aspects well in evidence. The chapter on typologies of cleansing also makes sense. "Cleansing as a Metonym of Collective Identity" reads like the obligatory theory chapter of a social science dissertation: demonstrate that you know various theories, never to be mentioned—much less applied—in the subsequent chapters. It is nice to have items like a five-page history of the gay movement, which concludes that self-procreation difficulties preclude a separate gay polity any time soon.

Once past the introductory one-third of the book, the term "ethnic cleansing" rarely recurs. The central part presents sketches of the ten aforementioned conflicts, emphasizing their deep historical roots and the inadequacy of proposed solutions. The viewpoints of various sides are presented in a balanced way, except for "The Palestinian Problem," where nearly half of the endnotes refer to Benjamin Netanyahu's book and Arab views are absent. The outline maps attached to country chapters are confusing; they show none of the place names mentioned in the text but include mysterious border changes that receive explanation only much later, in the last part of the book.

This is where it first transpires that, when renamed "compulsory population transfer," one variety of ethnic cleansing becomes a useful gardening tool. A "resettlement index" is devised to determine whether, say, the Greeks or the Turks should be cleansed out of Cyprus. It is a textbook example of how *not* to construct an index, one of those exercises that give quantitative approaches an undeservedly bad name. Among other flaws, the operationalization of historic and geographic criteria is so fluid that, instead of all Palestinians being packed into the Gaza Strip, one could easily find that one has lent moral support for packing all Israeli Jews into a "Hong Kong-like" enclave around Tel Aviv.

This is a serious matter. As a measure of sorrowful last resort, one might consider involuntary population transfer in isolated cases, and thus it needs theoretical discussion. But the danger of opening a floodgate of misuse is huge. Bell-Fialkoff does acknowledge that "population transfers are no panacea and should be used with extreme caution" (p. 229), but he then throws caution to the winds. The liberal application to all ten cases discussed, with no

counter-examples, exudes too much panglossian lightheartedness.

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#### ANCIENT

D. T. POTTS. *Mesopotamian Civilization: The Material Foundations*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. xx, 366. \$62.50.

D. T. Potts has written a very informative book that tries to give a portrait of the material bases of southern Mesopotamia, ancient Iraq. An expert on the archaeology of the Persian Gulf, he assumes that readers already have a lot of background knowledge. The great merit of the book is that Potts tries always to bring in what the written cuneiform record has to say about his subjects, and he frequently succeeds in making juxtapositions that are strikingly informative and in putting matters in a new light.

Potts's chapters consider the country and its climate, the "aboriginal" population, agriculture and diet, natural resources, watercraft, pottery, metal, "Some Material Correlates of Religious Life," "Kinship in Urban Society," mortuary practices, "Functional Aspects of Writing and Sealing," "East Meets West," and "West Meets East."

In "East Meets West," Potts studies things that came to Mesopotamia from the East, including monkeys and mongooses. In the next chapter, he does not detail things that came to Mesopotamia from the West or the influence of Mesopotamia on the West; instead he studies the Seleucid incursion and its rather limited archaeological impact on Mesopotamia.

Potts creatively considers the pottery typologies on the basis of the designations of pot uses in the cuneiform lexical tradition, trying to get at an ethnology of the artifacts. But one wonders what milk was used for if only Euro-Americans can drink it as adults. About mortuary practices, Potts refers to the Middle Babylonian funerary inscription without noting that it is the first in its genre and may mark an important change in the way elites viewed individual death. But Mesopotamian burial was always individual, with no groups found. The royal graves at Ur, apparently exceptions to the rule of individual burial, had servants and retainers killed as the most opulent of grave goods, but they may have been seen as graves of single great individuals. Potts finds no evidence of orthodoxy about in-house or external burials or the placement of cemeteries. Burial in swamps may explain why we do not have more graves.

Potts defends himself against the charge that he is arbitrarily selective of subjects to discuss; the book gives us "his" Mesopotamia, not the last and definitive word on Mesopotamia. Potts may know what his own graduate students in Sydney need to know, but others

may question his choices. For example, I missed deeper discussion of ideas about the orientation of temples and the history of attributing material aspects to racial groups. Although largely discredited in its classic form, it is of more interest than the possible parallels between Mesopotamian temples and Nestorian churches. Among the technical matters that Potts does not explain are the use of subscripts to designate different cuneiform signs and the transliteration conventions that send some syllables into upper case. In connection with metalworking, he uses the unexplained term *tuyère*, a conical tube that brings air into an oven (p. 179). I was particularly disappointed in the Polanyesque approach taken to prices. Scholars can agree that social contexts deeply affect exchanges without blocking out need or perceived need as a key element in consumption decisions.

A helpful aspect of the book is the wealth of figures and tables it provides, though there are no photographic illustrations. There is an adequate if not exhaustive index, sometimes including brief explanations of terms. Potts has a tendency to refer to the articles but not the books of particular scholars, even when books exist. Italian and Russian scholarship is essentially omitted. Potts stresses the revolutionary nature of the seeder plough, not attested before the Early Dynastic period, which made possible much more efficient planting and the famously high Mesopotamian crop yields. The description of contemporary shipwrights caulking with bitumen was most interesting; it turns out that one can reuse bitumen indefinitely (p. 130).

I join Potts in his call for more "lateral"—that is, interdisciplinary—thinking and for other archaeologists to follow him into the richness of the cuneiform record. But those who lack Potts's broad learning also need Assyriologists who are willing and able to communicate with archaeologists in helpful and generalizing ways. Potts has certainly shown the kinds of interesting questions that open up. Specialists and graduate students in archaeology and in Assyriology will benefit from his perspectives.

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BRUCE S. THORNTON, *Eros: The Myth of Ancient Greek Sexuality*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview of HarperCollins. 1997. Pp. xvii, 282. \$28.00.

Studies of gender relations in classical antiquity have become a global industry. Bruce S. Thornton, while following the by now well-trodden paths, uses Greek notions about the nature of sexuality as a springboard for sermonizing comments on modern mating morality. "Understanding sex, then, in Greek terms is understanding who and what we are" (p. 2) is his argument, and his conclusion is that the Greeks knew better. At what kind of readership Thornton aims is not clear. Professional students of Greek culture will

draw scant profit from readings of Greek texts, mostly poetry, without consideration of textual ambiguities, nor do they require yet another telling of the Pandora myth or a synopsis of the *Odyssey*. The more general reader, on the other hand, will be confused and misled by the author's disregard of distinctions of time, place, and literary genre, inasmuch as he extends his scope from Homer until late Greco-Roman antiquity as if all of Greek culture were one monolithic construct.

The book focuses mainly on one strand of Greek thought about sexuality, namely the view of Eros as a potential hazard to the social order, a chaotic force that must be harnessed and controlled. Part one cites the documentation for this view; part two explores the devices promoted by the (Attic) Greeks to achieve this aim. A key exhibit is *Hippolytus* by Euripides, despite the fact that, while Phaedra embodies unbridled sexual passion, the play's eponymous hero dramatizes hybris-tic denial of the forces of Eros. Similarly, *Medea* by the same playwright is tendentiously interpreted as dwelling on the ravages wrought by sexual rancor, even though Euripides sympathetically dramatizes the vulnerable position of Athenian wives, who stood to lose their children, their homes, and the bread on their tables when marriages soured.

A long sub-chapter on "Wives and the Order of the House" explores the organization of the Athenian household during the classical period. The view (promoted by this writer and other classicists) that Athenian Greeks sequestered and suppressed women more than other ancient peoples finds no favor here. Instead, Thornton scours the male-generated Attic record for indications that women were happy and fulfilled. Insofar as he acknowledges a degree of seclusion, he attributes this to the legitimate need to control "a sexual passion that in women is extremely volatile and prone to disorder" (p. 167). This apologetic canard (actually not very prominent in Greek sources) contrasts sharply with the medical literature and related texts (not cited), which hardly attribute any sexual feelings to the human female.

Thornton's chronology, insofar as he considers such at all, is faulty. Democritus was not an "early fifth-century philosopher" (p. 164) but flourished in the later fifth and in the fourth century B.C. The comic playwright Alexis of Thurii did not produce plays in the fifth century (pp. 76, 107) but in the middle of the fourth. This garbled time frame is especially damaging to Thornton's reconstruction of the homosexual ethos of Athens. After at least a generation of institutionalized pederasty, associated ideally with intercrural intercourse, in the late archaic age, the historical record on the sexual mores during the fifty years of Athenian hegemony is sparse and ambivalent. The replacement, shortly after 480 B.C., of a statue in the agora honoring the homosexual "tyrant killers" Harmodius and Aristogeiton minimally attests to tolerance of homosexual practices, but by the end of the fifth century, censure of pederasty, now associated with anal practices, began to emerge. The word *kinaidos* ("fanny wiggler"), applied

to the junior partner, became the byword for depraved manhood, and the moral and legal rejection of pederasty in the fourth century is abundantly documented. Plato (in *Laws*) and Aristotle (in the *Nicomachean Ethics*) condemned all homosexual practices, whereas the law evidently penalized not pederasty as such but its practice with boys of the Athenian citizen class. How this drastic reversal of sexual ethos came about and how it related to the cataclysmic disasters suffered by Athens in the late fifth century is unknown. Thornton, lumping these diachronical testimonials into one bag, arrives at a bizarre profile of Athenian male-homosexual morality. In his view, pederasty in Athens was to be cultivated and exploited for its pedagogical merits but never to be consummated: "Physical consummation is taboo" (p. 206).

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RIET VAN BREMEN. *The Limits of Participation: Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*. (Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology.) Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben. 1996. Pp. xii, 399.

This book evolved from a dissertation begun well over a decade ago under the supervision of the eminent Dutch epigrapher Harry Pleket. Extant epigraphical evidence limits Riet van Bremen's study for the most part to the first three centuries A.D., and van Bremen confines it further to Asia Minor. Although inscriptions are exploited, there is little discussion of contemporaneous papyri, of artistic representations of women and their families, or of epigraphical or literary evidence from other parts of the Greek world. Queens and empresses are deliberately excluded. Furthermore, although inscriptions from Asia Minor record that women held positions of leadership in synagogue administration in Asia Minor, this material is omitted. (For these, see Bernadette Brooten, *Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue: Inscriptional Evidence and Background Issues* [1982].) What remains are careful studies, in the style referred to as "Dutch scholarship," of individual women, most of whom are known through only one inscription. The Greek texts are not included, but there are English translations of brief portions of various inscriptions. Appendixes list women's civic titles by area and city. This information has not been thoroughly reviewed since Pierre Paris's 1891 dissertation, *Quatenus feminae res publicas in Asia minore, romanis imperantibus, attigerint*.

The subjects of this study are women whose wealth both encouraged and obliged them to participate in public life by conferring benefactions on their cities (evergetism), undertaking liturgies, and holding priestesseships and minor, or honorary, public offices. Though some acted as individuals, most are recorded as acting with a husband or other family members.

Van Bremen not only refuses to draw any major new conclusions about women's history but also criticizes

scholars who have done so. She reviews much of the work of David Schaps (*Economic Rights of Women in Ancient Greece* [1979]), Mary Taliaferro Boatwright ("Plancia Magna of Perge: Women's Roles and Status in Roman Asia Minor," in Sarah B. Pomeroy, ed., *Women's History and Ancient History* [1991]), Pauline Schmitt-Pantel (*La Cité au banquet* [1992]) and others with disparaging assessments. Most importantly, she rejects the view that there was change over time in women's legal and practical capacity to manage wealth. Yet, it is clear that in Plutarch's day women in mainland Greece enjoyed more autonomy than their classical counterparts. For example, Plutarch expresses disapproval of wives who assume that their wealth gives them the right to dominate their husbands and alludes to a jealous wife who initiates a divorce (*Advice to the Bride and Groom* 28, 41). By contrast, in the classical period, even a wealthy wife who was mistreated had no recourse other than to ask a male relative to seek a divorce in her behalf (Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 8.5, cf. 4.14).

Van Bremen writes that "women were very likely subject to the same complex of rules surrounding *munera* and *honores* that applied in the case of men" (p. 299) and that the "civic offices women held *were* (italics hers) largely nominal or eponymous" (p. 4). Certainly, under Hellenistic monarchs and Roman emperors, the latter statement would apply as well to men's political activities compared to what they had been in the classical period and the Roman Republic. Van Bremen's evidence does reveal change over time and shows that there was less polarity or separation between male and female spheres among the elite in the Hellenistic period than had existed earlier. Yet, cautiously avoiding any sweeping hypotheses, van Bremen draws attention to such factors as the ongoing power of the male guardian that can be traced in both Greek and Roman law and the control that family traditions exercised over women. She has not taken sufficient cognizance of the conservative and idealizing bias of funeral and laudatory inscriptions. Had she examined papyri, she would have found the wills, contracts, and diverse financial documents that have enabled other scholars to give a more nuanced picture of women's gradual social, legal, and economic emancipation. This progress can be traced not only in formal legal sources that, for example, show women acting independently by proudly employing the *ius iii liberorum* ("law of three children") but also in documentation of women's de facto activities.

Studies of women and wealth published from the mid-1970s to the mid-1990s emphasized the increase in women's independence over time in both the Greek and Roman world. Perhaps the current backlash against feminism and the new "return to family values" have fostered van Bremen's conservative historical analysis.

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A. T. FEAR. *Rome and Baetica: Urbanization in Southern Spain, c. 50 B.C.-A.D. 150*. (Oxford Classical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. ix, 292. \$70.00.

As a major region of the western Roman Empire, the Iberian peninsula (in comparison with, say, Britain and Gaul) has been somewhat neglected archaeologically until recent times. The past quarter century, however, has seen a "data explosion" of archaeological information in Spain and Portugal.

A. T. Fear's book on Roman Baetica is one of a spate of historical works inspired, indeed, spawned by this data explosion in the last ten years or so. Drawing on recent finds in archaeology and other fields, Fear's intention is to clarify and criticize the conventional but already challenged idea that the Romans made a conscious effort to urbanize or "Romanize" Baetica and that the indigenous folk "resisted" such efforts.

Fear's introduction presents R. J. Horvath's analysis ("A Definition of Colonialism," *Current Anthropology* 13/1 [1972]: 45-56) of colonialism/imperialism in world history and suggests that Fear will apply this schema to Baetica. He does, but not until the final chapter, in which he essentially rejects its applicability.

Nevertheless, the intervening chapters are well researched and keenly and unrelentingly argued. The urban state of lower Baetis valley was not a product of Roman policy; the natives of the lower valley were already urbanized to a degree, and in so far as urbanization/Romanization took place, the drive came from the indigenous upper classes (p. 27). Fear also takes issue with the idea that large numbers of Roman soldiers took their discharge in Spain and argues that those who did had little impact on the local culture in the first century B.C. Castulo, though mislocated (p. 61), is presented as "good evidence of the continuing strength of Iberian culture." The colonial establishments of Caesar and Augustus did have some Romanizing effect on local inhabitants, but this was not their purpose or mission.

Chapter six, perhaps the best, concerns the Flavian municipal law: its date, extent, purpose, and result. Fear concludes that it was not a deliberate instrument for spreading Roman ways nor was *ius Latii* intended to reward the existence of same in communities so honored. The law was "motivated by self-interest," intended to create loyalty to the regime among the indigenous upper classes (p. 143). Local misinterpretations of the law were not a form of "resistance" but rather simply just that, misinterpretations, *interpretatio peregrina*, of the law (p. 166).

An examination of the creation of "Roman" buildings such as fora, baths, aqueducts, theaters and amphitheatres, and temples in Baetica reveals that such structures were limited to the lowland cities that could afford them (and indeed where archaeologists have looked for them). The highland areas were essentially unaffected. "Viriatius had he been able to revisit the province at the end of our period might have

found much that he could recognize" (p. 226). Likewise, in regard to the survival of non-Roman cultural forms, the upland towns show little evidence of the Roman presence, whereas the lowland areas of the Baetis valley indicate Roman influence in customs and religion. Again, however, this came from the "bottom up" and represents essentially "disparate acts of imitation pursued for self-advantage of the provincial communities themselves" (p. 268).

Fear's concluding chapter maintains that urbanization cannot be explained by any one factor, but certainly all change in that direction came from the ruled, not the rulers, and the resulting blend of cultures should not be called "Romanization" but rather "transculturation"; it was "something intelligible to both Roman and native in terms of their own culture, yet does not fit into either entirely" (p. 274).

Since much of Fear's argument is based on tenuous interpretations of recent archaeological and epigraphical evidence and questionable literary sources, some might take issue with aspects of his methodology. It is highly speculative. Virtually every paragraph is, and must be, peppered with qualifiers. Occasionally an anecdote is asked to bear too much weight. Yet when the sources are insufficient for utter certainty (as they almost always are in the study of classical antiquity), such a presentation is inevitable. Fear's book is a mine of information for the specialist and comes to persuasive if not utterly novel conclusions about the nature of the cultural transformation, the so-called "Romanization," not only of Baetica but of the rest of the peninsula as well.

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ANTHONY A. BARRETT. *Agrippina: Sex, Power, and Politics in the Early Empire*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. xxi, 330. \$35.00.

In A.D. 4, Augustus Caesar, having lost his two grandsons by premature death, adopted his stepson, Tiberius Claudius Nero, as his heir. Tiberius in his turn adopted his nephew Germanicus, who was married to Augustus's granddaughter. That meant that Tiberius (now Tiberius Caesar) would succeed Augustus, and Germanicus (now Germanicus Caesar) would succeed Tiberius; but in the third generation, Augustus's direct descendants would come into their own, the sons and daughters of Germanicus being Augustus's great-grandchildren. It worked out, but not quite according to plan. Germanicus died young, and the first two of his three sons were executed for treason. The third, Gaius Caesar ("Caligula"), survived to succeed Tiberius, in A.D. 37, at the age of twenty-four.

Agrippina was the eldest of Gaius's three sisters. She had a son, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, by an aristocratic husband who died when she was twenty-five. Since none of her siblings had children who survived, little Lucius alone could carry Augustus's plan into the fourth generation. A glamorous princess,



first honored by her brother and then disgraced and exiled, Agrippina returned when Gaius was assassinated by republican conspirators in 41. The new emperor was her uncle, Claudius Nero, pushed into power by the praetorian guard in a military coup. When Claudius executed his wife Messalina for treason in 48, Agrippina was the only possible replacement. She was thirty-three, and Lucius was eleven. Lucius was subsequently adopted by Claudius and became "Nero." In 54, Claudius died, and Nero, still a mere adolescent, succeeded him as emperor. For five years, Agrippina enjoyed her vicarious power and tried to control her wayward son. But in 59, he had had enough; yet another execution for treason was arranged, this time of his own mother. Agrippina was still beautiful at forty-three, and Nero had the corpse stripped to admire her figure.

It is a wonderful and horrible story, and Anthony A. Barrett's version of it is good in parts. Thorough and detailed in its narrative, with excellent illustrations and a solid apparatus of scholarly appendixes, it still manages to miss the main significance of Agrippina's extraordinary life.

The main text consists of nine chapters. Of these, chapters four through eight deal sensibly with Agrippina's adult life in chronological order. The final chapter on sources is anticlimactic but sound on the merits and demerits of Tacitus, Dio, and Suetonius and exhaustive in its listing of sculpture, inscriptions, and coins. It is in the first three chapters that I find Barrett's treatment most disappointing.

The first chapter describes the Augustan principate, emphasizing its quasi-republican features, and discusses the involvement of women in Roman public life. "In its own curious way," observes Barrett, "the imperial system did allow a limited group of women certain political advantages" (p. 5). Well, yes! But Barrett does not explain how. He mentions Tullia, the legendary (and murderous) wife of Tarquin, but only as a negative stereotype for the edification of the young. Nowhere does he exploit the fundamental truth that in the ancient world republics were men's business, while monarchies, by concentrating power within the family, offered women the opportunity to dominate. Despite the book's subtitle, there is no adequate comment on dynastic politics or palace intrigues, no mention of the imperial court, no sense of what "political ambition" means in a hereditary system.

Even in the succeeding chapters on the imperial family under Augustus and early Tiberius, we get no real feeling for the dynastic issues or for the rivalry between Augustus's blood descendants and Tiberius in the last twenty years of Augustus's life. To talk about "Augustus's hopes" (p. 21) rather than those of his feuding potential heirs misses the point. Similarly, Barrett discusses the "claims" and "ambitions" of Germanicus's widow (p. 33) as if it were she, and not her sons, who stood to succeed if Tiberius would only die. Throughout, he overemphasizes the significance of Agrippina's father. It is true that the memory of

Germanicus was cherished, but what mattered was that his children were the descendants of Augustus, which was more than either Tiberius or Claudius could say. Agrippina's story, as this book fails to show, is the story of the blood of Augustus and the power it claimed for itself.

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CHRISTOPHER HAAS. *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography and Social Conflict*. (Ancient Society and History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1997. Pp. xviii, 494. \$45.00.

Changes in scholarship occur quickly. The recent recognition of late antiquity as a distinct historical period has altered fundamentally historians' perspective on the nature of the transition between the ancient and medieval worlds. Interpretations that assumed a sharp divide marked by the "Fall of the Roman Empire" have been replaced by analyses emphasizing the gradual evolution and transformation of Mediterranean society. The result has been a continuous stream of innovative work that seeks to trace that evolution.

A particularly important theme has been the fate of urban life in the eastern Mediterranean. Constantinople, Ephesus, and Antioch have all been the subject of important monographs. Until now, however, Alexandria, the greatest city of the region, has lacked a major study. With the publication of Christopher Haas's fine work, that gap in the scholarly literature has been filled.

The reasons for the comparative neglect of Alexandria are not in doubt. The sources for the city's ancient history are notoriously intractable. Unlike Antioch, Alexandria had no Malalas to chronicle its history. Papyri, which illuminate so much of ancient Egyptian life, provide only rare and indirect glimpses of Alexandrian affairs. Archaeology likewise has been of only limited help. Remains of the ancient city that were still accessible in the nineteenth century have been largely swallowed up by the expansion of modern Alexandria, leaving only the ancient suburbs and cemeteries for excavation. Haas has overcome these hurdles. Integrating evidence drawn from a wide variety of texts—written in a plethora of languages including Greek, Latin, Arabic, Coptic, and Syriac—and the limited archaeological evidence, he has produced a vivid account of late antique Alexandria.

This is social history on a generous scale. Haas traces in detail the changing balance of power in the city between Alexandria's three principal interest groups—Jews, pagans, and Christians—and shows how that shift was reflected in the cultural topography of the city from the fourth to the seventh century A.D. The famous riots and theological conflicts that take center stage in accounts of Alexandrian history are placed in their proper context, with often fascinating results. Arius's initial popularity among ascetics and the poor

is shown to be connected to the location of his church in a suburban parish near the site of the martyrdom of Saint Mark. Likewise, the lavish church construction projects of the Patriarch Theophilus and his successors are shown to have been not random but part of a coherent plan to reclaim the city center for Christianity and replace the aristocratic pagan *bouleutai* as the chief patrons of the urban populace. Viewed in this context, the tension and violence that surrounded the conversion of the Caesarion and the Temple of Sarapis into Christian churches seem less surprising. Even the vicious anti-Jewish and pagan riots of the early years of Cyril's patriarchate become more intelligible when viewed against the background of a young and insecure patriarch struggling to assert his authority after a bitterly contested election.

No work is without some flaw. Inevitably, given the predominance of Christian sources, the Christian community will emerge with greater clarity in any analysis of late ancient Alexandrian society than either its Jewish or pagan rivals. Haas copes with this problem with some success. In particular, his recovery of the later history of the Alexandrian Jewish community is a welcome correction to the common view that Jews and Judaism ceased to be significant factors in Alexandrian life after the severe repression of the early second century A.D. His account of the Alexandrian pagan community is less successful. Partly, this is the natural result of the heterogeneity of the city's pagan population, which lacked the cohesiveness of the other two groups and, in many ways, did not form a community at all. In this regard, greater attention could have been paid to considering the extent to which terms such as Egyptian or Greek still had meaning in late antiquity and the character of late ancient Hellenism. Still, these are minor deficiencies in a fine work that more than fills a proverbial "gap in the scholarly literature."

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#### MEDIEVAL

LISA M. BITEL. *Land of Women: Tales of Sex and Gender from Early Ireland*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 307. \$35.00.

This is a book with considerably more scholarly content than a glance might suggest. It is organized in nine chapters, with full endnotes, beginning with a survey of written sources and historiography and then moving on to an assessment of the legal and ecclesiastical status of females that pays particular attention to the "wisdom texts" as well as to the writings of Irish and other canonists (for whom woman was only redeemable when she was manly, virginal, or dead). Chapter three includes a sustained treatment of sexual relationships and chapter four of procreation in early Irish vernacular tales; there follow chapters on motherhood and fostering, the "domestic economy," female networks,

and religious women. The final chapter is a serious attempt to deal with the several paradoxes surrounding female status in early Ireland: the exceptional power of the women of Irish literature in contrast to the subjection of women to men in real life, and the role of the Christian church in, at one and the same time, enhancing women's status and denying the essential qualities of femaleness.

There are many good things in this work. Lisa M. Bitel's comments on the otherworld, especially in chapter two, are helpful for the student unfamiliar with Irish literature, and her summary of the nature of female religious communities and their relationship with men takes our understanding of the early Christian context forward. When she elaborates the early Irish law of marriage ("legal coupling") to explore the potential and/or likely relationships between co-wives, she draws a picture that makes sense in a practical and comprehensible way. Passages in chapters five and six on childcare and female labor, subjects which have long been in need of serious treatment, are an especially valuable and useful contribution to early Irish social and economic history. The final chapter is the best attempt known to this reader to deal with the paradoxes identified. Women warriors of the pre-Christian past, with their voracious sexual appetites, had been "out of order," taking on male roles; they were tamed by means of the sexual domination of men, and the disciplines of Christianity were necessary to bring them back to their proper (subject) status.

It has to be said that the book becomes increasingly difficult to read. Passages seem wordy, overlong, and repetitive (partly because different questions are being asked of the same texts), and the whole could have been pruned without loss of content. One or two omissions are surprising. There are no references to Richard Sharpe's *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives* (1990) and no detailed discussion of the unusually early development of local female cults. By contrast, much of the writing on domestic economy is drawn by analogy from our knowledge of England and elsewhere in the late Middle Ages; however, many late medieval societies in Western Europe were under extreme demographic pressure, and it is doubtful that it is appropriate to look for analogies. It is also very misleading to describe early Irish economies as "subsistence economy," given the many indications that levels of surplus production, and specialized production, were relatively high by the ninth century.

The book's conclusions also suffer from a weakly defined chronological context: it is often difficult to know if we are reading about the eighth century or the tenth or the twelfth. Despite some very long cultural continuities, Irish society was not static, and the world of the ninth century was no more like that of the seventh than that of the eleventh. To be fair, the "mission period" is sometimes differentiated, but contrasting the (early) penitential material with stories from much later vernacular tales and substantially later *vitae* does not take us inside any period of actual

social experience. The book, accordingly, lacks social and political context, even though the wide use of material from eleventh and twelfth-century *vitae* demands an assessment of the rapidly changing political and religious world of that time. Indeed, the final chapter would be even better if its discussion of attitudes could be related to socioeconomic trends.

I prefer to end on a positive note. This book is a valuable addition to the literature on early Ireland, and it has very interesting things to say, be it about the "chronic nymphomaniac" Medb or the rape of the abbess of Kildare in 1132. The early Irish world had some values that contrast starkly with those of the late twentieth century, and with those of Western Europe in the early Middle Ages. Bitel illuminates them and thereby we are all enriched.

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WILLIAM NOEL. *The Harley Psalter*. (Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 231. \$64.95.

Biblical illustration is largely confined to the narrative books, for the laws and the poetic books are notoriously difficult to illustrate. When the latter were embellished with pictures, these were usually allegorical or typological. The problem of how to illustrate a non-narrative text was particularly acute in the case of the psalter, which as the principal prayer book of the medieval church and laity played a key role in the liturgy and in private devotion. From the eighth century, scenes of the life of David served as a natural extension of the traditional author portrait, but from the twelfth century, it became standard practice in the West to embellish luxury psalters with pictures of the life of Christ that emphasized the christological interpretation of Old Testament texts.

In the Carolingian period, however, there was one thoroughgoing attempt to illustrate the psalms in a literal manner: the Utrecht Psalter, produced at Rheims c. 830 and now in the University Library at Utrecht. Illustrations were compiled by producing visual equivalents to selected verses. The opening of the first psalm, for example ("Blessed is the man who has not walked in the counsel of the ungodly"), is illustrated by a small drawing of the blessed man seated in a classical *tempietto* meditating, as the text tells us, on the law of the Lord. The full picture for this psalm is made up of six such scenes corresponding to successive verses.

The Utrecht Psalter was kept at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the later Anglo-Saxon period and from there exerted a decisive influence on English art. Its illustrations, though not its text, were copied in three Canterbury manuscripts: British Library, Harley 603, begun c. 1020; the Eadwine Psalter (Trinity College, Cambridge, R.17.1) c. 1150–1160; and Paris, BN lat. 8846, c. 1190. The Utrecht Psalter has recently been reexamined by Koert van der Horst (*The Utrecht*

*Psalter In Medieval Art* [1996]), and the Eadwine Psalter was the subject of a magisterial monograph edited by Margaret Gibson *et al.* (*The Eadwine Psalter* [1992]). Harley 603, on the other hand, perhaps because of its unfinished state, has hitherto not been the subject of a full study, and a warm welcome should now be extended to William Noel's excellent monograph.

Having read it, one will never again discuss Harley 603 as simply a copy of the Utrecht Psalter illustrations. Much of the book is devoted to a detailed account of the work done on the manuscript by twelve scribes, artists, and scribes-artists. This reconstruction owes much to the scholarship of Francis Wormald and T. A. M. Bishop, but it is also the result of Noel's own rigorous reexamination of the structure of the manuscript and of a detailed comparison with the Utrecht Psalter. The interest of this comparison extends well beyond the confines of codicology, for the different artists are shown to have reacted in widely different ways to the models from which their own pictures were derived, and Noel makes good his claim that the term "copy" covers a multitude of different approaches. As to the method of production, his key suggestion is that the Utrecht Psalter was unbound after Harley was begun. Thereafter, the separate quires could be handed round to the artists and scribes in order to expedite the process.

Noel's codicological examination is extremely thorough, and most of his conclusions are convincing. In one or two instances one might wish that they were more tentatively expressed. For instance, the fact that the artists appear to have been in charge of the page layout in the early quires is fully demonstrated, but the case for their also doing the ruling—normally the work of the scribe—seems less assured.

The last sections of the book take the inquiry beyond Harley 603 to make comparisons with other psalters of the Anglo-Saxon period containing literal illustrations related to the Utrecht Psalter. Noel concludes by tackling the most difficult questions: why and for whom was it made? The unfinished nature of the manuscript explains why it has no hymns, canticles, or litany, but even apart from that the character of the text is not liturgical. There are no regular divisions marked and, it is argued, the intrusion of one Gallican section in an otherwise Roman psalter would have rendered it useless liturgically. The conclusion, that it was produced as a luxury picture book for a patron outside the monastery, is surely sensible; the suggestion, first made by Janet Backhouse, that this was Aethelnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, remains a tantalizing hypothesis.

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GIUSEPPE FORNASARI. *Medioevo riformato del secolo XI: Pier Damiani e Gregorio VII*. (Nuovo Medioevo,

number 42.) Naples: Liguori. 1996. Pp. xi, 643. L. 72,000.

Gregory VII (1073–1085) is best known as the pope who brought Emperor Henry IV to his knees at Canossa. Twenty years ago, however, Giuseppe Fornasari resolved to leave the Canossa story to the Germans and concentrate instead on understanding the minds of this remarkable pope and his older colleague, Peter Damian (died 1072). The results of this plan, which he admits is narrowly focused, are gathered together here: fifteen studies, first published between 1976 and 1993, with six addenda, one excursus, and an introduction that justifies his enterprise.

Fornasari is acutely aware of previous interpretations; indeed, he can hardly cite an author without discussing his work in a discursive footnote. Moreover, he is well read in historiographic theory, and (following Henri-Irénée Marrou) he can not say often enough that there are no definitive, exhaustive answers to history's great problems. He shies away from simplistic formulations and is as addicted to nuance as a scholastic to distinction. Consequently, although specialists will benefit from his sensitive discussions, it is not easy to generalize about his contributions.

Nonetheless, it can be said that Fornasari is reacting against those who view Gregory VII as the first theocrat. Instead, he stresses that Gregory shared a common fund of ideas with other reformers of the age, especially Peter Damian, and for want of a better term he calls these ideas "Gregorian" in quotation marks. Somewhat grudgingly, Fornasari includes the canons among the sources that inspired these reformers; more fundamental influences came from monastic spirituality and a profound knowledge of the Church Fathers. In particular, he argues that the reformers regarded the church as the body of Christ on earth and hence distinct from merely human institutions; consequently, its members—including the pope—were the *pauperes* of Christ, as opposed to the rich and powerful.

In the "Gregorian" period, Fornasari insists, such ideas were flexible, fluid, and in flux (not to say inchoate); he characterizes them as "charismatic," in contradistinction to the legalistic form in which they were "institutionalized" by later popes, beginning with Urban II (1088–1099). Thus he "demythologizes" Gregory, as he likes to say, but "demonizes" Urban.

Fornasari's distaste for taking a political view of the Hildebrandine papacy often leads to curious readings of his texts. For example, in 1081, Gregory advised certain friendly German bishops to temper the rigor of the canons for the time being, because Germany was in turmoil and ecclesiastical revenues were "paucissimi" (Reg. 9. 3). Fornasari interprets this as a "pastoral" rather than a legalistic approach to the canons (p. 147), as if it were a novelty for a pope to realize that circumstances alter cases. But as a rule, he tends to emphasize the similarities in the thought of Gregory and Peter Damian; their differences, he supposes,

arose from the immediate circumstances or context (which he fashionably terms *quotidianitas*) in which they were expressed.

The specialist in matters Gregorian will appreciate this collection for its wide and often penetrating engagement with the primary and secondary sources; other historians can profit from the author's resolute and sophisticated confrontation with the problems attendant on "inventing the past."

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MARK D. JORDAN. *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology*. (The Chicago Series on Sexuality, History, and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1997. Pp. x, 190. \$24.95.

Mark D. Jordan provides the most recent challenge to the Catholic condemnation of sodomy. The first, *Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition* (1955) by Derrick Bailey, argued that homophobia in Christianity and Judaism arose from a misinterpretation of the Sodom story, positing that Sodom was destroyed not because of homosexuality but for inhospitality.

The most spectacular attempt to exonerate Christianity from homophobia remains John Boswell's *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality* (1980). It claimed to provide evidence that toleration existed toward homosexuality among Christians until about 1200 A.D. For this reason, Boswell is venerated in Christian gay circles. However, no church father, Christian emperor or king, penitentialist, canonist, scholastic, chronicler of saints' lives, reformer, or counter-reformer ever made even a neutral—much less a positive—comment about same-sex sex, and most anathematized Sodomites. In his own work, Jordan corrects some of Boswell's errors and prudently ignores Boswell's second and more controversial book, *Same-Sex Unions in Pre-Modern Europe* (1994), which fantasized the development of a formal liturgy for gay marriages.

Jordan restricts his research to four centuries, beginning with the tenth-century lives of St. Pelagius (which depict buggery as a Muslim vice) and moving through Peter Damian, Alan of Lille, and Albertus Magnus to Thomas Aquinas. He finds only condemnations and denunciations in these sources. Therefore, in his attempt to extricate Christianity from its homophobia, he turns instead to, of all people, Friedrich Nietzsche and especially to Michel Foucault.

Following Foucault, Jordan argues that terms like "homosexuality" and "sodomy" are social constructions and hence deconstructible. In his study of the primary sources, therefore, Jordan pays special attention to the evolution of the term "sodomy" and the way its usage has changed over time. He hopes that by revealing inconsistencies in the use of the term, he can show that Catholic homophobia is irrational. This tight but narrow hypothesis ignores the fact that Christian intolerance toward same-sex sex has been uniform



through John Chrysostom and Clement of Alexandria, back to St. Paul himself and the Jewish Scriptures, even though such writers never used the word *sodomia*.

Jordan's most novel finding is based on a new edition of Peter Damian's *Liber Gomorrhahius* (1983). According to Jordan, Damian's text shows that the word *sodomia* was used as early as the middle of the eleventh century, whereas previous scholars believed that the term did not come into use until the end of the twelfth century. (The Orthodox Church never used the term.) Moreover, Jordan confidently asserts that Damian coined the term.

Anguishing in the paradox of a Catholic homosexual, Jordan makes an impassioned plea for the church to recant its condemnation. He even describes two suicides at the University of Notre Dame, where he teaches, that were occasioned by the church's homophobia. Although it does not seem that the church is likely to change its position on homosexuality, no future treatment of the subject will be able to ignore the information that Jordan has unearthed in this work, the best of the rather mediocre Lesbian and Gay Series of Columbia University Press.

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NICHOLAS VINCENT. *Peter Des Roches: An Alien in English Politics, 1205–1238*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, number 31.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xx, 543. \$79.95.

The past decade has seen the appearance of a number of major studies fundamentally remapping our understanding of thirteenth-century English history. Nicholas Vincent's book joins David Carpenter's *The Minority of Henry III* (1990) and J. R. Maddicott's *Simon de Montfort* (1995), along with the work of such North American scholars as Robert Stacey (*Politics, Policy and Finance under Henry III 1216–1245* [1987]) and Ralph Turner (*Men Raised From the Dust: Administrative Service and Upward Mobility in Angevin England* [1988]), in this company. Vincent begins at the time of the destruction of the cross-Channel Anglo-French polity and uses the memory of that polity, via the reconstruction of the political career of Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, to revisit otherwise familiar territory in challenging, imaginative, and original ways.

Vincent's signal contribution is heralded in his subtitle. No previous writer has explained and used the term "alien" as a controlling concept for this period so consistently or so successfully heretofore. As Vincent demonstrates, the term was used to denote (and denigrate) those of non-Norman ancestry whose access to the king, and whose dependence on (or control of) royal patronage, increased dramatically after 1204 and remained largely unabated even after 1215. In this regard, none was more important than des Roches. Elevated in 1205 to the richest bishopric in England,

he alone stayed loyal to John during the Langton crisis and was rewarded by being made guardian of the young Henry in 1211–1212 and, subsequently, justiciar and regent. After John's death, des Roches played a major role in the early years of the minority, including direct military participation in the decisive battle of Lincoln, not least because he had the resources and the stature to moderate the behavior of the other "aliens" who remained influential in England, Magna Carta notwithstanding. It was his misfortune, and that of the others, that they were never accepted by the Anglo-Normans; to the contrary, as shown by the increasing use of the term "Poitevin" (as a general term of abuse and mistrust rather than of geographical exactitude), they were made the targets for all forms of discontent and dissatisfaction with the policies and management of resources of the minority government. Not that the aliens were blameless; Vincent exhaustively demonstrates the concentration of power and patronage in their hands, and in the early 1220s, des Roches was ousted by a group headed by Hubert de Burgh and Stephen Langton. But to Vincent, de Burgh was neither a champion of "English" interests nor a reformer, but rather a self-promoting factionalist complicit in the ruinously expensive and futile plans for reconquest of the old cross-Channel inheritance in the middle and late 1220s.

Des Roches himself was largely absent from England during de Burgh's ascendancy. He refurbished his continental orientation and image by participation in Frederick II's crusade and some high-visibility diplomacy, more resplendent than productive. He returned to England and his bishopric in late 1231. The failings of de Burgh's regime prompted King Henry, himself seeking a measure of independence, to reinstate des Roches in power. But his regime was in turn even more factionalist than any in the past, distinguished not by reform of administration or policy but rather by a desire to settle old scores and the spectacular and undeserved promotion of his nephew, Peter de Rivalis. Des Roches' power in 1232–1233 was greater than ever but also more unpopular and, in the event, more fragile and short-lived than ever. Vincent devotes a quarter of his book to a minute examination of the 1233–1234 civil war, marked by its anti-alien rhetoric and the problematical role of Richard Marshal as embodiment of an "English" sentiment or identity. Vincent convincingly demonstrates the importance of the war in two major ways: the emergence of Magna Carta as touchstone of "responsible" government, and the penchant of King Henry to swing dramatically, and frequently, from one great political figure to another in the search for a confidant. Among the many virtues of the book, this latter point affords a richly suggestive insight into Henry's personality and governance after 1234 and down to 1258: the need to have his sense of imperiousness, itself bred of insecurity and his early dependence on others, validated by sudden and unpredictable changes of favor and of favoritism (see pp. 12–13). In this sense, Vincent would seem to support



Maddicott's view of the king in his biography of Montfort; Carpenter's ultimate judgement has yet to be rendered.

After his fall, des Roches lived on as bishop, largely unremarkably—in Vincent's felicitous phrase, like a "spent volcano" (p. 468)—for another four years. The final chapter is a fitting kind of brief close to a career, and a book, of fundamental importance. In contrast to its subject, the book's importance lies wholly and firmly in its multiple strengths.

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F. DONALD LOGAN. *Runaway Religious in Medieval England, c. 1240–1540*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, number 32.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xix, 301. \$59.95.

This book by F. Donald Logan is the first systematic attempt to deal with the nature, incidence, and causes of apostasy among members of religious orders in medieval England and the methods used to reclaim and rehabilitate them. Wales is excluded from the title to avoid giving the false impression that the evidence for that country is plentiful, but evidence for the Welsh houses has been included.

The runaway religious of the title, the *apostatae a religione* of canon law, were those men and women who had freely taken vows to lead the religious life as monks, canons, friars, and nuns and, without dispensation, had left that life and returned to the world. To make a valid profession, the postulant had to have reached the age of discretion (twelve years for boys and fourteen for girls) before entering the novitiate, be *compos mentis*, and be unmarried, a widow, or a widower. The vows that constituted profession, according to the rule of St. Benedict, were of stability, conversion of life, and obedience (but have been widely interpreted as vows of obedience, chastity, and poverty). One could also make a valid profession simply by remaining in a religious house for more than a year wearing the religious habit; this was what the canonists termed *tacit profession* as opposed to *express profession*. As a rule of thumb, abandonment of the religious habit and the wearing of secular dress established a presumption of apostasy. In the fourteenth century, religious who journeyed to Rome for the Holy Year celebrations and friars who went abroad to study without permission were treated as apostates.

Pope Innocent III claimed that not even a pope could dispense from solemn vows, but gradually dispensations were issued for reasons of state or to enable religious to transfer to another order or to hold a benefice. Appointment as an honorary papal chaplain also dispensed a religious from his vows.

Logan has traced a possible 1,088 apostates from an estimated religious population of 120,000 who made profession between 1270 and 1530 and sees the problem as a perennial but not a dominant characteristic of the period. It was perhaps natural that numbers would

seem to peak in the mid-fourteenth century, when the religious orders reached their largest numbers and when the turmoil of the pestilence years lowered land values and offered new opportunities to the enterprising.

Evidence for the motives of the apostates is harder to find. Logan cites absence of commitment, desire for possessions or for privacy, changing circumstances, and the sheer monotony of the monastic routine inducing *ennui*, boredom, or even mental breakdown. The pressure of celibacy might also have been keenly felt by some "but not with the frequency that the modern reader might expect" (p. 78). There were, of course, special circumstances affecting some apostate nuns: pregnancy and elopement.

The secular arm was occasionally invoked by superiors to track down and apprehend apostates, using a procedure by writ without parallel in medieval Europe. Return and rehabilitation involved an extended ritual of readmission and penance. The latter entailed at the very least loss of seniority but might also include fasting, corporal punishment, incarceration, and even exile to another house for a specified time. In the 1530s, the nature and meaning of apostasy became blurred; friars took flight rather than subscribe to the royal supremacy, while radical Protestant friars abandoned the religious life for ideological reasons. The papal procedure by which religious were dispensed from their vows in order to hold a benefice became domesticated, and Archbishop Thomas Cranmer set up the Faculty Office to process such requests. In a five-year period, some 3,500 religious were dispensed, but through bureaucratic muddle, a very large number left the monastic life at the dissolution technically apostates.

Logan treats all these questions with care and thoroughness and the apostates themselves with sympathy and charity. He has wisely eschewed prurient sensationalism and produced a welcome, one might almost say definitive study of a neglected aspect of English monastic history. There are five appendixes (the most important being the register of apostates), a select bibliography, and indexes of places, persons, and subjects. The subject index could have been fuller and better arranged, for the book contains much incidental detail of interest to a wider audience.

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NICOLE CHAREYRON. *Jean le Bel: Le maître de Froissart, Grand Imagier de la guerre de cent ans*. (Bibliothèque du moyen âge, number 7.) Brussels: DeBoeck Université. 1996. Pp. 361.

Nicole Chareyron offers a study of the textual communities within which Jean le Bel wrote and the literary and verbal genres that influenced his work and that he, in turn, influenced. Through analysis of le Bel's chronicle within the fourteenth-century literary and histori-

cal production of England and the continent, Chareyron presents the text as a representation. Written in prose, the "language of truth," le Bel's chronicle embellishes what twentieth-century scholars would call contemporary *historical* texts with vivid language and narrative topoi drawn from the Bible and medieval epic and romance. Chareyron seeks to deconstruct le Bel's text in order to analyze how his use of language contributes to the construction of historical meaning. She is less focused on documenting the truth or accuracy of his portrayal of events than on exploring the way in which he creates a compelling narrative moving "from observation to writing" (p. 7).

Chareyron begins by juxtaposing modern prosopographical analysis of le Bel's life with contemporary representations of him by Jacques de Hemricourt (as a successful canon), by himself (as a soldier in the chronicle's description of the Scottish campaign), and in charters (as a jurist). Turning from analyses of the disparate fourteenth-century images of le Bel, she introduces his chronicle, which she presents as a blend of diverse systems of organization; clusters of events leading up to a major occurrence and powerful themes overlay the predominantly chronological matrix that structures the chronicle. She describes the efforts of nineteenth-century scholars to locate the chronicle, known from Froissart's citation, and their discovery of it in a single manuscript edited definitively by Jules Viard and Eugène Déprez. She then describes the sources for the chronicle and discusses le Bel's selection of prose, selective use of sources to write "truthfully" and accurately, and incorporation of both providential and existential explanations of agency.

The core of Chareyron's study is an examination of le Bel's representation of events and creation of "portraits" of people. She provides an intertextual analysis of le Bel's work in relation to over fifty Parisian, Norman, English, Italian, and Flemish chronicles. Chareyron examines le Bel's construction of descriptions of events (such as the execution of Raoul d'Eu et de Guines in 1350; the battles of Crécy and l'Écluse; and the problems of succession in Brittany, France, and Scotland), of classes (the nobility, churchmen, and bourgeoisie), of cataclysmic punishments (the plague, persecution of Jews), and of the portrayal of royal, noble, and knightly individuals (such as Edward III, Philip VI, John the Good, Charles of Navarre, Robert d'Artois, Jean III de Brabant, Jacques d'Artevelde, Queen Isabelle, Jeanne de Flandres, the Countess of Montfort, and Philippa de Hainault). Her analysis situates le Bel's writings within a rich literary culture and provides insights into his process of inclusion and omission.

The book ends with a chapter on the medieval historian's craft, in which Chareyron describes the power of le Bel's writings to elicit a sense of presence in the reader through evocation of oral experience, visual description, and memorable (because extreme) experiences. She concludes that le Bel was a writer

whose work unites concern for the truth with the "plaisir de conter" (p. 22).

This book is largely successful and definitely worth reading. Its only limitation is the author's failure to incorporate recent English-language scholarship that theorizes the writing of history; this would have benefited Chareyron's work by broadening and deepening her critical framework. For example, books and articles by Brian Stock and Gabrielle Spiegel present models for the discussion and analysis of textual communities and for historically situated language use. Nonetheless, Chareyron's work makes an important contribution to our understanding of the process of historical writing.

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STEVEN A. EPSTEIN, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958–1528*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xx, 396. \$45.00.

With the emergence of economic history as a distinct discipline after World War I, Americans were in the vanguard of scholarship on medieval Genoa. The tradition arising out of the so-called "Wisconsin school" of E. H. Byrne was continued by Robert S. Lopez, who sought to bring Genoa into the wider orbit of Italian studies; and Raymond de Roover also brought much Genoese material to bear on medieval business history in general. But Genoa lost out almost completely in the extraordinary enthusiasm for late medieval and Renaissance Italy that possessed a new generation of American and English scholars in the 1950s and continues unabated. How much it has lost out is reflected in the paucity of recent English-language contributions in the bibliography of Steven A. Epstein's new history of medieval Genoa to the early sixteenth century. All the more reason, therefore, to welcome this survey as the first of its kind in English.

Epstein concentrates on Genoa itself, the city and its region, consciously shifting the emphasis away from the more familiar activity of the Genoese abroad throughout the Mediterranean. His book is above all a political history: it recounts the vicissitudes of the internal constitution of the city, the assertion of Genoese authority throughout Liguria, and the inextricable and often disastrous involvement in Italian politics as well as Genoa's ongoing struggle to maintain its commercial empire yet farther afield. Epstein organizes the story in chapters on distinct political periods; along the way he discusses a variety of other subjects, such as source materials, the economy, the Casa di San Giorgio, religion, charity, slaves, humanism, and Renaissance art. All this is informed by recent scholarship as well as enriched by the author's direct knowledge of the sources, and the material is presented with clarity of organization and style.

In a survey of this kind, of course, no organization is entirely satisfactory, and Epstein had to make hard

choices in accordance with his own interests. What most suffers in a book organized around political periods is economic history. The subject does not lend itself to periodization with precise dates, broken up in bits and pieces, chapter by chapter, for thereby the dynamic that drove the economy despite the notorious instability of the city's government somehow gets lost, and the reader is left wondering about the entrepreneurial spirit that generated the rise of mercantile capitalism in Europe. We are not told that Genoa had the earliest documented banks in Europe, complete with deposit accounts, interbank transfer, overdraft, and fictitious exchange; that the earliest example of bilateral accounting is Genoese and that only in the last few years have (slightly) older examples of the check and double-entry bookkeeping been found outside of Genoa; that the city became a major banking and commercial center for other Italians as well, especially Florentines; that during the period around 1500, when three Ligurians closely followed one another on the papal throne, Genoese bankers moved to the highest level of ecclesiastical finance; or that, at the same time, the Genoese rose to prominence also in Seville, one of them advancing loans to the Spanish throne to support the first two voyages of Christopher Columbus and becoming, in 1503, the first factor of the Casa de Contratación instituted to control the new transatlantic trade. And there is no hint whatsoever—not even in the epilogue—that at the very point when the book ends, Fernand Braudel's *siècle des Génois* begins, bringing this medieval story to a glorious climax with the ascent of Genoese bankers to a commanding position in the rapidly expanding international financial markets of the sixteenth century. It is only in view of all this that one can explain the conspicuous absence in Epstein's bibliography of the published ledgers of Giovanni Piccamiglio and Battista De Luco, the only extant documents of their kind from the world of the fifteenth-century Genoese merchant. *Ianuensis ergo mercator* was a truism at the time that is not readily apparent in this book.

The "mercantile culture" of Genoa as presented by Epstein—a theme he repeatedly insists on—therefore lacks a defining dynamic. Yet, in this sense, the book falls entirely in line with the current Anglo-American historiography on medieval and Renaissance Italy. The emphasis, after politics, is on social-cultural themes at the expense of economics, slaves receiving almost as much attention as entrepreneurs (they take up one-third of the discussion of the economy in the final chapter) and charity more attention than industry (no one industry merits so much as a paragraph). Epstein's book certainly deserves to succeed in bringing this major center back to the attention of American and English scholars working on medieval and Renaissance Italy, but it will do so on their terms and not on those—derived from the older scholarship in this country on medieval Genoa—that could put the city

once again at the center of a new discourse for the entire field.

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#### MODERN EUROPE

ERIC A. JOHNSON and ERIC H. MONKKONEN, editors.  
*The Civilization of Crime: Violence in Town and Country since the Middle Ages*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1996. Pp. 290. Cloth \$45.95, paper \$17.95.

Norbert Elias's *The Civilizing Process* (1939) challenged the social theories of Emile Durkheim and Max Weber regarding the impact of urbanization, industrialization, and modernization on crime patterns in early modern Europe and may also be used to interrogate the *violence-au-vol* theory of contemporary scholars such as Nicole Castan and Françoise Bayard, who argue that violence declined and property offenses increased during the transition from feudal to bourgeois society.

The ten essays in this volume explore European crime patterns according to Elias's paradigm of a "civilizing process." Together, they demonstrate that violent crime has decreased over the past 500 years; that violence was a common form of settling rural disputes until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries brought a major drop in homicides, as people began settling arguments in court; that women were far less prone to violence than men (though urban women were more violent than rural women); and that cities were not high-crime areas in the past.

James Sharpe's "Crime in England" demonstrates that property offenses actually declined in the seventeenth century and that larceny increased in the early nineteenth century in both rural and urban centers. Eve Osterberg's "Criminality, Social Control, and the Early Modern State" posits that, although crimes against persons predominated in sixteenth-century Sweden, the courts, schools, and church all played a role in reducing violence in the eighteenth century. According to Pieter Spierenburg in "Long-Term Trends in Homicide" (in fifteenth to twentieth-century Netherlands), homicides declined from 47 per 100,000 in the fifteenth century to 1.5 per 100,000 by 1810, reflecting a decline in "impulsive violence." Esther Cohen's "The 100 Years' War and Crime in Paris, 1332–1488" shows that almost no change occurred in urban violence during this era, but "war bands" increasingly looted rural areas. Michele Mancino's "Notes on the Diocesan Criminal Court of Naples" contrasts the harsh penalties of sixteenth-century state courts with the milder sentences of the archepiscopal curia. Florike Egmond's "Organized Crime in the Dutch Republic" destroys the myth of the "peaceful Dutch landscape" by highlighting the violence of urban crime networks and rural bandits, while Herman Diekeriks's "Urban and Rural Criminal Justice and Crimi-

nality in the Netherlands since the Middle Ages" focuses on rural male violence and the inability of courts to curb it. In "Crime and Local Justice in Preindustrial Sweden," Jan Sundin emphasizes that pre-industrial violence declined primarily because citizens stopped carrying weapons, wars no longer massacred civilians, attitudes toward violence changed, and laws and courts increased in number. In "Urban and Rural Crime Rates and Their Genesis in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century Britain," Barbara Weinberger shows that higher offense rates in cities like Birmingham were more a result of police activity than of population growth. Finally, editor Eric A. Johnson's lengthy quantitative article, "Urban and Rural Crime in Germany, 1871–1914," demonstrates that Germany's largest cities were actually less crime ridden than some rural areas in the northeast, where poverty and prejudice against Poles and Lithuanians sparked violence.

Graduate students, historians, sociologists, and criminologists should read this provocative collection, if for no other reason than to stimulate debate and revisions of its authors' arguments. If the "Dutch group" and northern Europe are well represented, crime patterns for Portugal, Spain, Ireland, Scotland, France, and Russia are notably absent, awaiting further research to test Elias's conclusions.

Certainly some cautions are in order regarding comparative studies like this. Medieval homicide statistics are sparse and show wide variations; they should be seen as approximations. Most of these essays omit white-collar crime (whose history awaits investigation), ignore organized crime (Cohen, Egmond, and Diederiks excepted), and sometimes fail to differentiate infanticide, suicide, and accidental deaths from homicides. The essays are uneven in quantitative analysis, with Sundin (Sweden), Weinberger (Britain), and Johnson (Germany) offering the most solid statistical support. For the most part, however, all recognize that crime statistics do not measure the actual extent of criminal behavior, in part because many crimes go undiscovered, criminals arrested are not always prosecuted or punished, and changes in laws over time create new crimes and make it difficult to compare crime in one country with that in another.

A close reading of these essays reveals some wrinkles in the Elias thesis. Knife-fighting did increase in early nineteenth-century Sweden, Finland, and Amsterdam. Women were overrepresented in fifteenth-century Parisian violence and active among eighteenth-century Dutch criminal bands. Property crimes did increase in seventeenth-century Sweden and eighteenth-century Netherlands, comprising forty-five to fifty-nine percent of all crimes in six Dutch regions. Sundin admits that, for Sweden, Elias's theory "that a disciplining of people took place by means of a state monopoly of violence is then not very illuminating" (p. 182), for changing attitudes toward violence and a decline in weapons carrying had a greater impact than the state on decreasing crime.

Editors Johnson and Eric H. Monkkonen deserve commendation for the excellent bibliography (pp. 259–74), which includes books, articles, dissertations, and unpublished manuscripts covering criminal justice issues in more than thirty European cities, regions, and countries from the Middle Ages to the present. If no one has yet woven together the individual threads of this research into one acceptable theoretical fabric, this collection of essays represents ten superb "stitches in time" toward that goal.

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OLWEN HUFTON. *The Prospect before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe*, Volume 1, 1500–1800. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1996. Pp. 638. \$35.00.

Two approaches to narrating the history of European women emerged in the 1970s. Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz drew on the strengths of specialists for *Becoming Visible: Women in European History* (1977). Their collection of essays described women's experiences in separate, easily recognizable periods of Western European history such as the Reformation and the Industrial Revolution. In contrast, Bonnie S. Anderson and Judith P. Zinsser's *A History of Their Own: Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present* (2 vols., 1988) created a synthesis of the existing monographic literature and formulated a single, chronological narrative. Instead of following orthodox periodization, they grouped women across time and region by their "place and function" in European society. In this book, Olwen Hufton has chosen the latter approach; she has written a narrative synthesis of European women's history that refers only tangentially to the traditional periodization assigned from 1500 to 1800.

With more than twenty-five years of rich, innovative scholarship in European women's history, writing a synthesis of even a few decades of women's experiences is a daunting enterprise. Hufton is more than equal to the challenge. Her introduction and extensive, annotated bibliography demonstrate her mastery not only of the most recent scholarship in women's history in English, French, Italian, German, Spanish, and Dutch but also of the significant scholarship in the overall social, economic, and cultural history of Western Europe in as many languages.

The decision to break with traditional periodization is the first of a series of historiographical choices necessitated by Hufton's primary goal: to write a fully integrated social history of women *and* men. In addition, women are to be placed within "a specific material world" (p. 7), a material world that defined "the possible" for both sexes in the early modern period (p. 27). To underline these priorities, Hufton's introductory chapter offers a masterfully succinct description of the changes in Western European women's and men's social and material circumstances from 1500 to 1800.

For this narrative, Hufton also draws on the new



cultural histories, in particular their definition and appreciation of concepts of gender as both cause and effect in the workings of societies. Chapter one, "Constructing Woman," surveys men's views of the nature of women, of the appropriate behavior for both sexes, and of how these ideas "may . . . contribute to determining the limits of what was possible to real women in early modern society" (p. 27). Thus, Hufton leads readers from economic and social considerations, to material circumstances, and then to cultural attitudes.

Having established the causal framework of her history, Hufton's synthesis falls into three parts. Chapters two through six follow the Dutch metaphor of "the ladder of life," showing women as daughters, wives, mothers, and widows. In these chapters, as in the Dutch image, marriage is the apex, the central defining occasion of women's lives. The section reads beautifully in Hufton's characteristically clear, conversational, yet authoritative tone and demonstrates all of her skills as a historian. She interweaves social and material circumstances, group and individual experiences, primary and secondary sources. For example, using statute law and court records, Hufton describes dowry customs in one chapter, marriage settlements in another, and divorce litigation in a third.

With the completion of these chapters, the organization of the synthesis shifts. Chapter seven, "Of Difference, of Shame and of Abuse," and chapter eight, "Kept Mistresses and Common Strumpets," describe women, who, while not rejecting the choices implicit in the "ladder of life," acted outside the normal boundaries of appropriate behavior. Even more unorthodox are the women of chapters nine through twelve. Marriage did not define their lives or determine their significance. They are the women accused of the witchcraft heresy, religious women, writers, and participants in rural and urban riots.

The weakest chapters are in this third group. In chapter nine, "Women and the Devil," Hufton's reliance on English sources and on women's testimonies from Augsburg narrows the description of the phenomenon and leaves largely unexplained the ever-widening circles of accusation in Central European urban and rural communities, the extraordinary numbers killed, and the spread of the persecutions to the outer edges of the continent.

Hufton's consideration of women writers in chapter eleven would also be enriched by a broader use of examples. Like the English women she describes, Italian, French, and Spanish humanists and poets also criticized constraints on women's lives. French novelists contributed to the acceptance of women as professional authors; for example, Marie-Madeleine de Lafayette (1634–1693) originated the genre, and Françoise de Graffigny (1695–1758), like the English women Hufton cites, earned a living from her writing.

In her conclusion, Hufton makes two final historiographical choices: she demarcates the balance between continuity and change and deals with the question of human agency. Although she sees "structural changes"

between 1500 and 1800 that broadened economic opportunities for men, "continuities in circumstances and beliefs" meant a relative commonality of experience for women (p. 497). It is perhaps to underline this continuity and commonality that Hufton omits analysis of the women who achieved political prominence between 1500 and 1800. Their omission also gives greater prominence to the only women from these centuries that Hufton presents as active (beyond the simplest manipulation of immediate circumstances) agents. They are the writers, the "explicit critics of social constraints which bound them," the women who took the "first nervous step towards a vision of an alternative ladder of life" (p. 513). Hufton joins those women's historians whose analyses look forward to a future "golden era," to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when Western European women would attain "hope," "dignity," and "self-sufficiency" (p. 513). This narrative will be the subject of volume two of her history.

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MICHAEL HEYD. *"Be Sober and Reasonable": The Critique of Enthusiasm in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries*. (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, number 63.) New York: E. J. Brill, 1996. Pp. x, 312. \$92.00.

This is a book on religious enthusiasm and its seventeenth-century opponents that reaches no startling conclusions and offers no new insight into the origins of the Enlightenment. But it does provide a wealth of information about previously underexplored, conservative theologians and defenders of one or another version of established Christianity, generally but not exclusively in Protestant Europe. You can look here for Gijsbert Voet, the cranky Utrecht professor who hounded René Descartes, or the English Aristotelian, John Sergeant, who remarkably thought that Descartes was an enthusiast, a religious fanatic intent on elevating his own personal illuminations. Relying on sixteenth-century medical theories, polemicists during the English Revolution such as Meric Casaubon and Henry More found ammunition against latter-day Paracelsians and sectaries of one stripe or another. Michael Heyd recounts their arguments in considerable detail, ending with the Third Earl of Shaftesbury, the arch-enemy of enthusiasm, and Nicolas Fatio de Duillier, intimate of Isaac Newton and devotee of the French prophets who brought enthusiasm briefly into the inner circle of early Newtonians.

But none of the sources as examined in this book tell us, as Heyd had hoped to do, about "what were the causes underlying the broad process of the 'disenchantment of the world.'" Since, we are told, "the Enlightenment is no longer seen as an unmixed blessing, the questions concerning its historical causes . . . become all the more pressing" (p. 1). The pressure mounts because the book dwells at length on thinkers



and polemicists who would not have been caught dead under the sign "enlightened." Only near the end, with the appearance of low churchmen, deists, and theists like Shaftesbury, do we get close to the people we need to understand if the questions posed by Heyd are to be answered. Why is this opportunity to explicate the sources of "disenchantment" missed?

Part of the problem lies in Heyd's method and part in the way he chose his texts. This author is a superb practitioner of a style of intellectual history best known for its lucidity in explicating texts. Social practices, affect, bodily movements, the "look" of both enthusiasts and their opponents simply do not figure in the account. Yet if we are to understand the visceral rejection of the religious zealot that occurs within educated circles throughout Europe by 1700, something of the aesthetic that made ranting unacceptable needs to be recaptured. Similarly polemical texts have a way of obscuring individual psychological development. Heyd should have consulted Phyllis Mack's *Visionary Women* (1992), where he would find English enthusiasts evolving into living exemplars of reason and control nearly simultaneously and certainly comparably to Andrew Fix's Dutch Collegiants (*Prophecy and Reason* [1991]). Heyd's story would have been richer had he probed the psychology and religious practices of both enthusiasts and theologians.

Heyd's book has, however, some distinct virtues. It is not afraid to cross national boundaries; it rests on European archives known intimately, and for its author, just about no seventeenth-century language seems to be intimidating. The discussion of Voet is quite original, and new depth is added to the anti-enthusiast reaction of the 1650s in England. Much can be learned here about a wide range of European thinkers who, however remote they may have been from the wellsprings of the Enlightenment, are quite worth knowing for themselves.

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DAVID STEVENSON, *Armaments and the Coming of War: Europe, 1904–1914*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 463. \$85.00.

The publication of Fritz Fischer's *Griff nach der Weltmacht* (1961) ignited a searing historical controversy over Germany's objectives in the Great War. Fischer's contention that Germany started the war in a deliberate attempt to grasp world power was quickly criticized on the grounds that in evaluating only German war aims, he was ignoring the schemes of the other Great Powers. His response—that no one scholar could analyze everything, and that others must investigate the roles played by states other than Germany—was answered by David Stevenson, whose pioneering studies, *French War Aims Against Germany, 1914–1919* (1982) and *The First World War and International Politics* (1988), have both broadened and deepened our knowledge of the period.

Now Stevenson turns to the oft-mentioned but little-studied issue of the role played by international competitions for armaments in the outbreak of the Great War. Peacetime military expenditures increased in different nations at different times between 1900 and 1911, but in 1912–1914 the increases were swift, accelerating, and nearly continental in scope. Spending on land forces dominated the latter stage of this competition, surpassing the large amplification of naval estimates in earlier years. Naval spending is indicative of long-term preparedness, and this shift away from it was in part attributable to the rapid succession of crises between 1905 and 1913, which led decision-makers to fear being taken by surprise and to support measures emphasizing short-term preparedness and hair-trigger reaction. In July 1914, this type of military spending converged with mounting political tensions, fluctuations in perceptions of the European power balance, and a seriously mishandled diplomatic crisis to plunge the continent into a truly catastrophic conflict.

Such observations are not in themselves revolutionary, but Stevenson marshals an impressive body of quantitative and qualitative evidence in their support. In the process, he takes issue with conventional wisdom on more than one occasion. He challenges the simplistic interpretations that posit a gradual drift toward an intensified arms race, prompted either by advances in technology or a grasping "military-industrial complex." Neither fits the available evidence, since by 1910, the principal waves of technological change had passed, and, as Stevenson demonstrates conclusively, the impetus for the 1912–1914 arms race came from nervous governments, not belligerent general staffs or greedy industrialists. Similarly, he holds no brief for the theory of the "primacy of domestic politics" over foreign policy first identified with Eckart Kehr and later developed by Hans-Ulrich Wehler and the Bielefeld School. In 1913, Germany intensified its short-term preparedness in response to power fluctuations in the Balkans and heightened readiness in France and Russia; Paris and St. Petersburg responded with additional measures, and in 1914, German Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg gambled and launched what became a general war. Internal considerations were not absent from any of these calculations, but Stevenson argues persuasively that "as the action-reaction sequence became tighter each side armed more in response to the perceived behavior of its potential antagonists than because of internal imperatives" (p. 302).

Stevenson is pitiless in his analysis of that ultimate crisis. The Central Powers were the aggressors that July, and Fritz Stern's assertion that Bethmann-Hollweg took a "calculated risk" will not withstand this book's logic. Germany's chancellor did not know everything, but he knew that European peace could not survive German mobilization, and he went ahead in the hope of blaming a continental war on Russia. The German General Staff intervened in policy-making, and Bethmann-Hollweg erred in tolerating this, but no

plausible case can be made for the military forcing reluctant civilians into a war they didn't want. Berlin perceived a momentary opportunity and moved quickly to take advantage of it. That move was deliberate, despite the fact that the war turned out badly for the Central Powers and the world.

The work is not free from minor errors. Russian Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich was not Tsar Nikolai II's uncle (p. 51) but his first cousin once removed. The French fundamental laws of 1875 were indeed intended by some of their supporters to keep the throne warm for an eventual monarchist restoration (p. 54), but other backers wanted to use them to create *de facto* the republic they were unable to establish *de jure*. These ancillary asides have nothing to do with the book's principal argument, however, and do not detract from its validity. Stevenson occasionally provides so much fascinating detail that the reader's attention wanders from the thread of that argument, but this is an acceptable consequence of his approach: an approach that enhances and clarifies our understanding of the devastating decisions reached in July 1914.

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SHARON L. JANSEN, *Dangerous Talk and Strange Behavior: Women and Popular Resistance to the Reforms of Henry VIII*. New York: St. Martin's. 1996. Pp. viii, 232. \$39.95.

Sharon L. Jansen's study of women and popular resistance in the reign of Henry VIII is an important work that breaks new ground and will be of value to a wide range of scholars. It is scrupulously well researched and shows a thorough grounding in the secondary literature on the politics of early Tudor England, women's history, and feminist theory. Jansen focuses on four women, all of whom were executed for treason in the reign of Henry VIII: Elizabeth Wood, Margaret Cheyne, Elizabeth Barton, and Mabel Brigge. Yet none of these women had posed a direct, physical threat to the king. They had taken no part in armed rebellion. The government of Henry VIII, however, perceived them as a threat to stability of the realm. While Jansen admits that it is difficult to separate politics from religion in the reign of Henry VIII, her study examines women whose protest emphasized concerns about legitimate authority and rightful rule. (She does not, for example, include Anne Askew in her study.)

Scholars today know a great deal about the wives and daughters of Henry VIII; most of the women Jansen discusses, however, are relatively obscure. Barton, the holy maid of Kent who warned Henry of the dangers to himself and his country if he went ahead with the dissolution of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, is the best known, although Jansen's work is the most sophisticated I have seen on Barton. Those who specialize in witchcraft may well have already come across Brigge, whose "black fast" against Henry

was the latest and final charge of doing harm through magic made against her. In a "black fast," the person eats no milk or meat for nine days while concentrating all her energy on the person against whom she is fasting. A successful fast would cause that person's death, and rumors spread through Norfolk about Brigge's fast against the king. Cheyne was executed in the aftermath of the Pilgrimage of Grace. The most obscure of Jansen's case studies, Wood died because of the "treasonous rumors" she had spread about Henry VIII soon after the planned (but never executed) insurrection in Walsingham, around the same time as the Pilgrimage of Grace. The Treason Act of 1534 had stated that in order for the government to construe treason, words had to be "maliciously" spoken. Unfortunately, few of Cheyne's and Wood's words survive. Those that do, Jansen argues, did not fit this definition, yet they still received the ultimate punishment. Particularly around the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace, women accused of treasonous words were subject to execution. Jansen's case studies demonstrate that women of all classes were at least somewhat aware of what was going on at the court and in Parliament. And some women were willing to make their opinions known.

Jansen's study is certainly the most thorough I have seen on Brigge and the most useful on Barton. Her chapters on Brigge are particularly well written and provocative. Jansen provides new research on all of these women, and presents them in ways that not only demonstrate their significance but also make them interesting to the reader. Her strategy of having two chapters on each person is very effective. I found, for example, her discussion of the family ties of Cheyne to be insightful and to raise a number of new issues about the reasons for Cheyne's execution.

Jansen makes innovative use of a broad range of primary sources, and she offers a very useful discussion of gossip as a source for historians. She is up to date on the secondary literature and employs the recent work of women's historians to strengthen her theoretical base. Jansen's case studies not only allow us more insight into these specific women's acts of protest and resistance; we can also learn more about how the political and social structure of early Tudor England dealt with such women's behavior. Understanding these women gives us more insight into popular reaction to Tudor political reforms of the 1530s. The book is written with engaging, readable style, which should make it accessible to students as well as specialists. Scholars in the field of sixteenth-century English history, literature, and women's studies will find this book valuable.

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DAVID LOADES, *John Dudley: Duke of Northumberland 1504-1553*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 333. \$80.00.

During the three decades that have passed since I began studying the career of Northumberland, he has shed his image as the wicked duke, and what were once revisionist views have achieved respectability. The historical John Dudley that is now further buttressed by David Loades's biography has emerged not so much as a consequence of the discovery of new sources, but as a result of more critical historical scholarship and a willingness to abandon established authorities. Loades's valuable synthesis has benefited from the revised *Calendar of State Papers Domestic* (1992), edited by C. S. Knighton, as well as from numerous recent secondary works, but the essential sources for a critical study of Northumberland have been available since the days of J. A. Froude and A. F. Pollard.

Loades begins with a vigorous defense of Northumberland's father, Edmund Dudley, who is viewed as a scapegoat following the death of Henry VII; he believes that the Dudley family was in no way discredited by Edmund's execution for treason. The young John Dudley is identified with Thomas Cromwell and the Henrician reformers, although Loades concedes that he gained little from party allegiance. In 1543, Dudley became one of the great officers of state when he was appointed lord admiral, and he was one of two or three of the most powerful men in England by the death of Henry VIII in 1547. In Loades's view, the choice of Somerset as protector for Edward VI was a practicable solution, since corporate government was unrealistic. He supports Dudley's opposition to Somerset's agrarian reforms and offers a fascinating and meticulous account of the struggle for power among leading nobility after the fall of Somerset in 1549. Reviewing the felony charge against Somerset in 1551, Loades thinks he may well have been guilty of the offense that led to his execution. Therefore, Dudley, who was elevated to a dukedom, and Edward VI are essentially exonerated.

According to Loades, Northumberland, the only man who could lead a government with which Edward VI was comfortable, had his eye fixed on the future, five years hence, when the king would be eighteen. He is impressed by the achievements of Northumberland's government and, like W. K. Jordan, regards the king as the prime mover in the plan to transfer the crown to Lady Jane, Northumberland's daughter-in-law. Loades holds a poor view of the Seymours and Protestant reformers such as John Hooper, who is seen as a radical, although the 1552 *Book of Common Prayer* is portrayed as a product of mainstream Anglicanism.

Loades concludes that Northumberland was a "service peer," like other newly created peers of his generation. He rejects the notion that Northumberland led an aristocratic reaction during the reign of Edward VI and notes that he, unlike the duke of Gloucester in the 1470s, had no power base outside central government. To Northumberland, Loades argues, "land was a source of income and prestige but not of power in the traditional sense" (p. 286). In a book dedicated to the memory of G. R. Elton, it is not

surprising to find Northumberland compared to Thomas Cromwell. In Loades's opinion, neither man had significant roots, and each fell victim to the inconsistencies of royal favor. While both Cromwell and Northumberland are seen as egotistical and self-serving, Loades believes that they dedicated their public lives to the service of the crown. "John Dudley died execrated," he writes, "and until very recently no attempt has been made to rehabilitate his memory, but that probably tells us more about the evolution of English history than it does about the duke of Northumberland" (p. 286).

Whereas historians formerly regarded Northumberland as one of the worst political leaders of the sixteenth century, Loades would acquit him of most charges and transform the wicked duke into a rather good duke. He underestimates the influence of Sir William Paget on the Protectorate, overlooks his early criticism of Protector Somerset (dating from December 25, 1548), and fails to appreciate fully the rebellions of 1549 and their influence on politics. There are a number of dubious judgments, such as the undocumented assertion that the whole country exploded with rejoicing at the birth of Prince Edward as well as old-fashioned phrases such as "weak personalities." Finally, the book is marred by a few technical problems. For example, quotations are inconsistently modernized, and on at least three occasions the text from Knighton's calendar has been printed although the footnote refers to an unpublished manuscript (pp. 135, 157, 161).

Loades has produced a traditional life-and-times biography in which the times overshadow the life. Northumberland frequently disappears from the narrative as the author digresses into a variety of related topics including a lengthy treatment of constitutional history, especially Parliament and parliamentary statutes; the king's council; the fall of Thomas Cromwell; and foreign policy. The undergraduate and general reader will be challenged by the author's presentation as the subject gets lost in dense narrative and long paragraphs. Loades, however, writes with authority, and although the book offers few startling insights, it will be required reading for specialists and historians who still believe that Northumberland was a scoundrel and the subtlest intriguer in English history.

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MICHAEL C. QUESTIER, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580-1625*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 240. \$59.95.

Whereas most historians of the English Reformation have tried to group people into religious factions such as Puritan, Arminian, recusant, or church papist, Michael C. Questier argues that the experience of conversion was so highly individual and unstable as to make it difficult to categorize the English people by

religious label. The mind of the convert was in a perpetual state of agitation because the many political and religious considerations that led to changes of ecclesiastical allegiance neither fused nor became subordinated one to the other. The experience of conversion involved not only a change of opinion about one's own religious beliefs and perceptions of the role of church and state but also about the beliefs and perceptions of others. Questier hopes that these individual experiences will reveal something about the mentality behind the process by which England became protestantized during the Elizabethan period.

Although many Catholics, both lay and clerical, would have liked to separate their religious beliefs from their political allegiances, the experience of war between the Catholic and Protestant powers and the more uncompromising papal definitions of what it meant to be a Catholic made this impossible after the 1580s. It was commonly assumed by Protestant thinkers that one could not permit alteration of religion without inviting subversion of the state. They assumed that religious allegiances were in a perpetual state of flux and concluded that either Protestantism must triumph or a Catholic conspiracy must engulf England.

Questier believes that the many polemical books and disputations were little more than "word-games" (p. 36) and did not provide a sufficient reason to convert. An entirely different kind of work was the Jesuit Robert Persons' *Christian Directory* (1585), which tried to avoid attacking the Protestant position and confined itself to explaining points of doctrinal difference. Even in its protestantized version, the *Christian Directory* was remarkably successful in triggering conversion to Catholicism. Also rejected as an explanation for changing religious allegiance is the factionalism to be found in both Protestantism and Catholicism, which often left clerics who did not adhere to mainstream theological currents feeling isolated and unappreciated. There were some whose doctrinal views were so idiosyncratic that they can be regarded as neither Catholic nor Protestant. They were indifferent to political considerations and changed their allegiances with almost seasonal regularity. Catholic controversialists insisted that conversion required not just a change of intellectual persuasion but also an act of the will. Polemical persuasion tended only to instill doubt. Protestants assumed that fallen man was paralyzed in both his reason and his will; that only the gift of faith and the grace of God were operative in conversion; and this was usually triggered by revealed knowledge in the Scriptures. Both Catholics and Protestants regarded those coreligionists who abandoned their faith as committing the sin of apostasy, which always began a swift descent into moral degeneration.

In the process of conversion, Protestants of a Puritan or evangelical persuasion tended to become Catholic zealots; they often became Jesuits or members of other observant religious orders. Some converted and reconverted several times. Moderate Protestants or Arminians tended to wish a pox on both their houses.

From the point of view of English law, conversion to the Church of England required only a certificate of conformity and an oath of allegiance, but the Anglican and Catholic churches each required, in addition, an abjuration of the other's heresy. Questier emphasizes that full conformity and abjuration are to be sharply distinguished from church papistry or occasional conformity. Although church and state lacked the administrative machinery to enforce conformity upon everyone, when they worked together ministers and magistrates were quite capable of bringing selected individuals to the point of conformity and abjuration. Such cooperation was most likely to occur during periods of political emergency. After 1603, the royal administration lacked the political will to enforce conformity and had no interest in diminishing the reliable income from recusants' estates by completing the process of conversion. Evangelical preachers seeking conversion, fiscal officers needing revenues, and ministers of state or bishops demanding political allegiance all had different agendas. Given these differing approaches, more powerful administrative machinery would not necessarily have secured a more thorough protestantization of England.

Questier's extraordinary knowledge of both Catholic and Protestant theological thought assists him in analyzing conversion experiences with remarkable sensitivity. Although his book is not a lengthy one, it rests on an enormous amount of research into the manuscript and printed records of those who underwent the conversion experience. Questier tries to explain their motivation by means of a systematic analysis of spiritual autobiographies. He also launches an attack on Christopher Haigh and his fellow revisionists, who have attempted to argue that both post-Reformation English Catholicism and Puritanism failed to develop strong popular followings while the Church of England lacked effective machinery for enforcing a Protestant religious settlement. Questier finds this explanation too simplistic. The English Reformation was enormously successful in persuading people to change their religious beliefs and allegiances. The problem was that once this process started, no one could stop it, and consequently instability and novelty became preeminent characteristics of the English religious experience.

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LAURA GOWING. *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London*. (Oxford Studies in Social History.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. 301. \$62.00.

Laura Gowing has written a rich and stimulating study of the meanings of gender in early modern London. She has worked primarily with the records of the ecclesiastical courts, which provide detailed evidence about many aspects of domestic life and social relations. While other scholars have worked with these



records in the provinces, Gowing is the first to study the London records systematically, and she is also the first to focus entirely on issues of gender and women's place in society.

Gowing argues that gender relations in early modern society were based on the total incommensurability of women and men. The meanings attached to the sexual misconduct of women were so different from those attached to the sexual misconduct of men that they effectively inhabited alternate moral universes. As Gowing rightly notes, there is no word comparable to "whore" that refers to male sexual behavior. Indeed, she goes so far as to argue that men *never* brought defamation cases to protect their sexual reputations; their suits were always focused on a failure to control the sexual behavior of women in their households. Similarly, she argues, men and women behaved differently and needed different things in conflicts over breach of promise. And, finally, the difference between the causes of separation for men and women—men could sue over their wives' adultery, while women could sue only over extreme cruelty—demonstrates both the power differences between women and men as well as the relative ease with which women's behavior disrupted the household. Gowing argues that although marriage was the cornerstone of the social order in early modern England, it was very fragile, easily threatened by women's misconduct.

This fascinating study raises many questions that historians of gender will need to consider further. Although the broad outlines of Gowing's argument are familiar, she makes a stronger argument for women's lack of power and also focuses on the implications of the centrality of sexuality for women's reputations. Her work demonstrates how far our understanding of gender in early modern England has come over the past ten years. Yet Gowing's work also demonstrates the limitations of close work on one source and one place: although she is a sophisticated and perceptive reader of court cases, she sometimes tends to assume that court cases describe society.

By working on London, Gowing has extended our understanding of the tensions around gender in that exceptional place. She both acknowledges and ignores its peculiarities. She notes that in jurisdictions other than London, women did not become a majority of litigants in defamation cases until after the Restoration, while in London they formed the majority of such litigants by the 1620s and the majority of litigants in all ecclesiastical cases by the 1630s. Yet Gowing neglects to mention that, outside of London, men did sue for defamation based on accusations of sexual misconduct. There were only limited circumstances where sexual misconduct damage men's reputations, but such circumstances did exist. Gowing seems surprisingly ignorant of women's work in rural communities, referring to their "confined sphere" (p. 274). She rightly draws attention to the vast differences in sources of reputation for women and men, but oversimplifies it. She never notes that women could have had access to

another source of reputation—that of obedience—which they never used. Thus, the sexual nature of women's reputation is seen negatively, as an exclusive focus that limited women. Although it did represent a limitation, women's attention to sexual reputation was also a choice, and attention to this choice would have given Gowing's discussions of the nature of gender greater richness and complexity.

Gowing's book is clearly an expanded dissertation, and there are places where the vestige of an old argument remains for no apparent purpose. For instance, she twice (pp. 28 and 274) directs attention against the idea of a "crisis" in gender relations in the period, but her argument seems unrelated to the rest of the work and is not fully developed. Gowing also has an annoying habit of contrasting "England" with "Europe": although the political relationship between Britain and Europe is vexed, the geographical relationship is, as far as I know, unquestioned.

This is enough quibbling, however. Gowing has written an important and stimulating book that adds immeasurably to our knowledge of the place of women in early modern society. It is also a significant contribution to the ongoing feminist debate about the nature of gender relations in early modern England. For that, we should all be grateful.

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G. J. TOOMER. *Eastern Wisdom and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 381. \$90.00.

When Archbishop William Laud established an Arabic professorship at Oxford University in 1636, the study of this oriental language seemed to be flourishing. The first professor, Edward Pococke, was an extremely learned man fresh from his sojourn in Aleppo as chaplain to the Levant Company, where he had mastered the language and begun his lifelong fascination with Islamic history and culture. Unfortunately, Pococke was to prove the exception rather than the rule, and after an encouraging beginning that lasted through the Civil War and Protectorate, Arabic studies in England declined and virtually disappeared by 1680.

G. J. Toomer charts the rise and fall of Arabic studies in seventeenth-century England. Essentially, this is the story of a single generation of scholars, led by Pococke, who worked hard to achieve mastery of a difficult language and culture and were unable to cultivate successors. While Cambridge University had scholars interested in Arabic in the late sixteenth century, Toomer's story largely centers on Oxford. It was at Oxford that the collection of oriental manuscripts proceeded apace, aided by the generous donations of men like Laud, John Selden, and later Arabists such as Robert Huntington. Nearly all the important Arabists of the seventeenth century found employment at the Oxford colleges. These men labored in relative



isolation, since there were never more than five or six of them at any given time. They produced several important works, most notably Pococke's *Specimen Historiae Arabum* (1650), with its uncharacteristically liberal view of Islamic culture and history. Probably the most important collective endeavor was the *Polyglot Bible* (1653–1657), supported by subscription though probably little read. After the production of this Bible, Arabic studies began to decline, illustrated by the failure of the Edmund Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton* (1669) to reach any audience at all. After Castell's death, half of the original 1000 copies remained in his rooms, where they were slowly eaten by rats—an ignoble end to the high hopes of Arabic studies.

Why did Arabic studies die in Restoration England? Aside from the premature death of several promising Arabists (one died of working in the unheated Bodleian library), Toomer posits three causes. First, the original generation of Arabists were most concerned with the use of Arabic for biblical exegesis, and after the Restoration this sort of close textual analysis gave way to larger ethical and moral discussions of Christianity. Second, while natural philosophers before 1640 hoped to learn important information about the natural world from works of Arabic science and medicine, by the 1670s this medieval work had been overtaken by modern innovations in science, and Arabic sources could only be read for antiquarian interest. The one exception to this was astronomy, where Islamic observations could still be useful in such matters as understanding the periodicity of comets. Finally, and for Toomer most important, the original Arabists learned the language and culture for the disinterested love of learning, and after the Restoration this was less possible.

It is with this admission, which Toomer makes at the very end of the book, that we see his basic philosophy of intellectual history. For Toomer, the great Arabists of the 1640s and 1650s, most especially Pococke, were liberal, enlightened scholars who pursued their vocation in a relative vacuum. Although they lived through one of the most turbulent periods in England's history (especially those connected with Oxford), they were above the petty political and religious concerns affecting the rest of the country. Although this is an attractive vision for those who now want to argue for the transcendence of intellectual enterprises, it cannot be true. The study of Arabic was fundamentally attached to extra-intellectual concerns, and as those concerns changed, so did the study of oriental languages.

The organization of Toomer's book reinforces the image of isolated scholars, as it consists of a series of sections on the work of individual men. We get no sense of Oxford or the Arabic scholars as a community nor of the larger theological, historical, or mathematical enterprises of the seventeenth century. As a result, the question of why these men engaged in such study, at huge personal cost, remains unanswered.

The book contains a large amount of valuable information. It is highly readable and the lives of the men described could lend themselves to the best of historical fiction. The tales of Pococke's and John Greaves's adventures in the Middle East give a fascinating picture of the scholar abroad. Toomer's description of Castell's lengthy and acrimonious travails is both pathetic and amusing. Toomer has done a great service in identifying each Arabist, his work, and his collection of manuscripts; this is information that will be useful to historians of Arabic scholarship in England. This is a flawed account, nonetheless. It does not place Arabic and oriental studies in any context, and it is therefore of limited use to historians more generally interested in the universities or scholarly activity.

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MARGARET R. HUNT. *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680–1780*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 343. \$48.00.

In this book, Margaret R. Hunt sets out to show that the "middling classes," groups between the lower edge of the gentry and the upper border of the laborious, possessed a cohesive culture of their own, forged by their distinctive exposure to the vagaries of marketplace capitalism. As such, the book is part and parcel of a general reevaluation of old Marxist and liberal verities that has been preceding within scholarship on eighteenth-century England. The new wave is marked by a loss of interest in class conflict and class formation, a growing disbelief that the desire for emulation of the gentry drove the trading classes to save and invest, and a "postmodern" (the author's term) turning toward empirical research in the place of abstruse debate about "class, race, gender, nationality" and the like (p. 14). Hunt's distinctive contribution is to chisel out the middling sort as a definitive social grouping and to show how their values and behavior differed systematically from those of the gentry and of the poor. The evidence is largely anecdotal, drawn from the widely ignored family-chronicle literature and from manuscript material in the Public Record Office of London, the Corporation of London Record Office, the Guildhall Library, and similar repositories.

Who were the "middling sort," to repeat a phrase that by the end of the book has become a rather tiresome neologism? Most worked for a living, a few lived from investments or rent. Although they represented around a quarter of London's population, "everyman and everywoman they were not: beneath them stretched a sea of the less fortunate, a good 70 or 75 percent of the urban population" who lived by laboring for someone else (p. 20). Hunt is particularly keen to see how production among this group intersected with family life. A chapter on capital, credit, and the family finds that economic failure generally meant family woe, because other family members had

usually lent the lost capital. Economic vicissitudes, accordingly, gave a special precariousness to the life of the lower-middle classes: "The image of whole families failing owing to the fact that they had imprudently provided money or security for relatives is one of the master narratives of middling culture" (p. 34).

Shopkeepers took a particular interest in morality, not necessarily for religious reasons but because it was catastrophic for them to be bilked. Before the factory system, the middling sort were more concerned about the morals of their own kind than about those of the lower classes. More than the gentry or the workers, the middling boosted "prudential values," such as thrift, care, and good accounting, that would offer better regulated markets and greater prospects of individual success within those markets. Hunt shows this marketplace orientation working its way through the whole world of "middling" values. In childrearing, parents taught promptness about time and personal rectitude. The middling insisted on the wickedness of masturbation because "it offered an excellent opportunity to emphasize the danger of moral infection from without, specifically from groups above and below the middle ranks on the social scale" (p. 68). Similarly, the lower middle classes scorned sexual libertinism because lack of sexual restraint meant loss of self-control.

In regard to women, the argument is that middling boys were educated to have skills for future careers, while girls were taught to accommodate themselves to the needs of the family group. Although both boys and girls were laced into a latticework of family obligation, girls had even less latitude than boys. Hunt attempts to overturn the conventional wisdom about biology as the cause of women's occupational segregation. It is simply not true, she says, that women failed to work outside the home because they were back in the nest having babies. "Women were *most* likely to have jobs outside the home during the prime childbearing years." They were also overrepresented in dangerous occupations and in jobs that left them little time for housework. The main characteristic of women's work was "that it tended to be intermittent and labor- rather than capital-intensive" (p. 136). Women in trade suffered a disadvantage vis-à-vis middling men because they were more dependent on the trust of relatives for loans and more vulnerable should family disharmony sunder this trust.

Was the "modern" family of the eighteenth century tender and loving? Here the balance sheet looks grim, according to Hunt. She dwells, for example, on tensions over the paying out of dowries, which apparently produced lots of violence. But she relies on court records and other evidence in which violence digs a deeper trail than harmony, so these instances may not have been typical.

This kind of selective citation leads to some problems. Hunt writes, for example, "In short, there is absolutely no evidence that middling families were any less prone to sexual incompatibility or sexual peccadilloes than any other group" (p. 164). This may or may

not be true, but it requires a quantitative demonstration rather than a few selected stories about middling sin. Also, the present does occasionally get in the way of the past. Hunt notes a rise between the late seventeenth century and the early nineteenth in the percent of women who married. The proportion of unmarried women dropped from around twenty-five percent to six percent. Is this a positive development in terms of the historic experience of women, given what we know about the poverty of single women, their risk of sexual violence, and the burden of loneliness in a romantic and couple-centered society? No, says Hunt. Marriage represents a historic defeat for women. In her view, the higher the proportion of women married, the fewer the options available to them. (In fact, in the option-filled United States today, the proportion of women over forty-five who have never married is only six percent.) The question is not what Hunt feels about marriage but what the women of the time felt, and I wish that she were a bit less anxious to force them onto her Procrustean bed.

The author's comprehensive grasp of the secondary literature, her wide reading in manuscript sources, and her steady eye on the big questions of eighteenth-century historiography have made an important contribution to this dynamic field. Those who wish to keep up to date will not want to miss it.

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BRIDGET HILL. *Servants: English Domestic in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. 278. \$65.00.

The popularity of television series and films such as *Upstairs Downstairs* and *Remains of the Day* attests to the British and American public's fascination with servants' lives, especially with master-servant relations. It is, therefore, surprising that no major scholarly treatment of eighteenth-century English servants has appeared since J. Jean Hecht's *The Domestic Servant in Eighteenth-Century England* (1956). Bridget Hill has rectified this neglect with a well-written, entertaining collection of essays that should appeal to specialists as well as to the non-scholarly reading public.

Drawing mostly on diaries and journals written by masters as well as by male and female servants in the long eighteenth century, Hill provides studies of individual servants and households, fictional servants, and often-ignored pauper servants and domestics who were kin. Her focus is less on the stereotypical upstairs/downstairs model of servanthood typical of large houses, where a rigid hierarchy of servants prevailed, and more on smaller houses where one or two servants were typical. The essays are full of fascinating details about what life for servants was like: their daily household routines, wages, sexuality, and forms of entertainment. But Hill goes beyond mere chronicling to explore larger issues such as class relations, patterns of migration, the gender gap, marital opportunities,

and the emerging idea of adolescence. One comes away from this work questioning recent historians who talk positively about the opportunity and relatively advantageous conditions provided by domestic service in the early modern period. Hill paints a grimmer picture of arbitrary dismissals, low wages, and lost identity; she concludes that men and women entered service not because they were attracted to it, but because they had no choice.

Repetition is a problem with most essay collections, and there is some here. But Hill avoids the usual pitfall of a disjointed presentation by ensuring that the essays work effectively together to support a main argument. Stated succinctly, she maintains that domestic service in the eighteenth century was never one continuous thing but rather something that changed over time. A major change, according to Hill, was that men became less inclined to enter domestic service while women took up the occupation in increasing numbers. This occurred, in part, due to changes in middle-class wealth and lifestyles. More wooden floors, curtains, upholstered furniture, knick-knacks, and pictures in homes, for example, meant more sweeping, dusting, and polishing—work typically performed by women. Another important change included the gradual shift from paternalistic relationships between masters and servants to more contractual ones. As evidence for this shift, Hill cites employers' more vigorous attempts to abolish vails (tips) in favor of more formal, regular payment. Such attempts were sometimes foiled by vengeful, riotous servants, particularly footmen. Their actions remind us that even in the grim world of service depicted by Hill, domestics were not helpless victims.

Given the wealth of information and analysis here, I hesitate to harp too much on something missing. But I do find it surprising that Hill makes no mention of black servants, who were more numerous in England during the eighteenth century than at any other time. Hill offers many insights into master-servant relations, noting how they varied depending on whether the servant was married, unmarried, male, or female. One wonders what relations were like between employers and black servants and between black and white servants. This is obviously an area where much research remains to be done.

Hill's book suggests other avenues for future research. Several essays draw on studies of domestic service in eighteenth-century France to formulate conclusions about England. For example, Hill cites studies of French maid-servants showing that they were not always victims of men's sexual advances but sometimes sought illicit sexual relationships for pleasure or as an escape from the drudgery of their highly disciplined lives. Hill concludes, "The same was almost certainly true of servant-maids in England" (p. 63), but she provides little evidence from English sources to support the claim. These essays are thus valuable not only for their documentation of and insights into the world of servanthood in early modern England but also for

their highlighting of gaps in our understanding of that world.

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ROBERT GRAY. *The Factory Question and Industrial England, 1830–1860*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 253. \$59.95.

Some of the major shifts in historiography over the past third of a century are well illustrated in the contrast between Robert Gray's book on the factory question in England and the standard work in the field, J. T. Ward's *The Factory Movement 1830–55* (1962). Ward uses a more or less chronological approach, stays close to the developments in the organized movement, cites a long albeit rather traditional range of sources, and draws conclusions safely anchored to his evidential foundation. Gray is fascinated by currently fashionable theories (the linguistic turn, feminism, postmodernism), varying modes of representation, eclectic thematic strains, and little-used source materials. His presentation is not chronological, nor does it claim to be comprehensive, and his topic is the amorphous "question" rather than the more easily defined "movement." In short, he takes a wholly different approach than does Ward. But has it helped him to produce a better historical account?

The answer must be equivocal. Among other things, Gray furnishes an original analysis of the statistics of prosecutions under the Factory Acts and a masterly exploration of the rhetoric of slavery and gender in the context of the campaign for factory reform. The latter discussion is marred, however, by frequent use of jargon that suggests that things such as factory regulation and patriarchal language can become "sites" and that almost everything can be the subject (object?) of "negotiation." On a related linguistic topic, Gray promises at the outset to "give sustained attention to languages of radical constitutionalism and popular evangelicalism (of the Methodist, rather than patrician Anglican variety)" (p. 10). Yet the differences between Methodist and Anglican evangelical languages are never explained. The single reference to Methodism in the index directs the reader to a passage noting that "there was also substantial Methodist support" for the factory movement (p. 52). Additional allusions to Methodism can be ferreted out (pp. 57, 116), but they do not make the picture any clearer. At one point, Gray writes: "The ambiguous functioning of gendered identities to construct a field of cross-class negotiation may explain the apparent enthusiasm of workers for a quite emphatically stated language of idealised paternalism" (p. 48). The reader is then told that West Riding Methodist preachers (precise denomination not given) were major contributors to this phenomenon. Too often, as in this instance, theory and jargon are inserted where the discussion cries out for more facts and explanations.

In chapter five, "The Factory Imagined," the strengths and weaknesses of Gray's approach are perhaps the most obvious. While Ward's book refers only briefly to echoes of the factory question found in the literature of the day and ignores relevant visual representations, Gray insists that they merit close attention. He analyzes verbal and visual depictions of factories in the famous surveys by Andrew Ure and Edward Baines and in James Brown's much different *Memoir of Robert Blincoe* (1828). Gray then proceeds to discuss a small selection of novels in which factory work figures prominently. Charlotte Brontë and Frances Trollope receive special attention, as do a few lesser novelists. For example, Gray not only summarizes Frederic Montagu's *Mary Ashley, the Factory Girl* (1839) but also includes an interesting illustration from the novel showing women from the middle classes gazing upon younger women at work in a mill.

The overall treatment of "The Factory Imagined" is nevertheless thin. Four illustrations and approximately twenty-two pages of text are simply not adequate to deal with the range of relevant visual and verbal depictions that appeared during the three decades under investigation. His discussion of the illustrations rarely rises above straightforward description with an occasional pinch of analysis. Thus, the 1832 edition of *Robert Blincoe* "has a woodcut of its subject, shown in silhouette with crooked legs" (p. 139), and the illustration from *Mary Ashley* "is, by implausible contrivance, an all-female group, focusing on the benevolent lady visitors" (p. 149). His actual captions for the respective illustrations read simply "Robert Blincoe, a survivor of child labour" and "Benign hierarchy" (pp. 141, 151). Analysis at this level does not do much to advance our understanding of visual representations of factory work. Without belaboring the point, much the same could be said for Gray's treatment of factory novels. Mentioning Dickens's *Hard Times* (1854), devoting a few sentences to Gaskell's *Mary Barton* (1848), and citing (but not discussing) some of the best-known critical studies does not constitute a significant contribution to the field.

The final impression of this book must be that bold (and often trendy) promises have only been partially fulfilled. The vision of what Gray has attempted nevertheless deserves attention. By using visual and verbal materials, drawing on fiction and non-fiction, and focusing on gender analysis, geographic variations, and rhetorical distinctions, he points toward a model of how the best historical accounts should be written. Yet he is not a pioneer in this approach, and it must be conceded that this brand of totalizing history, while difficult to achieve, has already been used with considerable success by scholars such as Linda Colley (*Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* [1992]). Although Gray's book complements Ward's in a number of respects, scholars interested in the factory movement

and the factory question will still want to use the older study as an essential starting point.

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JOHN SHELTON REED, *Glorious Battle: The Cultural Politics of Victorian Anglo-Catholicism*. Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press. 1996. Pp. xxiv, 357. \$34.95.

Historical study of Anglo-Catholicism has been a patchy affair. Inevitably, the Oxford Movement has received the lion's share of scholarly attention. For a picture of the movement in the second half of the nineteenth century, we have had to turn, as John Shelton Reed puts it, "to dusty Victorian and Edwardian biographies and memoirs, to hagiographies . . . , or to little read novels by authors like Shane Leslie and Compton Mackenzie" (p. 8). In recent years, some progress has been made with a solid scholarly biography of the ritualist slum priest Charles Lowder, studies of the Public Worship Regulation Act and of late nineteenth-century urban religion, and a few excellent though unpublished theses. But a fresh synthesis was badly needed.

Reed's achievement is to bring together these strands, add a vast amount more, and to put the ritualist movement into a coherent interpretive framework. The title, from the medieval Passiontide hymn, *Pange lingua*, catches the pugnacious spirit that characterized the remarkable, odd, saintly, difficult, and sometimes heroic band of Anglican priests who transformed the worshiping life of the Church of England and beyond. Subtitled "The Cultural Politics of Victorian Anglo-Catholicism," Reed, writing as a sociologist, explores the movement in terms of counterculture. This is a persuasive reading of the subject and helps ask those crucial critical questions so often neglected in the older, more hagiographic literature.

It would be wrong, however, to infer that Reed is deficient as an historian: far from it. This project has occupied him, on and off, for nearly twenty years, in which time he has mastered a wealth of material, including archival material hitherto unexploited. Moreover as an essayist and humorist, Reed is well placed to tell a good story and has an eye for the significant and the amusing, if not wacky, side of the tale. Yet as a practicing Episcopalian, he combines empathy and intuition with a certain wry detachment. Interestingly, he admits to finding the movement less sympathetic, if more entertaining, than when he began his study.

Reed charts the origins, aims, growth, and leadership of ritualism as well as the opposition it evoked. But his major contribution is to look beyond the ritualist clergy to the urban poor they served and their coworkers and enthusiastic followers among the laity. Three chapters tackle head on the question of "Who were the Anglo-Catholic laity?" and explore the role of women in the movement and the appeal it exerted on



(gay?) young men. A useful glossary of ecclesiastical terms is provided, though I note the omission of the feriola, a sure sign of "advanced" churchmanship, still sported by the flashier descendants of the ritualists in some of London's Anglo-Catholic shrines today.

The urban poor, women, and the sort of young men repelled by "muscular Christianity" contributed disproportionately to the early support of the movement. Here were groups culturally subordinate or in decline, alienated from mainstream Victorian bourgeois values and open to a subversive message. But for this very reason, the story ends on an ironic note. By the 1890s, Reed believes, this countercultural movement had become increasingly acceptable and accepted: "A movement that had once protested bourgeois values was itself becoming middle-class, even suburban" (p. 263).

Here I wish to voice some reservations. How far did ritualism enter the religious bloodstream of England? Surely the battles went on into the next century, and the result was hardly the victory of which the ritualists dreamed. Anglo-Catholicism never conquered the Church of England or successfully captured the bulk of its active laity. At most, it achieved in the interwar period a partial hegemony as a church party and in latter days has suffered a painful decline in the face of evangelical resurgence. How much headway did it really make in moulding the devotional life of a nation schooled for three and a half centuries in Protestant ways?

Perhaps because it was countercultural, ritualism remained too often rather self-conscious, exotic if not "hot house." It produced too little of an unself-conscious catholic piety among Anglicans to make it a success in the true meaning of that word. Marvelous though Reed's book is, we are still left pondering its significance. What really brought about this curious revival of a style of religious behavior so long abandoned? The "analytical tack" provided by the notion of counterculture adds important insights, but we could have had more sociology in either introduction or epilogue. The zest of storytelling leaves the deeper questions only partially answered.

The history of the high-church tradition in Anglicanism has been transformed in recent years by scholarship of a high order. Now Peter Nockles's study of the pre-Tractarians (*The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760-1857* [1994]) is balanced by an excellent study of their late nineteenth-century successors. Reed's book ranks as a major scholarly contribution to Anglican history and Victorian studies. It is also a delightful tale that will appeal beyond a narrow academic constituency to a broad readership.

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PAULINE ADAMS. *Somerville for Women: An Oxford College 1879-1993*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xviii, 394. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$30.00.

ELAINE KAYE. *Mansfield College, Oxford: Its Origin, History, and Significance*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 347. \$70.00.

Somerville and Mansfield Colleges were founded privately in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Both drew heavily from Victorian liberalism with its philosophy of individualism, personal initiative, support for minority cultures, moral earnestness, and independence of mind. Under the conditions and restrictions then in force, neither college could become a legal, constituent member of the federation of colleges that comprised Oxford University. Both were consequently peripheral to that institution, one reflecting the position of women in Victorian society and the other the disestablished, non-metropolitan, and lower social status of Protestant Nonconformity. Their geographical proximity to Oxford's other colleges and the support of individual and tolerant dons produced working relationships, alliances, and cooperative activities, but this partial acceptance merely exacerbated their disabilities. To be so close and yet apart was an irritant. The two institutions were virtual Oxford colleges without the tangible rewards of respectability, access to degrees and other qualifications, and the privileges associated with participation in a great variety of student and academic activities.

Yet marginality has its virtues, provided the gaps are not insurmountable. Historians and sociologists have long noticed the critical role that Nonconformists played in fostering the Industrial Revolution by engaging in entrepreneurship unacceptable to "gentlemen." Dissent helped transform the British political system from aristocracy to parliamentary democracy. The marginality of Somerville and Mansfield Colleges allowed them to develop and express a self-conscious distinctiveness; it gave them a certain edginess, a particular kind of striving and collective ambition, and it made them attractive to special kinds of talent. Somerville educated outstanding personalities and writers such as Vera Brittain, Dorothy Sayers, Iris Murdoch, Margery Fry (sister of the art critic Roger), Jean Taylor (Lady Medawar), and Margaret Thatcher. The full list is stunning.

Mansfield became home to a succession of great scholars of reformed and liberal Christianity, who possessed or acquired international reputations. The college broadened Oxford's contributions to Biblical and dogmatic theology and brought into the university's environment influences from the worldwide network of Lutherans, Baptists, and Presbyterians, belying Dissent's Victorian reputation as provincial and unc cosmopolitan.

But they who were heterodox are now orthodox. Neither college is marginal today. Somerville is an official member of the Oxford federation, a mixed college of women and men despite great past battles to preserve single-sex education. Mansfield, which received a royal charter in 1995 but had been gaining privileges earlier, is less conspicuously Congregational.



For some decades, the numbers of adherents to chapel have been in a decline greater than that experienced by the Church of England. The Congregationalists explored union with the Presbyterians, and although this came to nought, the trend was clear. Congregationalism, once so self-absorbed, was now thinking of itself as part of Christian ecumenism, "Freechurches" (borrowing the Scottish term) rather than a collection of individual Dissenting sects and congregations.

Both educational foundations have succumbed to the exigencies of our day: the need to compete against other collegiate societies for top student and teaching talent, the need to keep financially afloat by qualifying for state support, and the need to comply with sex discrimination legislation at both parliamentary and European Union levels. Furthermore, the undergraduates have changed in conformity with larger social and cultural changes occurring since the 1960s. The old issues that sustained the colleges are of little concern to newer generations. Women are not especially interested in attending single-sex colleges, nor are students (mainly postgraduates in Mansfield's earlier development) generally absorbed in a single-minded quest for ordination or spirituality.

Despite a certain pride in being separate, however, from the outset both colleges probed the Oxford system of ordinances and regulations, traditions and practices, looking for entry points. For Somerville, as for the other women's colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, the goal was full equality with men. For Mansfield, which had begun life as a theological school in Spring Hill, Birmingham, the issue was the place of Nonconformity and evangelical theology in national life. Oxford, as the university most attached to the establishment, was therefore a natural location. And the timing for both colleges was right, Somerville allying itself with various aspects of the feminist movements and Mansfield taking advantage of the elimination of religious tests. Firmly embedded in the English provinces by the mid-Victorian period, the numbers of Dissenters were on a par with those of Anglicans.

These are very good histories, laudatory but not apologetic. They are largely an internal accounting, the Somerville history especially, but useful sidelong glances appear. Elaine Kaye's book is noteworthy for placing Mansfield College in the broader context of the history of Nonconformist theology and the politics of the Dissenting chapels. Pauline Adams's history of Somerville College is distinguished by wonderful portraits of its remarkable principals and by a stylish and witty narrative. In both accounts, there are what may be termed standard features of collegiate history. In addition to portraits of hall, lodge, and common room, information is provided on the development of building sites, relations with boards of trustees, financial issues, lines of scholarship, and student subcultures. Adams is particularly strong and enjoyable on the societies, clubs, and activities of Somerville students, the quirks of the place, the annual plays, and occasional bursts of daring undergraduate behavior (like

cycling, not to mention tobacco use). Decisions concerning how to achieve recognition in a male environment receive proper space. The first principal, the stylish Miss Shaw Lefevre, decided to go slow, as did the leaders of other women's colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, but she also entertained the curious notion of reproducing "the flavour of a country house party" (p. 105). Shaw Lefevre was in many respects a terrific leader; but the subsequent history of the college is anything but an extension of county society. Somerville acquired a reputation for going it alone, standing a bit apart from the other women's colleges, pursuing subjects like science (for which women were supposedly unsuited) and encouraging independent-mindedness.

Mansfield itself has a complicated history with respect to educating women. As an evangelical institution, this Nonconformist college did not have to contend with sex selection issues raised by dogmas of the "catholic" obedience such as episcopal succession. Consequently, Mansfield began to admit women in 1914. It was the first Oxford men's college to do so, although the numbers remained small, and to its lasting credit can claim to have "pioneered the ordained ministry of women" (p. 314). Yet substantial ambiguities remained, and well into the 1950s, women members seldom were allowed to use the Junior Common Room or dine in hall. Kaye does not offer an explanation for their exclusion.

These two histories can be read as part of larger university or national history in any number of ways. They comprise chapters in the history of women's emancipation and in the history of Nonconformity, which followed a trajectory from intense nineteenth-century religious commitment to what undergraduate wags later called "Anglicanism with water" (p. 172). They can also be read as examples of institutional innovation. Whereas all university systems exhibit certain similar characteristics in educational patterning, a collegiate university has a particular kind of genetic code that affects subsequent growth. Some forms of innovation are distinctly abetted by decentralization. On the edges of Oxford University, private societies with quite distinct aims could appear. Even when marginal, they could influence the larger academic culture by propinquity, by the encouragement of specific populations, and by the pursuit of particular fields of disciplinary emphasis. Today, Oxford has in some respects become less of a collegiate university, less of an academic culture of federations, and more of a school or department-based university like most others. The effect of this change on college identity, resources, independence, initiative, and culture is being played out as the century draws to an end.

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PETER STANSKY. *On or About December 1910: Early Bloomsbury and Its Intimate World*. (Studies in Cultural History.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 289. \$27.95.

In a characteristically provocative essay published in 1924, Virginia Woolf declared that "on or about December 1910 human character changed." In his most recent book, Peter Stansky acknowledges that Woolf meant the notion "only half seriously" and as "something of a joke" (pp. 3–4), but he nonetheless decides to make it the intellectual armature of his entire study. His book charts in often minute detail the various activities of the Bloomsbury coterie during the year of the Post-Impressionist Exhibition. Of course, the arrival of Modernism in England, a central event in Stansky's reading of Woolf's formulation, involved a far wider group of artists and writers than found in Bloomsbury's charmed circle. As three generations of recent scholarship affirm, the Futurists, Vorticists, and writers such as T. S. Eliot, D. H. Lawrence, and James Joyce also defined Modernism. Indeed, Bloomsbury's most significant contributions to the movement occurred after World War I, an awkward fact that Stansky acknowledges. In any case, he concentrates his efforts on the lives, not the works, of his subjects.

His first three chapters focus primarily on Virginia Woolf. Here Stansky adds archival details to a familiar story, especially about an incident in 1910 when Woolf and some companions disguised themselves as the Ethiopian royal entourage and received a tour of H.M.S. *Dreadnought*. Stansky calls the prank "rather silly and trivial" and notes the comprehensiveness of three other published accounts. Still, he declares it "quite a splendid story that bears retelling" (p. 18). From the records of both the Admiralty and the Post Office, he exposes some inconsistencies in earlier renderings, including details such as whether or not the group ate lunch on board. He concludes his lengthy chapter on "this tempest in a teapot" (p. 41) by hinting briefly that the incident may have influenced Woolf's view of men and perhaps "suggests questions about the nature of the state" (p. 45).

Other chapters reacquaint the reader with Bloomsbury's gifted figures. Stansky traces the activities of Roger Fry during this period. He recapitulates the founding of the Contemporary Art Society, "a splendid example of how such things happen in England" (p. 82). He plots the loves and friendships of Lytton Strachey, Duncan Grant, and John Maynard Keynes, and includes a summary of two documents left by Keynes that tabulated in precise mathematical detail his various sexual encounters between February 1910 and February 1911. A chapter on E. M. Forster focuses on his impassioned relationship with Syed Ross Masood, a young Indian living in London. Stansky notes that they attended together the opening performance in England of Strauss's *Salome*. He quotes *The Times*'s listing of what Stansky calls "the fashionable audience." He asserts that such performances "might well

provide further evidence to support Virginia Woolf's comment that human character had changed in December 1910," especially since for Forster "its passionate music was likely to have added to the intensity of his feelings" (pp. 133–35).

The final chapters focus on the Post-Impressionist Exhibition, a key cultural occurrence for the book's overall thesis. Stansky begins by discussing in detail the trip to France by Roger Fry and Desmond MacCarthy to gather the pictures. He lists the eminent figures on the sponsoring committee and notes the deep social respectability of this calculated act of artistic rebellion. He names the most important pictures in the exhibition. He then confronts the recent scholarship of Stella Tillyard, who argues that the exhibition played a less decisive role for Modernism than customarily supposed. For example, just as many published reviews generally favored the pictures as slated them. Although Stansky acknowledges that Bloomsbury tended to overstate its own importance, he declares Tillyard's argument "ultimately unconvincing" (p. 212). Stansky places special weight on the negative reviews of the exhibition and quotes extensively from them over a number of pages. He then concludes that the exhibition was "a commitment to a change in human character" (p. 236).

One supporter of the Post-Impressionists was Arnold Bennett, whom Virginia Woolf criticized in the famous essay that inspired this book. Woolf claimed that Bennett's writing dwelt too much on external details surrounding his fictional characters and failed to reveal their inner essence. Stansky excavates the surviving sources, both primary and secondary, to sketch the intimate lives of his historical characters during a brief period. He leaves to others the task of capturing the essence of their art and its contribution to Modernism.

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LOGIE BARROW and IAN BULLOCK. *Democratic Ideas and the British Labour Movement, 1880–1914*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. ix, 326. \$69.95.

In the introduction to this well-researched monograph, Logie Barrow and Ian Bullock approvingly quote Will Hutton's remark that "[d]emocracy or reforming the structure of the state never ranked high on the socialist wish list" (p. 3). In this view, the new Labour government led by Tony Blair differs from the "old" Labour Party not simply by abandoning traditional socialist aims and means but by zealous espousal of constitutional reform, tackling Scottish and Welsh devolution, being handmaidens to the possible reform of the monarchy and the House of Lords, and even entertaining the idea of proportional representation.

A closer examination of Labour Party history would suggest that such self-proclaimed innovation is, if not cosmetic, at least misleading. Although Labour has been, like all major British political parties, conserva-

tive on the reform of the constitution, its development reveals a long-running if unresolved concern with the reform of political and economic structures and the place of democratic participation within those structures. One can look, for example, at the debate over the state between Guild Socialists and Fabians up to the 1920s. Even at the height of centrist economic planning in the 1940s, figures such as G. D. H. Cole, Evan Durbin, and Michael Young argued for the reform of political and economic institutions such as the civil service and nationalized industry to allow democratic participation. Labour's political problems after 1979 were arguably due not merely to its resistance to market reform but to a surfeit of internal democracy. Reforms affecting such issues as the reselection of MPs, the control of the manifesto, and the election of the leader contributed to the image of a party that could not govern itself, let alone the nation, prompting Neil Kinnock's famous 1985 criticism of "far-fetched resolutions pickled into rigid dogma." One of many ironies surrounding the modernization of the Labour Party has been the much-trumpeted "democratization" of party membership by reforms such as "one member, one vote," while power has simultaneously been more clearly concentrated with the leadership and unelected "spin doctors" such as Peter Mandelson.

Barrow and Bullock examine this question from the late nineteenth-century emergence of socialist groups such as the Social Democratic Federation, the Fabian Society, and the Independent Labour Party, to the outbreak of World War I. They offer detailed and assured discussions of the treatment of "democracy" across a wide spectrum of the labor movement in these years, including figures such as H. M. Hyndman and Robert Blatchford, journals like *Labour Leader* and *Justice*, and organizations such as the Trades Union Congress and the nascent Labour Party.

A great virtue of this monograph is the authors' emphasis on the connection between late nineteenth and early twentieth-century discussions of democracy and earlier Chartist efforts. It is nonetheless surprising that little reference is made to Margot Finn's *After Chartism* (1993). The "tradition of plebeian radical democracy," with its emphasis on "sovereignty of the people, political equality and self-government" (p. 290), found its way into what Barrow and Bullock call the "strong" view of democracy in the late nineteenth century, represented by, for example, *Clarion* and the Social Democratic Federation. This was opposed by the "weak" view found in the Fabian Society, which criticized the tradition as "primitive" democracy. Whether over views of leadership, constitutional reform, or trade union democracy, Barrow and Bullock offer a generally convincing argument for the importance of democratic concerns to the formative years of socialist development, although similar themes are addressed by David Howell (*British Workers and the Independent Labour Party, 1888-1906* [1983]), Eugenio

Biagini (in Biagini and Alastair Reid, eds., *Currents of Radicalism* [1991]), and Finn.

Apart from the exaggeration of its own novelty, the monograph shows some flaws. The treatment of gender is particularly understated; it would have been interesting if the authors had pushed their discussion of female suffrage to show how "democracy," like "class," increasingly meant "male democracy." The struggles of socialist feminists within the Labour Party from the 1920s to the present day revolve in part on this structural problem, as Pamela Graves (*Labour Women* [1994]), Hilary Wainwright (*Labour: A Tale of Two Parties* [1987]), and Amy Black and I have suggested ("The Labour Party, Women, and the Problem of Gender, 1951-66," *Journal of British Studies* 36 [1997]). Another more minor difficulty is the writing, which could have used more vigorous editing. Unfortunately, inelegant, and confusing phrases such as "no longer an 'ism' but a 'wasm'" (p. 3) and "despite feeling isolated . . . we turned out unexceptional" (p. 4) mar an otherwise clear work. Few people could quibble at the sheer chutzpah of ending a monograph on British labor history with a quote from Groucho Marx, but when it is phrased as what Groucho "almost said" (p. 304), begging the question "which film was this almost from?," the result is perplexity rather than perspicacity.

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SIMON SZRETER. *Fertility, Class and Gender in Britain, 1860-1940*. (Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time, number 27.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xix, 704. \$74.95.

It might be said that Simon Szreter has written two books, one that discusses the origins of the 1911 British Census of Fertility and another that uses that census as the starting point to revise the history of British fertility decline. This book, which runs to six hundred pages of text and appendixes, displays a formidable knowledge of both history and quantitative analysis. Szreter effectively challenges the existing orthodoxy about family limitation, but he is less successful at constructing an alternative explanation. Nevertheless, this book does serve as a starting point in a reconsideration of how and why family limitation became the norm in British society in the fifty years after 1870.

Szreter believes that our understanding of the origins of British fertility decline is incorrect and that a major source of this error can be traced back to the 1911 Census of Fertility. Szreter argues that the census and its subsequent interpretation embodied the beliefs of its designers rather than an objective scientific model of fertility. The census emerged from the bureaucratic wrangling between the public health professionals of the General Register Office (GRO) and supporters of a hereditarian view of human nature. It sought to test competing claims about higher birth

rates among the poor by documenting fertility on a national scale. Both sides feared that differential fertility heralded a decline in national efficiency. Ultimately, the GRO won control over the census, and its officials' belief in the primacy of environmental factors in human affairs shaped the structure and presentation of its findings.

The hierarchical models of occupation previously elaborated by the GRO placed middle-class professions near the top of the social hierarchy. The architects of the census believed that fertility also mirrored merit, with family size increasing as social merit decreased. To ensure this result, they manipulated the analysis of the data, creating special categories for working-class occupations that did not fit a socially graded model of fertility. The end product was the professional model of family limitation, which depicted fertility decline as a unitary phenomenon that began among the wealthier and better educated and then spread down the social scale. This belief in diffusion, elaborated most forcefully by T. H. Stevenson, undercut a hereditarian reading of differential fertility. Szreter depicts the emergence of an environmental interpretation of fertility as part of a shift away from the biological determinism represented by eugenics toward a "collectivist" belief in the environmental roots of poverty, which could only be eliminated by state action.

Although one could question the extent to which "collectivism" triumphed prior to 1914, the weight that Szreter gives to the 1911 census proves even more problematic. Szreter argues that the success of the professional model prevented more theoretically complex models from emerging by forcing all studies to explain the "fact" of a socially graded decline in fertility. While the census influenced modern understandings of fertility, by the 1960s, modernization theory and its corollary, demographic transition theory, dominated population studies. Both theories have come under increasing attack from a number of differing perspectives. Szreter's reconstruction of the census adds to our knowledge of the origins of demography but it does not on its own demolish the existing orthodoxy.

In the next two sections of the book, Szreter formulates an alternative model of fertility decline. He reexamines the 1911 census and demonstrates that no simple top-to-bottom decline occurred in early twentieth-century Britain. Low fertility groups came from a number of different occupations and social classes, while higher fertility groups included not only unskilled and agricultural laborers but also workers in heavy industry. Szreter's analysis is a quantitative *tour de force*, but his conclusions are not entirely new. David Levine and others have long argued that the diffusion model is unrealistic and have proposed alternative models. Szreter differs from these historians in two ways. First, unlike most population historians, he argues that abstinence constituted the primary form of birth control for all classes during the initial stages of

fertility decline. Second, he believes that the failure of the professional model invalidates any class-based model of fertility. Szreter argues for multiple fertility declines, distinguishing between the upper and middle classes and what he labels the plebeian classes. He argues, following J. A. Banks, that the former experienced relative economic distress as a result of rising expectations and greater expenditures on children and thus wished to limit family size. For plebeian families, the timing and extent of fertility decline were linked to particular occupational subcultures, which possessed characteristic incomes, patterns of women and children's employment, and gender relations. Szreter distinguishes between male-dominated, high-wage trades such as mining and engineering and less well-paid occupations such as textiles. In the former, a "machismo" culture of gender and family relations helped support higher fertility, while in the latter, men, dependent on women's and children's earnings, exerted less control in family life and gender relations, and also exhibited lower fertility.

This model is intellectually sophisticated and broadens the terms of the debate about fertility decline, but it rests on a number of unsubstantiated assertions. Although most historians would agree with Szreter's model of middle and upper-class fertility, his understanding of plebeian life is less satisfactory. Since his study of the 1911 census focuses on national occupational groups and does not delve into household structure, he relies on secondary works in labor, political, and gender history to flesh out his argument. His occupational subcultures are ideal types produced by extrapolating from national patterns of employment to local and family patterns of work and gender relations. One cannot simply assume that occupations were associated with patterns of family relations; such relationships must be shown to exist within the household. With some exceptions, such as miners and workers in heavy industry in Wales or northern Britain, most workers lived in mixed communities. As a result, employment opportunities for men, women, and children exhibited a range of possibilities, not a uniform pattern based on male occupation. In many communities, iron workers allowed their wives to work, and "lower status" textile workers actually enjoyed high wages and exhibited a "machismo" occupational culture. The forces that shaped family life and gender relations also grew out of neighborhoods and communities and were shared across occupational lines in a variety of areas from street life and the pub to the voluntary association. Szreter oversimplifies this life by reducing it to a reflection of male occupation.

Szreter's model lacks a historical dimension. He does not offer any reason, other than child labor and education statutes, why virtually all social groups began to control their fertility by the late nineteenth century. Szreter's curious insistence on either a professional or occupation model of fertility ignores the possibility of parallel fertility declines shaped by broad patterns of social life within classes. Such a model



would account for a growing awareness of class in the late nineteenth century, a time of economic restructuring. The growth of trade unionism, the emergence of a more class-based political system and, as Gareth Stedman-Jones has argued, the spread of a nationalized working-class culture suggest a core of values and experiences shared by different occupational groups within the working class. One key element in this set of experiences was the pervasive economic insecurity that marked working-class life. This insecurity, which was not shared by the middle class, provided a context for decisions about children and family life. It is not impossible to reconcile a social class model with Szreter's concern for the local differences and variations in fertility; it merely requires an investigation of the specific ways in which individuals and families responded to these larger circumstances. Szreter has accomplished a great deal by demolishing the old model of family limitation so effectively. What remains is for other population historians to follow his lead and revisit this topic at the community level.

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GAIL SAVAGE. *The Social Construction of Expertise: The English Civil Service and Its Influence, 1919-1939*. (Pitt Series in Policy and Institutional Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1996. Pp. ix, 238. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$22.95.

Civil servants are supposed to fulfill their duties to successive governments in a nonpartisan manner. Whether they did so in England in the interwar years is the subject of Gail Savage's carefully researched book. Earlier works on the civil service supported contemporary complaints that it was far from impartial. This criticism, notes Savage, has been incorporated into surveys such as A. J. P. Taylor's *English History, 1914-1945* (1965) and hence tends to be accepted without question. The upper ranks of the civil service consisted almost exclusively of the socially elite, it is said, and this coterie shaped social policy to suit its own class interests. Savage cites the example of the civil service's alleged opposition to social legislation sponsored by the two interwar Labour governments. But are such charges warranted?

Entry into the civil service required passing an examination that was skewed to the unique curricula of those traditional indicators of class, Oxford and Cambridge Universities. Oxbridge graduates thus had a built-in advantage over other applicants. The fact that twenty percent of upper-class boys went on to university, compared with only three percent of the general population, also narrowed intake socially. Did this turn the civil service into an upper-class preserve? Savage traced the educational background of personnel at each of the four ministries responsible for social services (Ministries of Education, Labour, and Health, and the Board of Education) to determine the proportion who had attended elite "public schools" and

various universities. The results were surprising, revealing differences between the staffs of the four ministries and a generally less monolithic picture of privilege than earlier observers assumed. The Board of Education proved to be the most socially cohesive of the bunch, recruiting sixty-four percent of its senior personnel from Oxford and Cambridge (with a preference for the former). Lowest on the list, with thirty-eight percent Oxbridge graduates, was the Ministry of Agriculture. There, men from other universities actually enjoyed the best chance of promotion at certain levels. Savage's statistical approach thus reveals flaws in earlier arguments and shows the need for more judicious statements in future about the role of class during the interwar period. Revisionism can only go so far, however. Although the upper crust may not have completely monopolized the civil service, the figures show that it still tended to dominate, especially at the very top.

Assessing the degree of influence those men exerted over the fate of legislation was less easy. In separate chapters on each of the four social service ministries, Savage summarizes civil servants' discussions of major issues and weighs the impact of recommendations. Again, the pattern that emerges is more complex than previously thought. Sometimes the civil service was successful in opposing proposed new legislation, sometimes it failed. Despite contemporary cries of foul play from Labour Party spokesmen, political slant was generally not a factor: the civil servants opposed Conservative as well as Labour proposals. Since these were the Depression years, Savage points out, bureaucrats usually had to accept Treasury restrictions on spending, which formed the main impediment to the expansion of social services. Yet the Ministry of Labour successfully interceded for the continuation of funding for the Unemployment Grants Committee. In another example of apparent disregard for their own alleged class interests, civil servants at the Ministry of Labour also tried to protect trade unions from punitive legislation following the General Strike. Agreement on principles with the cabinet minister responsible for the ministry brought the greatest likelihood that civil servants would see their recommendations implemented. This was most marked at the Ministry of Health under Neville Chamberlain. Reasons other than class bonds account for this communality, however, and Chamberlain did not always see eye to eye with senior personnel when he headed the Ministry of Labour.

In her conclusion, Savage could have been a little bolder in assessing the actual degree of power exerted by the interwar civil service over social policy. Did officials generally overstep the mark or not? Readers are pretty well left to make up their own minds from a summary of pros and cons. Also, because the chapters on the individual ministries follow the same format each time and include a reprise of educational statistics, that section of the book tends to sound irritatingly repetitious, even though it introduces new material.



These, however, are minor faults in an otherwise well-crafted book that succeeds in its intentions of challenging entrenched dogma and of opening up the history of the civil service to fresh interpretation.

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VICTOR FESKE. *From Belloc to Churchill: Private Scholars, Public Culture, and the Crisis of British Liberalism, 1900–1939*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 304. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

In this straightforward, elegantly written, and handsomely produced study, Victor Feske explores the interplay between political culture and historical scholarship in early twentieth-century England. By a skillful use of juxtaposition and contrast, Feske examines the responses of seven historians—Hilaire Belloc, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, J. L. and Barbara Hammond, G. M. Trevelyan, and Winston Churchill—to the crisis of political liberalism. Both the style and substance of the histories they wrote reflected and reinforced their political choices in an era of international instability and domestic turbulence.

Feske places these historians within the tradition of “Whig history,” which he defines as not only “the story of the gradual accumulation of liberty and freedom via the instruments of parliament and the English constitution” (p. 2) but also a tradition of political engagement, founded on the belief that the purpose of writing about the past is to influence the present, to “make a difference in the national consciousness” (p. 14). By the Edwardian period, this tradition faced crucial challenges. The political liberalism to which it was linked was eroding under the impact of heightened class conflict, concerns for national efficiency, and a growing fascination with violence. At the same time, the professionalization of history writing, particularly the adoption of a research ideal with a more specialized vocabulary, meant the “forfeiture of the cultural authority which Victorian amateurs had taken for granted” (p. 7).

Each of Feske’s historians sought in some way to regain the cultural authority threatened by historical scholarship’s retreat into the academy. All but the Webbs retained a “literary” style aimed at reaching a wide audience and therefore at shaping public opinion and political policy. As a result, historians like Belloc and the Hammonds struggled throughout their careers for intellectual legitimacy, while Trevelyan finally concluded that only a university position could guarantee him academic respectability. Churchill, as always, took his own path: he remained committed to a truly popular style of writing but achieved a surprising degree of professional acclaim by consciously courting professional academics.

In contrast to these five historians, the Webbs jettisoned the literary narrative of the Whig tradition for the much less readable, experts-only, numbers-oriented prose of the professional historian. They did

so, however, not because they sought to retreat into academic isolation but because they believed that only a scientific style possessed political and cultural authority in the new technocratic age.

As Feske shows, it was the Webbs’ willingness to throw political liberalism overboard that enabled them to cast themselves free of the task of reaching a popular audience. For the Webbs, liberalism proved itself an amateurish and unscientific structure unable to withstand the stresses of the modern age. Not surprisingly, then, they rejected the Whig story of gradual moral progress that served as the historical underpinnings of political liberalism and argued for radical political change.

The misogynistic, medieval-minded Hilaire Belloc may seem an unlikely Webbian fellow-traveller, but Feske shows that he, too, abandoned both the Whig narrative and its liberal politics. But Belloc did not adopt the Webbs’ elitist approach. Instead, he retained the popular-oriented, literary style of Whig history in order to attack its basic narrative of gradual progress. As Feske very clearly shows, Belloc’s anti-Whiggish vision of the past was inextricably linked to his disillusionment with the Liberal Party and liberalism itself.

Unlike Belloc and the Webbs, both the Hammonds and Trevelyan remained tied to liberal hopes and obligations, and, as a result, both expanded rather than abandoned the Whig narrative in an effort to revitalize the political center. The Hammonds added social and economic dimensions to the previously politics-centered Whig account, while Trevelyan removed Whig history from its partisan base and reformulated it as a story of national consensus. These expanded narratives, however, continued to champion such liberal standards as “individual freedom, a free market economy, and parliamentary governance” (p. 130), and, most importantly, the ethical core that all three historians perceived at the heart of liberal politics.

Churchill, too, adapted the Whig narrative to suit twentieth-century political needs. Feske shows that Churchill wielded popular history as a weapon in his fight to maintain British greatness. Thus, he broadened Whig history to embrace the use of force and the expansion of imperial power in its tale of the evolutionary progress of the nation. In Churchill’s hands, this history became a powerful tool with which to construct a defense against the rise of anti-liberal regimes in Europe.

Despite a too-hasty conclusion, Feske has written a thought-provoking account that will aid students and scholars in negotiating their way through the quagmire of early twentieth-century British political and intellectual culture.

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DAVID BAKER. *Ideology of Obsession: A. K. Chesterton and British Fascism*. New York: I. B. Tauris. 1996. Pp. xiii, 250. \$55.00.

Reading the preface of this biography, one has the sense that A. K. Chesterton somehow lived the wrong life, that this reasonable, intelligent, and charming drama critic somehow took a wrong turn when he joined Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists (BUF) in 1933. By the end of the book, there is less a sense of a life wrongly lived and more a sense of a Shakespearean tragedy: a well-meaning patriot impelled toward fascism by the unfortunate combination of his own background and the unstable nature of interwar British society. The transition from wrong life to tragic life makes for an interesting, if not entirely convincing, story.

One of David Baker's aims in writing was to rescue fascism from the political margins where it has for so long rested as the creed of authoritarian personalities, "social inadequates, threatened petits bourgeois, and cynical opportunists" (p. 4). This attempt to contextualize, even normalize fascism is laudable, for only by understanding the very real attractions of fascism, particularly to ordinary people, can one hope to combat it as a mass movement. Chesterton, a "relatively 'normal' person of some talent" (p. 211), appears as an ideal subject for this study.

As befits a biographer, Baker begins with Chesterton's South African childhood, explaining how the learned cultural norms of racism and white superiority left Chesterton with a legacy of distaste for democracy. As for so many of his generation, however, it was World War I that proved to be Chesterton's defining experience. He survived the war determined to honor his fallen comrades by living in a Britain worthy of their sacrifices. Faced instead with "the small-minded reality of post-war England . . . more interested in returning to the comfortable ways of the pre-war world than in any moral crusade on behalf of national regeneration" (p. 53), he became frustrated and angry. His frustration grew over the course of the 1920s when, developing a career as a drama critic, he transferred his idealized literary values to an analysis of political questions (p. 92). In cultural despair at the apparent decline of England, he searched for a political philosophy that would place the needs of the nation above the wants of interest groups. It was in this state of mind that he was introduced to fascism and to the BUF in particular. Quickly moving from convert to advocate, Chesterton assumed responsibility for propaganda and became editor of the party newspaper. In fascism, he found a movement that appeared likely to regenerate England by calling for unselfish idealism, collective sacrifice, and self-transcendence. Baker explains Chesterton's fascism by reference to his South African childhood, his colonial outsider status in England, his searing war service, his massive disillusionment in the years after, and his literary preoccupations. According to Baker, this combination of personal experiences, when faced with a postwar England of unemployment, economic uncertainty, imperial decline, and apparent decadence, practically impelled Chesterton toward fascism. The forced relationship between experience and

circumstances does not quite fit, however. Baker does such a good job of showing the logic and rationality behind Chesterton's fascism that it begins to appear as an inexorable, inevitable slide, as though Chesterton were the prisoner of his background, forced to adopt fascism as the only logical choice for a colonial outsider/veteran living in the particular historical circumstances of postwar Britain. If Baker has not excused Chesterton's choices, it appears as though he has excused Chesterton. This is a particularly interesting presentation since, as Baker informs us, Chesterton believed strongly both in taking responsibility for one's actions and in the duty of mankind to perfect the temporal world.

Other questions of interpretation arise. First, Baker is not convincing in his argument that Chesterton's anti-Semitism, being cultural and not biological, was not as bad either as it sounded or as it could have been, particularly in light of the fact that Chesterton continued to hold his views even after the Holocaust. Second, Baker underplays Chesterton's giving of respectability to a new generation of British fascists and his biological racism with regard to blacks in Britain in the years after 1945. Third, Baker tells Chesterton's story largely through the words of Chesterton or his wife and seems too often to accept Chesterton's version of events. Overall, Baker achieves his objective of demonstrating how an extreme political ideology could appeal to an apparently normal drama critic such as Chesterton. He does so, however, less by bringing fascism into the mainstream and more by particularizing Chesterton, placing him—with his South African childhood, colonial outsider status, war service, and idealized vision of England—far away from the average veteran or ordinary postwar citizen.

KATHLEEN PAUL  
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SCOTT NEWTON. *Profits of Peace: The Political Economy of Anglo-German Appeasement*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. 217. \$55.00.

Despite the vast literature that has appeared in the thirty years since official and private papers began to be opened to historians provoked to reconsider previous orthodoxies by A. J. P. Taylor's *Origins of the Second World War* (1961), British policy toward Germany in the 1930s continues to compel research. Scott Newton's explanation of appeasement, although not entirely novel, is a very important addition to this literature.

Newton argues that British policy between the wars was controlled by a Liberal-Conservative fusion determined to preserve Britain's social structure and international position, supported by "an expanding middle class whose wealth was based on personal savings and on the growth of the tertiary sector." Committed to "free enterprise and the limited state against the internal threat of socialism and the external menace of

Bolshevism," the elite in government and the City strove for "a liberal international trade and payments system in which sterling would be the leading reserve currency" (p. 4).

The key to European stability and prosperity, both essential to the security of Britain and its worldwide interests, was the industrial powerhouse of Germany, to which Britain was economically more closely linked in the 1920s than ever before. When the Nazi government threatened British exports by extending autarkic control over Central Europe and raised fears that it would repudiate foreign loans, appeasement was a natural British response. There was, in any event, no chance of support for resistance from the United States; the conservative government wanted no entanglement with Russia; and it was generally agreed that extensive rearmament would further weaken the fragile British economy. Actual war with Germany would be disastrous, drastically reducing Britain's position in the world, jeopardizing the empire, increasing the demand for socialism at home, and opening the way to communism in Central and even Western Europe. As long as the extension of German domination was reasonable, peaceful, and economically not entirely exclusive, the British government accepted it as generally beneficial, as it did most dramatically at Munich.

Thus briefly stated, Newton's case is not unfamiliar. Something similar may be found in P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins's *British Imperialism* (1993), which Newton acknowledges, and in the works of John Charmley, which, curiously, he does not (although he profoundly disagrees that Britain should have accepted German terms in 1939–1940 to prevent or end the war). But this is the first time that the economic argument has been systematically worked out through close study of the archives of the Treasury, Board of Trade, Bank of England, and Federation of British Industries as well as the more familiar Foreign Office and Prime Minister's records and the private papers of Neville Chamberlain and Anthony Eden. Newton demonstrates more familiarity with finance and commerce than most political and diplomatic historians possess, but he commendably eschews technical language to present his evidence in a clear style.

Another major contribution is the book's illumination of the murky negotiations with Germany that continued after Munich, after the outbreak of war and even after Winston Churchill became prime minister in May 1940. Chamberlain, once convinced that Hitler could not be trusted, was adamantly opposed to terms and may have maneuvered Churchill into his place; but Lord Halifax and R. A. Butler continued their efforts behind the new prime minister's back, convinced that Churchill's insistence on continuing the war was suicidal. Only the German invasion of Russia in 1941 ended this intrigue and made Churchill secure. The appeasers were not wrong in predicting the effects of war, but Newton robustly insists that the country was nevertheless right to fight Nazism, whose defeat secured the possibility of a better future.

As usual with analytic monographs, Newton's argument tends towards a monocausal explanation. But it is not necessary to accept his view entirely or as sufficient in itself to say that his book will undoubtedly stimulate further research into British and German economic relations and their implications in the interwar years, that his perspective must be taken into account, and that it will add an important dimension to more general works on appeasement.

NEVILLE THOMPSON

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ANN LANE. *Britain, the Cold War and Yugoslav Unity, 1941–1949*. Brighton, U.K.: Sussex Academic; distributed by ISBS, Portland, Ore. 1996. Pp. xii, 220. \$59.95.

Ann Lane has written an important book. For strategic reasons, the Balkan peninsula has been an area of consequence for British foreign policy-makers since the Ottoman Empire in Europe began its slow disintegration in the 1820s. Although other powers such as France, Germany, and Italy took the lead in seeking to influence Balkan affairs in their favor in the interwar period, the advent of World War II and the fall of France reasserted the importance of the Balkan balance of power for Britain. Lane's study analyzes the key position that Yugoslavia held for London, especially the Foreign Office, from just before the German occupation of Belgrade in 1941 until just after Marshal Josip Broz Tito broke with Soviet Russia in 1948. The book thus focuses on the Anglo-Yugoslav relationship during World War II and the early Cold War. Given the increasing military and diplomatic strength of Soviet Russia and its interest in southeastern Europe in the latter period, the impact of the Anglo-Yugoslav relationship on Soviet Russian relations with Britain and its American ally became a diplomatic issue of the first rank.

Not unnaturally, Lane's analysis divides into two parts: the evolution of British policy toward Yugoslavia during World War II and during the first years of the Cold War. In one sense, these are two different stories. The first encompasses the way that the British Foreign Office, through its Secret Intelligence Service, succeeded in establishing a working relationship with the partisan Tito and his apparently communist guerrilla movement; it did so after bureaucratic wrangling with the War Office that controlled the Special Operations Executive, a group also active in Yugoslavia that wanted Britain to work with a competing anticommunist insurgent movement, the Četniks, led by General Draža Mihailović. In Foreign Office eyes, Mihailović was less than zealous in opposing the Wehrmacht and even sometimes collaborated with the Germans to ensure his trump cards for what was certain to be a postwar power struggle with Tito. The second story outlines the Foreign Office's efforts after 1945 to find a *modus vivendi* with Tito, who had achieved absolute power in Yugoslavia and had brutally eliminated his

internal opponents, including Mihailović. This task was made difficult by the fact that Britain and Yugoslavia supported different sides in the Greek civil war and by what seemed to be a growing warmth in Yugoslav-Soviet relations. But when Tito broke with Joseph Stalin over Tito's desire to ensure Belgrade's independence of action, the British were able to achieve that *modus vivendi* by supporting Yugoslav neutrality.

Despite this dichotomy, Lane shows that British policy both before and after 1945 was unified by Tito's desire to create a unified state out of diverse peoples, religions, and cultures. London chose to work with Tito against the Germans during the war and, afterward, to find a means that would allow the British to work with a stable Yugoslavia. This was fundamentally critical to the development of British Cold War strategy in a region of Europe that had traditionally lacked stability. During World War II, the British, not the Russians, had assisted Tito in defeating the Germans—and, incidentally, his rivals. In wartime Anglo-Russian bargains about postwar spheres of influence, like the 1944 "percentages" agreement, this gave the British the sense that they could ensure their dominance in the Mediterranean. But after the war, London initially had to deal with a Tito who wanted independence from Moscow as much as he did from Britain and the United States. British resolve to work with Tito ultimately benefited the Western Allies. This is the nub of Lane's study: despite setbacks in their efforts to preserve their interests in Yugoslavia during the seven years after 1941, British perseverance paid dividends after 1948. Independent and neutral Yugoslavia, which London helped to acquire economic and financial aid, helped to stabilize the Balkans at a critical moment in the Cold War. Italy was made more easily defensible; Greece, where the Western-backed royalists won the civil war, was more secure; and the Yugoslav armed forces were effectively neutralized. By 1949, the British strategic position in the Balkans was more secure than it had been for perhaps a century; British policy toward Yugoslavia had proved to be far more successful than the Foreign Office thought possible during the crisis of World War II.

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ALAN S. MILWARD and GEORGE BRENNAN, *Britain's Place in the World: A Historical Enquiry into Import Controls, 1945–60*. (Routledge Explorations in Economic History, number 4.) New York: Routledge, 1996. Pp. xvi, 320. \$79.95.

Until recently, the story of early postwar British economic policy was largely told in terms of the triumph of Keynesian demand management and the (eventual) victory of liberal trading principles. This account was combined with a refrain suggesting that the resulting regime blocked any significant attempts at state-led modernization, with highly damaging consequences for

Britain's long-run economic performance. This story is now starting to break down, as detailed archival work goes beneath the "grand narratives" of policy rhetoric to excavate the nitty-gritty of debate, compromise, and maneuver that, as always, made up the policy-making process.

Alan S. Milward and George Brennan contribute a major element to the revised story. They analyze in great detail the pattern of import controls in Britain and connect this pattern to a range of policy objectives. In the public rhetoric of British economic diplomacy, these controls were presented as in principle undesirable but necessary "for the time being" in order to protect the balance of payments. The process of reduction in the scope of controls was represented as Britain pursuing the goal of trade liberalization at a pace determined by the fragility of its trading position. But beneath this rhetoric, the authors argue, lay a variety of often conflicting aims. Since the Great Depression at the end of the 1920s, Britain had used trade controls to protect domestic agriculture and staple industries, and many of these appeared just as vulnerable to competition in the postwar years. The impetus not to allow their rapid contraction was reinforced by the new sensitivity to regional unemployment, which was especially prevalent in precisely those areas of Britain where the staples were important.

However, import controls were not just used to bolster the old and declining sectors of the economy. They were also used to support infant industries in the technologically advanced cases of petrochemicals and pharmaceuticals; protection of this kind bequeathed viable industries that prospered in the years after controls had ended. Quotas were used to encourage the inflow of foreign, especially American, investment into high unemployment regions, with favorable effects on those areas. Protection was also given to industries deemed strategically significant. The definition of such industries was commonly stretched a long way, but nevertheless, the understandably prevalent idea into the 1950s was that both world wars had demonstrated the importance of domestic capacity in war-related industries, and that such capacity needed nurturing against future contingencies. This perspective was reinforced by the powerful political influence of Britain's technologically oriented armed forces and the Labour government's enthusiasm for planned enhancement of Britain's industrial capacities. Finally, import quotas were used to protect the domestic markets of producers in industries such as cars as part of a bargain with the producers, who were being forced by the government to export a large proportion of their output.

This book is based on intensive archival research. Much effort has gone into detailing the policy process. There are also careful estimates of the effects of quotas, which, Milward and Brennan argue, were greater than usually suggested. But this is not just an exercise in telling a complicated story where previously vague generalizations had dominated. The specifics of



quotas are linked to a bigger argument about Britain pursuing trade liberalization as part of a grand strategy simultaneously to curry favor with the United States and to hinder the formation of a West European trading bloc. Neither aim was achieved, and the authors argue that the use of trade controls to those ends was mistaken. In following this strategy, the importance of quotas for the viability of the balance of payments was underestimated, so that Britain's global goals outstretched her economic resources.

Although the complexity of its argument does not make this an easy book to read, it amounts to a major reassessment of the character of postwar British economic policy. The emphasis on Britain's "great power" pretensions of these years is not original, but the book brings out a whole new set of ways in which the global diplomatic stance interacted with domestic policy concerns. It characterizes trade policy as moving, via import control policies, from the tariff-dominated regime of the interwar years to the company-regulated system of today. This cuts across the idea of a shift from controlled to "free" trade, which is often suggested as the overarching pattern of these years. Finally, it suggests that we need to take much more seriously the postwar British search for instruments to improve industrial capacity and performance, a search too often dismissed as empty posturing.

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MAURA CRONIN. *Country, Class or Craft? The Politicisation of the Skilled Artisan in Nineteenth-Century Cork*. Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 294. £22.50.

This book by Maura Cronin is about worker identity in a classic Victorian Irish city. It examines how artisans in Cork came to see themselves in relation to nation, class, craft, and city. Importantly, the study doubts the existence of a cohesive Irish working-class consciousness and argues that the elite of Cork's workers developed a multilayered sense of identity growing out of loyalty to nation, craft, workshop, class, and city. Working in a rich mine of sources and building on (and going beyond) earlier works on Cork by Seán Daly (*Cork, A City in Crisis* [1980]) and Andy Bielenberg (*Cork's Industrial Revolution, 1780-1880* [1991]), the author draws a well-argued, well-written, and exciting picture. My only regret is that the nationalist interests of Cronin's subjects are not compared to those of the city's Protestant (and unionist) artisans.

Cronin argues that artisan politicization began in the 1830s and emerged out of a multiplicity of interests: protection of craft, loyalty to the nationalist cause (meaning, for most, repeal of the Union with Great Britain), consciousness of class, and city-bound material interests. This mixed identity began in the 1830s, as economic distress was linked to enthusiasm for nationalistic politics, and grew through to the 1890s, when the Cork unions became powerful forces in city politics

and local politicians began to pander to the city's workers. But worker politicians came exclusively from the crafts unions, not from the "laborers." In the end, Cork artisans were narrow, craft-bound, and progressively more tied to Irish nationalism. Indeed, although something like seventy percent of Cork craftsmen were unionized by the 1890s, independent labor power in local elections was still very limited (only nine of fifty-six seats), because most workers were more interested in voting Nationalist or Parnellite.

Cork artisans were not radical. Although "working-class" rhetoric was widely (and increasingly) used in the course of the century, the bark of class interests was much worse than the bite. Artisan "class identity" was truly an intense and narrow localism that, in part, grew out of both pride in craftsmanship and fear of changing economic conditions that threatened to erode the craft by bringing more and more of the unskilled (including women) into the labor market. Class consciousness became an increasingly minor part of the artisan's world view.

On this same front, Cronin shows that the failure of political radicalism, such as Chartism, in Cork was due to opposition on the part of Daniel O'Connell and the Catholic Church, to the "all consuming force of nationalism" (p. 184), and most of all (and in spite of the arguments of Patrick Joyce) to the small workshop structure of Cork's economy, which led to mutual dependence between master and workers.

Not surprisingly then, as the century wore on, the artisan's collective identity (e.g. the Cork United Trades) declined and gave way to mainstream popular nationalism (not the least of which was the republican underground), although even nationalistic rhetoric was often simply used as a rallying point for economic grievances: "Considerations of nationalism outweighed economics only when a trade's immediate interests were not at stake" (p. 244). It was a complex identity, but jobs came first.

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VIRGINIA CROSSMAN. *Politics, Law and Order in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*. New York: St. Martin's. 1996. Pp. 290. \$49.95.

After several years of history from below, historians studying nineteenth-century Ireland are once again focusing on the decision makers in Dublin and Westminster. Virginia Crossman's book examines the policies of British officials who attempted to maintain law and order in Ireland during the years of the Union. She argues persuasively that "public confidence in the law became a measure of public confidence in British rule" (p. 1).

From the early nineteenth-century campaign for Catholic Emancipation through the famine years and the land war, British politicians had to concern themselves not only with keeping Ireland pacified but also with convincing opposing factions that the law was just.



Using the papers of chief secretaries, lord lieutenants, and other high-level officials, Crossman deftly illustrates their frustration in trying to balance the many opposing elements in Irish society. Her major theme is the conflict between the centralizing forces of modern government and the older traditions of local autonomy.

Ironically, as the century progressed, both landlords and tenants continued to resent and distrust the central government almost as much as they resented and distrusted each other. The Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC), the deployment of military forces, and the existence and powers of stipendiary magistrates all became sources of controversy. The RIC was a centralized force governed from Dublin Castle that undermined the tradition of community policing. The deployment of troops was a source of conflict because local landlords were always eager to call on the military for assistance, while both the central government and military leaders dreaded the confusion of duties involved. The stipendiary resident magistrates (RMs) were particularly objectionable. By going over the heads of the local justices of the peace, British governments alienated the landlords. At the same time, the extraordinary coercive powers often given to the RMs infuriated the populace. Crossman argues that Whig/Liberal administrations never understood how crucial local autonomy was to all levels of Irish society.

This is a careful institutional study written by a specialist for other specialists. Crossman assumes that her readers are thoroughly familiar with nineteenth-century Ireland and its historiography. The book covers the entire nineteenth century but is narrowly focused. Crossman largely ignores the ideological issues that arguably made Ireland a distinct problem. She also focuses exclusively on Irish policy, thus ignoring the clashes between central and local governments experienced in the other nations of Great Britain during the same period.

Crossman has done a great deal of primary research and has produced a useful volume with a remarkably clear explanation of the various coercion acts and the judicial and constabulary procedures used during the century. She shies away from any issues beyond the purely procedural, however, even implying in her epilogue that had the British taken a more structured and consistent approach to law and order, Ireland might have remained part of Great Britain. A great deal of Irish history has been far too much romance and too little reality; this book certainly cannot be faulted on that score.

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TOM GARVIN. *1922: The Birth of Irish Democracy*. New York: St. Martin's. 1996. Pp. xii. 240. \$45.00.

Tom Garvin has written a short, lively, and informative study of the government in Ireland that was established in 1922 under the terms of the Anglo-Irish treaty of the previous year. The Irish Free State assumed control of eighty-two percent of the land area and about two-thirds of the population of the island; the alignment of the remaining part was to be determined later. The status of the new state was that of a commonwealth within the British system, with additional limitations concerning defense arrangements and a contentious oath of allegiance. The members of the fledgling government had to confront the determined and violent opposition of their former comrades in the Sinn Féin movement, who held that the Free Staters had wantonly retreated from the revolutionary republic the party had established in 1919.

The book does not have a central narrative but, rather, is a series of articles, some of which have appeared in journals. Drawing on a variety of recently available records, Garvin provides a succinct examination of the formation of an unarmed police force, the reorganization of the court system, and reform of the local government administration. He heaps credit on the Free State ministers who directed this work but says almost nothing about a complete administration system inherited from the British. With 12,000 civil servants on hand, the reshaping of the system was hardly a spectacular achievement.

Garvin gives little attention to the election of 1918, which resulted in a decision for national independence, and to the government of Dáil Éireann, which was formed to represent that commitment. If 1922 was the year that Ireland achieved democracy, it should be recalled that Sinn Féin, after 1918, had spent almost four years extolling the virtues of the democratic process. Furthermore, many Irish people had considerable experience in voting and representative government, particularly at the local level.

Most of the book is devoted to the rivalry, hostility, and hatred between those who supported the 1921 agreement and those who opposed it, with Garvin clearly on the side of those who accepted it. This partisanship detracts from the insight and analysis that Garvin so abundantly provides. A sense of grievance threads its way through parts of the book: the work of the Free State government has not been appreciated, largely due to the successful propaganda of its opponents, who are regularly denigrated by Garvin. The Free Staters were as pure as the driven snow, while the republicans and their lackeys were irresponsible, spiteful, incompetent, and unrealistic (and some of them were worse than that!). The use of quotations from the Dublin daily press does not strengthen his argument, as these newspapers were uniformly supportive of the Free State and the government headed by William T. Cosgrave.

Garvin is very good in examining the difficulty in bringing under control what he calls the "public band": the men of arms and their many supporters. In the last chapter, he compares Ireland's democratic achieve-

ment with that of the other new nations formed in the aftermath of the first European war of this century.

This book is not from the cool, aloof school of political science but, rather, from the engaged, combative branch.

ARTHUR MITCHELL  
University of South Carolina

JAMES B. WOOD. *The King's Army: Warfare, Soldiers, and Society during the Wars of Religion in France, 1562–1576*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 349. \$69.95.

Fifty years ago, Major-General J. F. C. Fuller remarked, in *Armament and History* (1946): "Militarily, little is to be learnt from the French Wars of Religion (1562–1576). And not much either from the Revolt of the Netherlands (1568–1607)." Twenty-five years later, Geoffrey Parker quoted the remark in the foreword to *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567–1659* (1972), a work that splendidly gave the Major-General the lie in the case of the Dutch Revolt. But in the case of later sixteenth-century France, modern scholars have provided relatively little with which to challenge Fuller's opinion. Indeed, apart from studies of a few particular aspects or episodes, the recent historiography of the period might almost be described as one of wars without serious investigation of the military capability of the protagonists on either side.

Thanks to James B. Wood, such a description can no longer be applied to the forces of the crown in the years from the commencement of open warfare in March 1562 to the Peace of Beaulieu in May 1576. Having trawled through a range of hitherto little-used manuscript materials in the Bibliothèque Nationale and elsewhere, Wood emerges with a persuasive thesis. In place of the haphazard and small-scale character usually ascribed to these wars, he argues that, once armed conflict erupted, the French monarchy strove deliberately and systematically for victory and was frustrated less by its own uncertainty or ineptitude than by "a deep and intractable set of military problems" (p. 4). These included problems with the composition and balance of troops for strategic purposes, problems of logistics in a kingdom the size of France, and above all problems of resources. Such problems defeated aims that, in broad terms, the crown identified clearly enough: "to put together a powerful enough army not only to defend the territory it held and reconquer what it had lost, but also to defeat the Protestant army in the field" (p. 58).

In pursuit of its aims, the crown mustered forces in extraordinarily large numbers by the standards of the age: 72,000 in the second civil war, 67,000 in the third. Substantial contingents of foreign mercenaries proved indispensable, despite their often inferior quality. Native infantry were in relatively short supply, and what the crown persisted in regarding as its "principal arm," the noble-dominated *gendarmerie* (heavy cavalry),

could be risked in action only with circumspection, especially in view of the losses suffered at Dreux in 1562. Mustering was a laborious business: in peacetime, army units, much reduced in strength, were stationed in frontier garrisons and elsewhere, too scattered for ready concentration for operational purposes in conjunction with fresh recruits. Logistical factors also conditioned the crown's critical advantage in artillery over its opponents. Derived chiefly from royal control of the Paris arsenal, this asset dwindled with the diminution of supplies in quantity and quality as the wars wore on and their main theater shifted south of the Loire. The diminution was indicative not simply of the rate at which the army consumed munitions, but of the crown's financial exhaustion. The cost of internal warfare on so large a scale was unsustainable. By January 1568, it was running at a monthly level that implied annual expenditure greatly in excess of total royal revenues. Thus, "financial problems dictated military policy" (p. 285), bringing operations time and again to a close well before strategic objectives could be achieved.

Wood supports his thesis with a fine array of diagrams, maps, graphs, and tables. Even so, the quantitative basis of his analysis provokes some questions. The information and comment provided in an appendix on "Sources for the composition and strength of the army" (pp. 315–20) stop short of sustained critical evaluation and are unlikely to satisfy readers acquainted with the deficiencies of contemporary inventories (*états*) compiled by interested parties. Elsewhere, Wood concedes that although "the numbers of companies identified are reasonably accurate," there is "more room for error in the estimates of numbers of effectives" (p. 63, n. 50). Given the importance of those numbers for his thesis, the concession is by no means negligible. Yet the strength of the book is far from dependent on statistical materials alone. The human dimension of these wars is brilliantly evoked, from the visual and audial impact of marching troops to the significance of wounds sustained by *hommes d'assault*. This book is a major contribution to knowledge, not only of the French civil wars but also of the character of the "military community" in early modern Europe.

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JEAN-MARIE CONSTANT. *La Ligue*. Paris: Fayard. 1996. Pp. 520.

The Catholic League of the 1580s and 1590s holds a special place in recent French historical writing, for it was probably the closest that France came to revolution before 1789. The leaguers invented the barricade as a political technique; they called for regular meetings of the Estates General, with full legislative powers; some suggested that hereditary nobility be replaced by titles based on personal merit. These radical ideas emerged within a movement of extreme Cathol-

icism, most of whose members feared Protestantism and believed that Christ would soon return to earth for the final judgement. More than most other radical movements of the period, the league has required historians to think about how early modern Europeans fitted innovation and tradition within a single mindset.

Jean-Marie Constant's book offers a clear, learned, and fair-minded assessment of their answers to these questions, and in some areas it offers his own novel answers as well. Constant starts with a careful account of what happened during the league, a detailed and solidly based narrative history that both specialists and other readers will find useful, especially so in that he gives close attention to provincial developments as well as to those in Paris. There are occasional bumps along this narrative road: a peculiar brevity, for instance, about the Day of the Barricades, mentioned but apparently too well known to require retelling. But overall the narrative is detailed and lively.

Constant offers extended reflections on the interpretations that historians have used to make sense of the leaguers. Three currents of interpretation receive particular attention. Constant stresses the importance of the eschatological strain in popular leaguer thinking (as analyzed by Denis Crouzet), the fact that for many leaguers the last judgement was an imminent reality. He also gives full weight to the intense municipal patriotism analyzed by Robert Descimon; the league affirmed the rights of cities against the encroachments (fiscal, legal, and even social) of the absolutist state. Finally, Constant explores the social conflicts beneath the league's religious surface, a theme first sounded by Henri Drouot in the 1930s and taken up in the following decades by Roland Mousnier, John Salmon, and Elie Barnavi. Here Constant has persuasive reservations. He agrees that social conflicts helped shape what happened during the league, but he urges caution in interpreting its events as manifestations of underlying tensions. Like other recent students of the period, he urges that we take seriously the leaguers' own statements about what they were doing. This was a serious religious and political movement; it should not be reduced to an expression of subterranean social resentments.

Constant's most original analyses concern the role of the nobility in the league, appropriately, in that his previous works have established him as the leading specialist on the sixteenth-century French nobility. He has carefully quantified the nobles' stances after 1588, with surprising results. Despite the prominence of several great nobles in the league, most nobles were either royalists or neutral. Quantification here demonstrates the importance of ideological division, for most nobles could not be comfortable with a movement that placed religion above the state and urban freedom above monarchical tradition. Constant's insights into the nobility's situation lead him also to illuminating explorations of the league's military history. He shows this to have been crucial, with military successes allowing league ideologies to flourish, and he notes the

intriguing contrast with the France of the 1790s: if the league's bourgeois revolutionaries failed, this reflected partly their inability to imagine a military organization that would free them from the nobles' tutelage. The nobles' military contributions came at a high price, forcing ideological compromises, weakening popular initiatives, ultimately leaving the leaguers dependent on a social order that they sought to change.

Such comparisons encourage Constant to reflect on larger contrasts between sixteenth and eighteenth-century mentalities, but these form the least satisfying of his analyses. He adopts wholeheartedly Lucien Febvre's notion that an age has only a limited set of imaginable possibilities. Lacking the conceptual resources of Cartesian science and Enlightenment political thought, so runs the argument, the leaguers could not have achieved a breakthrough to republican government. This seems inadequate, given what Constant shows us of the complexity of league thought, and given the similarities that he notes between league aims and the revolutionary achievements of the sixteenth-century Netherlands and seventeenth-century England. This book seems in fact to demonstrate the vast array of "mental tools" that sixteenth-century men and women already had for thinking about politics. One may also complain that Constant is rather inattentive to recent American scholarship on the period; for example, he makes no mention of Barbara Diefendorf's work. This said, his study remains an impressive success, a detailed narrative of events that is also a judicious survey of recent interpretive positions.

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HENRI-JEAN MARTIN. *The French Book: Religion, Absolutism, and Readership, 1585–1715*. Translated by PAUL SAENGER and NADINE SAENGER. (The Johns Hopkins Symposia in Comparative History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 117.

These compact and informative essays by Henri-Jean Martin, aimed at a general audience, summarize a large body of research on the early history of printing and the book trade. Based on a series of public lectures given at Johns Hopkins University, the translated text by Paul and Nadine Saenger nicely renders Martin's voice into fast-paced, readable English. The result is a well-designed book whose format and extensive illustrations impart many of the distinct flavors of an early modern volume.

Thematically, Martin emphasizes both the classic historical questions about the impact of printing on early modern culture and more technical issues concerning what historians have learned so far about the production and distribution of books as material objects. Martin is particularly informative on the business realities of early book publishing and frank about the genesis and underwriting of large parts of that trade by the forces of ideological warfare and state propaganda.

The advent of censorship by the Catholic Church and French Monarchy is treated with concision and detail. Martin informs us, for example, that it was on the "fourth of May 1515" that "the pope decided to apply . . . to all of Christendom" the system of requiring printers to obtain prepublication permission for books (p. 12). This reaction was set in motion by the first appearance of a Bible in Low German, brought out by a consortium of printers in Cologne (before Martin Luther appeared on the scene).

Martin's treatment of "Absolutism and Classicism" is also rich in detail, much of it supplied by his own career-long, painstaking work in libraries and archives but also bolstered by a formidable review of the literature. Extensive endnotes will lead interested readers to the specialized literature. For a generation of French historians, Martin has been a spiritual leader and effective supporter of an archive-based history of the book. The resulting work has brought a whole new level of precision to what we know about the numbers and kinds of books emanating from the great printing centers of Europe. The approach has also uncovered precious information of the sort gleaned from the account books of Jean II Nicolas, a dealer in Grenoble, who kept a daily journal of books bought and sold at his shop (often noting titles, prices, and clients) from 1645 to 1668. As for "absolutism" and "classicism" *per se*, Martin's overview is rather too compressed, but his description of the mechanisms whereby high culture was promoted, information controlled, and publication subsidized by the forces of cultural and political unity in France should be a useful foundation for historical and cross-cultural comparisons.

The history of readers and reading poses some thorny issues. As Martin points out, there is much yet to be learned about how people *actually used* their books. Finally, the chapter on "text and image" contains intriguing discussion and illustrations. This material might unexpectedly fascinate readers with post-modern perspectives on knowledge and representation, or a post-book, digital orientation toward communication by the page.

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JAY M. SMITH. *The Culture of Merit: Nobility, Royal Service, and the Making of Absolute Monarchy in France, 1600–1789*. (Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Civilization.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1996. Pp. vii, 305. \$47.50.

This book by Jay M. Smith begins by questioning the long-established tendency to regard merit and meritocracy as products of the Enlightenment and argues that they appeared earlier in a seventeenth-century "culture of merit." It argues that a "culture of royal service"—the values, assumptions, and habits shared by the king and the nobles serving him—conditioned the formation of the early modern state. But the terms of this shared cultural understanding proved untenable

in the long run because of the "culture of power" that the king and the nobility also collaborated to create (p. 263). Smith is offering a cultural explanation for the emergence and demise of the early modern state, and he is challenging older views of "the centralizing state as having been a key agent of change" (p. 5). These propositions seem reasonable, except the last one, but I have trouble with the way in which they are argued.

Smith has written a study of power relations and royal service without mentioning individuals in power or in positions of authority. This can be seen in the bibliography. The great majority of the book's sources are published pamphlets, treatises, discourses, courtier literature, genealogies, *cahiers*: all official public sources. Although the author tells us that he has used memoirs, few appear in the text. Personal papers, letters, diaries, *livres de raison*, journals, biographies, and autobiographies of individual nobles who actually served the king as members of his government, are not used as sources. In fact, there are comparatively few archival sources. For example, chapter three is based on treatises by Louis Turquet de Mayerne and Antoine de Montchrétien, genealogies, *mazarinades*, and noble *cahiers*. The values, assumptions, and attitudes of the nobility are taken from official published sources. But how complete and accurate a record do these sources provide? The argument would be more convincing if personal accounts had been used to support the findings from public sources. As it is, I find the description of a "culture of royal service" contrived.

For example, we are told that "when nobles discussed and represented their merits in written texts, they made frequent reference to the person of the king, in light of whose gaze, they believed, the nobility's unique qualities would inevitably be revealed and rewarded. This correlation between the image of the meritorious individual, on the one hand, and the 'sovereign's gaze'—responsible for judging merit—on the other hand, helped to direct my research" (pp. 4–5). We are told that "the concept of the gaze, with its function of finding and affirming merit, makes it possible to incorporate one of Michel Foucault's most important insights, namely, that systems of power should be studied through their techniques of mastering and ordering knowledge" (pp. 6–7). I find it difficult to relate this concept of "the sovereign's gaze" to anything in the hundreds of pages of intendants' correspondence I have read over the years, and I wonder if a discussion of a noble "culture of power" should be based primarily on a Foucauldian understanding of power.

Smith makes little reference in the text to other explanations of early modern state formation, and when he does, he tends to do so dismissively. Can other explanations be so easily discounted? The book makes no mention of money or its role in attracting nobles to royal service and creating a royal bureaucracy. What is politics without money? What is power without money? I do not object to adding cultural explanations to our understanding of historical expe-



rience. New insights add new dimensions to our knowledge. But I do object to the monolithic vision of many cultural historians, the view that there is only one important explanation, which is cultural, and that all other explanations of political, economic, and social change are outdated or misguided. A new cultural determinism seems to be replacing the old economic determinism of historical Marxism, which is unfortunate. The narrowness of this approach impoverishes historical knowledge and makes it difficult for me to accept the arguments of this book.

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CATHERINE MANNING. *Fortunes à faire: The French in Asian Trade, 1719–48*. Brookfield, Vt.: Variorum. 1996. Pp. xiv, 286. \$72.95.

Until the War of Austrian Succession (1744–1748), French firms sent ships around the Cape of Good Hope, but they also traded between ports of the Indian Ocean and the China Sea. It is this regional commercial life, the so-called “country trade,” that is the subject of Catherine Manning’s interesting study. The period is short: one generation between the collapse of Colbert’s earlier East India Company in the wars of Louis XIV and the triumphant British naval campaigns in the 1740s and 1750s. Manning’s analytical approach allows her to make the most of her own extensive research and the work of such recent scholars as her mentor, P. J. Marshall, Louis Dhermigny, Philippe Haudrère, and K. N. Chaudhuri. The chapters treat such subjects as the French monopoly company, the French community in India, the Indian trading partner, the French trading partner, and the trade routes. They are packed with historical detail, all well organized and subordinated to general ideas, particularly the chronological evolution of each subject. For example, the chapter on the French monopoly company shows its development in four periods: 1719–1722, when John Law’s *Compagnie des Indes* was first launched; 1722–1731, when a shortage of capital opened it to private investors; 1731–1741, beginning with a reorganization; and 1741–1748, when the company was flagging and the French turned from trade to warfare.

Running through the chapters are themes characteristic of French overseas enterprise. Trade was officially in the hands of a government monopoly that was bureaucratic rather than commercial, but some flexibility was afforded by the private ventures of Breton shipowners mingled with those of the company’s employees. Joint-stock arrangements were weak, because investors did not buy shares but pledged sums that could seldom be collected. Financial objectives were stronger than commercial ones, and Manning stresses that the famous Governor Joseph-François Dupleix, traditionally thought of as a builder of empire, was in fact seeking “fixed and reliable revenues rather than a

land-based territorial empire” (p. 212). For him, “political advantage was seen as a source of funding rather than as an aid to trade” (p. 216). French Roman Catholic objectives are less in evidence than financial ones, but we do find Governor Guillaume-André Hébert getting along with his enemies, the Jesuits, because “he realized that . . . there would be no advancement without priestly support” (p. 142). Other familiar themes are the evident reluctance of French traders to settle abroad and the government’s policy of making up the numbers at Pondicherry and Chandannagar, the principal French *comptoirs*, by sending out regiments of soldiers.

Social studies fill many pages, as Manning is interested in the relations of the various ethnic communities of traders: Dutch, English, Portuguese, Indian, Irish, and Armenian. The Indians appear as equals, though the French were prejudiced against them and Dupleix said they were all venal and untrustworthy (p. 129). French trade was less integrated in the local scene than was that of other Europeans, a surprising contrast with French trade in North America, usually thought to be closely involved with native tribes. In the Indian and Asian scene, the French admired and emulated the Dutch and English, who “set the benchmarks against which the French measured themselves” (p. 110). On the whole, however, nationality counted for less than ties of family, business, and religion. There is a close study of business partnerships and how they functioned. French traders got along well with the Irish on the basis of their common Catholicism (p. 116) and fairly well with the Armenians, who were Christian (pp. 123–27). Some of the leading families of merchants are usefully identified, notably those of Saint-Malo, so active in this trade in the 1720s, and the Carvalho-Labat clan, for which the author has appended a family tree. Perhaps I should add that my summaries, hard to avoid in a short review, do not convey the learning and sophistication of Manning’s text.

More than many other scholarly studies, this one may entertain the serious general reader as well as the specialist. Along with an abundance of information, there is much amusing human detail concerning the exotic world of the merchants in those remote seas. Facts such as ships’ names and dates have been gathered concerning French trading voyages to Surat, Mocha, Jiddah, Muscat, Manila, and China, but they are packed into nine appendixes. There follow other useful appendixes and a full bibliography.

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MARTIN S. STAUM. *Minerva’s Message: Stabilizing the French Revolution*. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 342. \$49.95.

The establishment of the Institut National des Sciences et Arts in 1795 marked a key moment and a



crucial episode in the history of modern "social science." The phrase itself (*la science sociale*) was coined in that decade to designate the organized study of society and the associated arts of legislation and state planning, which would do for the social world what Newtonian natural philosophy had done for nature. The institute, which was organized according to a plan submitted by the Marquis de Condorcet in 1790–1791 and which replaced the various academies of the Old Regime (including the Académie Française), was a product of revolutionary optimism about the possibility not only of formulating an exact science of man but also of bringing about the perfection of society, or at least the French nation, in terms both private and public. This was the special mission of the second class of the institute—the "Class of Moral and Political Sciences" (CMPS)—which consisted of 144 writers, scholars, and professional men, a majority of whom (in contrast to the defunct academies) were from the Third Estate.

Between 1795 and 1803, members of the CMPS met, discussed issues, wrote memoirs, and responded to prize questions about a wide range of topics in psychology, ethics, politics, economics, history, and human geography. Martin S. Staum offers detailed listings and examinations of the candidates, members, and associates of the six sections, the memoirs read, and the prizes won, as well as of the members carried over into the reincarnation of the CMPS in François Guizot's Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, founded in 1832. The intellectual concerns of the members ranged from *Idéologue* themes of sensationalist psychology, education, the position and temperament of women, the project of a "well-made language," and a science of ethics to public issues of economic policy, slavery, paternal power, the reevaluation of historical tradition, and political reform. In these years of transition from republic to empire, there was a general pattern of opposition between the new forces of change (Encyclopedism, *la science idéologique*, and social planning) and the resurgent values of the Old Regime (the culture of literature, history, religion, and "anti-mathematical Rousseauism"), an opposition defined by the struggle for language between the poles of Condillac's *langue des calculs* and the dictionary of the still-suppressed Académie Française. In general, the CMPS tried to keep a balance between these forces, but its members presumed too much on imperial authority and hubris, - fulfilling their original charge to give "advice" to the government but contributing only ambiguously (for Napoleon's taste) to "national glory." The upshot was the suppression of the CMPS in 1803 and the shift of emphasis to the safer classes of history and ancient and national literature.

Staum's account is thoughtful, comprehensive, and critical; and it is based on an admirable grasp of theoretical as well as primary and secondary literature (although he was unable to make use of Sophie-Anne Leterrier's more widely ranging study, *L'Institution des*

*Sciences Morales, 1795–1850* [1995]). Yet the book offers few revisions in the conventional picture, except to qualify the exaggerated view of *Idéologue* influence before 1803 and to emphasize the diversity of opinions among these presumptuous official "intellectuals." Staum emphasizes, too, the elements of continuity between the activities and attitudes of the academies of the Old Regime and those of the CMPS. There were many Talleyrands of the intellect—including Talleyrand himself—who adapted themselves and their ideas to republican, Bonapartist, and eventually royalist turns. The members were concerned to ensure individual liberty without encouraging social disorder, and they also confronted the economic problems of a new commercial society and promoted the use of statistics. As for long-range achievement, the study of history did show signs of reaching out to social and cultural dimensions of national experience, but, as Staum acknowledges, these initiatives in fact had roots in the philosophical historical writing of the Enlightenment. More impressive were the efforts made in the proto-anthropological field of human geography, which looked both back to the geohistorical traditions displayed by Montesquieu and forward to the work of Vidal de la Blache and the *Annales* school.

Staum is interested not only in the rise and fall of this ill-fated vehicle of nascent social science in France but also in larger questions of intellectuals in relation to power. In this connection, he invokes the views of Michel Foucault, citing Joseph-Marie de Degérando's remark that the language of politics is unique in being not controlled by philosophers but rather a prerogative of the strongest and an attribute of power. But this seems to me to be a post-Machiavellian commonplace rather than a proto-Foucauldian insight; and in fact, Staum does not accept the more controversial aspects of Foucault's archaeological analysis, preferring to remain within the conventions of intellectual history and recent concepts of political culture and language. In the end—reflecting on the question "whither the social sciences?"—Staum shows little sympathy for those he calls "postmodernists and hermeneutic theorists"; he represents the enterprise of the CMPS, though "in a less pretentious form," as still a viable model for policy making and problem solving. Well-intentioned experts continue to be needed, and can still be trusted with power—and two cheers for old-fashioned social science.

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WILLIAM M. REDDY. *The Invisible Code: Honor and Sentiment in Postrevolutionary France, 1814–1848*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 258. \$40.00.

Given the recent scholarly interest in gender, it was inevitable that the field's early preoccupation with women and femininity would, before long, extend to men. The study of gender began, after all, as an effort

to transcend a purely women's history. In recent years, historians have deemed it especially important to consider how femininity and masculinity came to be defined in given periods and how political hierarchies and social conventions, among other things, were explained and justified in terms of those definitions. William M. Reddy's new book builds on a growing literature in French history devoted to the cultural meanings of being male.

Central to the nature of masculinity in the nineteenth century, Reddy argues, is an invisible code of honor that not only shaped the behavior of men but gave substance to their emotional lives. In making this argument, Reddy brings to mind what Arno Mayer called the "persistence of the Old Regime" (*The Persistence of the Old Regime* [1981]). Postrevolutionary France, Reddy writes, was suffused with the values, attitudes, and—above all—the feelings of an earlier age.

The argument is ingenious. Reddy maintains that it was precisely the laissez-faire individualism enshrined by the revolution that guaranteed the persistence of codes of honor characteristic of the Old Regime. In the new world of the nineteenth century, men enjoyed neither a well-defined corporate status nor secure standing in a society of orders. Their position in the world—so at least was the prevailing belief—was up to them. Low status was therefore the individual's fault, something to be carefully disguised. It was, in short, shameful. High standing, by contrast, evoked the opposite of shame, namely honor.

Reddy does not explain as clearly as he might precisely how such perceptions of honor and shame produced a full-fledged culture of honor. But he suggests that the laissez-faire society of the first half of the nineteenth century was so new that French men did not yet accept capitalism's principal marker of status: wealth. People were so uncomfortable about the way the market established social standing that they defined the pursuit of gain (or self-interest) and the marketplace that encouraged it as inherently shameful. Interest and honor became polar opposites, and despite the positive perceptions of the one and the negative of the other, most commentators, Reddy maintains, viewed French men as motivated almost exclusively by interest. From Alexis de Tocqueville to Karl Marx, René Chateaubriand to Louis Blanc, self-interest became the dominant human motivation in what was for them the individualistic, market society of postrevolutionary France.

It is this contemporary understanding that Reddy seeks to challenge. In his view, French men of the first part of the nineteenth century pursued honor far more than interest. That they failed to perceive the true sources of their behavior, Reddy writes, has a dual explanation. First, men were so steeped in a culture of honor that it remained beneath conscious perception, and second, they needed, however unconsciously, to deny that they could be moved by the intense emotions associated with honor and espe-

cially shame. French men of the postrevolutionary period assigned rationality to themselves and "sentiment" to women. And since shame is as much a set of feelings as state of being, no self-respecting man could admit to the possession or the expression of those sentiments.

Reddy develops this argument on the strength of three interesting case studies in the realms of law, public administration, and journalism. In the first, he analyzes requests for marital separations (divorce was still illegal), showing the extent to which a tacit culture of honor shaped those deliberations. Reddy's second case, his longest and most illuminating chapter, is a portrait of the Ministry of the Interior that reveals the intricate contradictions embedded in the honor code. It was deemed honorable, for example, to hold a high administrative position but shameful to look overtly ambitious. To rise to an honorable post, office holders had to show deference and loyalty to their superiors but do so subtly enough to avoid appearing shamefully obsequious. Merit occasionally conferred honor on a bureaucrat, but incompetence rarely evoked shame, much less dismissal. Employees tended to lose their jobs only when their personal lives jeopardized, as one document put it, "the esteem of respectable people, compromising the honor of the bureaux of the ministry" (p. 146).

In the final case study, Reddy turns to the turbulent world of journalism, where the code of honor showed its most public face. Journalists constantly condemned one another for putatively shameful acts, and these touchy, competitive writers dueled more than any other group. Although newspaper men saw their colleagues as ruled by self-interest and raw ambition, Reddy finds beneath their words and actions the feelings of honor and shame common to the era's middle-class men. Journalists, like bureaucrats and parties to marital disputes, harbored the sentiments of a culture whose pervasiveness they were unable to perceive.

Reddy's book is a fine work that revises our view of what it meant to be a man in postrevolutionary France. That Robert Nye (*Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* [1993]) and others, myself included, have noted a preoccupation with honor and dueling in the second half of the century adds significance to what Reddy has found. Still, I wonder whether honor outweighs interest as fully as he maintains. By neglecting the world of business, Reddy avoids the one part of the male public sphere where interest had a life of its own. Honor and shame doubtless played a crucial role in economic life, but it is difficult to see how these sentiments could have overshadowed the pursuit of gain as much as in the three areas of society he analyzes so well.

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ALEXANDER VARIAS. *Paris and the Anarchists: Aesthetes and Subversives during the Fin de Siècle*. New York: St. Martin's. 1996. Pp. viii, 208. \$39.95.

Impressed by the complexity and diversity of the anarchist movement at the turn of the century, Alexander Varias focuses on the variety of political, social, and cultural manifestations of this multifarious movement in 1890s Paris. From vegetarians and back-to-nature types to syndicalist union organizers, Esperantists, bohemians, and terrorists, Varias convincingly portrays a movement that made up in exuberance what it lacked in coordination. He provides a number of excellent thumb-nail sketches of important figures on the anarchist scene: Charles Malato, Félix Fénéon, Louise Michel, and Emile Pouget are just a few. These sketches sometimes pop up in unlikely places, so that we meet Fénéon in the context of a chapter on the anarchists of Montmartre, the only rationale being that he lived there (and Varias wrongly claims that Fénéon joined the War Ministry in 1889). Varias mentions that Fénéon later worked as an editor for *La Revue Blanche*, but we learn nothing more about this important symbolist-anarchist journal and its intellectual milieu.

Varias persuades us that the anarchist movement was fraught with ambiguity about being working class or bohemian, violent or pacifist, designed for aesthetes or proletarians. When he tells us that the movement's followers numbered perhaps 500, with another thousand sympathizers, he undermines the sense he is trying to convey of anarchism as an important indicator of *fin-de-siècle* social and cultural tendencies. Perhaps newspaper circulation figures would have produced more impressive numbers than the figure of 500, which is taken from police reports and from Jean Maitron's influential study, *Le mouvement anarchiste en France* (1975).

The presence of a sizeable contingent of avant-garde artists among the anarchists must be acknowledged in any book dealing with this period, and Varias devotes his final chapter to the question of how artists responded to political engagement. Typically, he begins his summation of this chapter by writing, "It is evident that the relationship between art and anarchism was complex," and he ends the analysis by declaring, "In their writings and works (whether done in a social realist or innovative manner) they expressed their ambivalent stand regarding their dual commitments. Like others to follow, they were confused" (pp. 161, 164). Rather than leaving the reader hanging with ambivalent aesthetes, I wish that Varias had pursued his anarchists past the 1890s to inquire where these various strands of the movement led in the new century. He alludes to dadaism as to syndicalism but generally confines himself to the late nineteenth century (although his fascinating discussion of Esperanto is drawn mostly from post-1900 sources).

That the anarchist movement was complex does not in itself warrant limiting scrutiny to this one decade.

The more in-depth studies of this same period that have appeared in recent years, all of which he cites, make it a little hard to justify this new, briefer book (see Joan Halperin, *Félix Fénéon: Aesthete and Anarchist in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* [1988]; John C. Hutton, *Neo-Impressionism and the Search for Solid Ground: Art, Science, and Anarchism in Fin-de-Siècle France* [1994]; and Richard D. Sonn, *Anarchism and Cultural Politics in Fin-de-Siècle France* [1989]). If Varias had included one or two additional chapters in which he showed how the individualist and collectivist currents of anarchism resolved themselves, and had discussed the heritage of the anarchistic avant-garde, he would have made both a more substantial contribution and a more substantial book. As it is, his comments are invariably intelligent, but his thesis is weakened by its inconclusiveness. I suspect that he approached his subject nostalgically, assuming that anarchism was fated to disappear along with other lost causes of the nineteenth century, and so he did not seriously consider the movement's later impact.

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MARTHA HANNA. *The Mobilization of Intellect: French Scholars and Writers during the Great War*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1996. Pp. ix, 292. \$39.95.

A famous cartoon published during World War I depicted two weary French soldiers conversing in their front-line trench: "Let's hope they hold out." "Who?" "The civilians." This wry exchange reflected a general belief that France's will to continue fighting a bloody, stalemated war was sustained not only by the courage of its *poilus* but also by what Martha Hanna styles "the mobilization of intellect." This "intellectual union sacrée of academics and writers," she explains, "positively influenced the morale of civilians and combatants alike and contributed directly to a reorientation of culture evident during and after the war" (p. 1). The noncombatant scholars who filled the ranks of the university system and major academies, in addition to journalists, philosophers, and critics who gained celebrity outside them, are the focus of her study.

Hanna analyzes both the unity that these intellectuals displayed in defending their country against Germany and the bitter antagonisms that separated the two Frances—anticlerical republicans on the left, devout Catholics and neo-royalists on the right. The opposing sides of the cultural divide used their powerful pens to sustain morale from the moment war erupted. In 1914, all assailed the "Manifesto of 93" signed by leading German scientists, philosophers, novelists, historians, and composers supporting the military policies of the imperial regime. Their French counterparts argued that *Kultur* itself was the real cause of German militarism and denounced the school system that instilled organization, discipline, and materialism. In contrast to this "scientific barbarism," the

French thinkers lauded their own *civilisation*, based on "free inquiry and scholarly objectivity."

But beneath this apparent consensus, the two camps continued their long-standing quarrel. Hanna examines three major issues that sharply divided them: Kantian philosophy, classical education, and science.

The left vindicated Immanuel Kant's enthusiasm for the French Revolution of 1789 as well as his internationalism and pacifism; the right denounced his "materialism," "agnosticism," and "subjectivism." But if conservatives could undermine the German philosopher's moral authority, they would also sap the intellectual foundations of the secular state. Sincere republicans, in reply, argued that the eighteenth-century rationalist had nothing in common with bellicose modern Germans.

Conservatives also promoted the values of ancient Greece and Rome, which they considered the sources of France's classical traditions of order and clarity. As Hanna explains, they wished to purge German studies from the nation's educational curriculum and thereby free students from dangerous foreign influences. Catholics in particular sought to revive the study of Latin and detected in republican hostility to it the left's desire to reduce the authority of the church. Academics justified the teaching of German literature and philosophy as a means of guaranteeing French youth a more cosmopolitan, less purely nationalistic outlook. They, too, praised the contributions of ancient Greece and Rome, but more as the sources of truth, justice, reason, and liberty that had inspired the revolution and Third Republic.

Hanna devotes a chapter to wartime scientific activity, describing how French physicists and chemists contributed to national defense. In such areas as artillery, wireless telegraphy, and chemical warfare, they made significant advances despite inadequate state funding and personnel shortages. She demonstrates how science itself became another intellectual battlefield between right and left. Neo-royalists and Catholics considered it to be "materialistic," tainted by its German associations, while republicans lauded it as a product of Latin and Anglo-Saxon civilizations.

As a result of the war, Hanna concludes, the right emerged as the dominant force of the 1920s. Its fierce struggle against everything German produced what she calls "intellectual nationalism," the desire to restore classicism and Catholicism to authority at the expense of modern science and Kantian cosmopolitanism. Hanna asserts that it triumphed when Léon Bérard's curricular reform, approved by the *Bloc National* legislature in 1923, replaced the "modernist" *lycée* program instituted by the left in 1902. But she surely exaggerates in claiming that it prefigured Marshal Pétain's National Revolution of 1940.

Hanna has produced a thorough, well-documented and readable study. Unfortunately, her publisher has included neither illustrations nor a bibliography and restricted her listing of primary sources to a single page. These editorial imperfections aside, her book

admirably reveals how the two Frances defended their beleaguered country as well as contended for possession of the nation's soul.

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JACQUES NOBÉCOURT. *Le Colonel de La Rocque, 1885-1946: Ou les pièges du nationalisme chrétien*. Paris: Fayard. 1996. Pp. 1194.

At first blush, 967 pages of dense text seems like a lot for a biography of Colonel François de la Rocque. The book is roughly twice as long as any of the recent biographies of Léon Blum, Maurice Gamelin, or Édouard Daladier. But there are good reasons for such length. Although, unlike the aforementioned individuals, he never formed a government or commanded an army, La Rocque, leader of the Croix de Feu and later the Parti Social Français (PSF), was, for a few critical years, very much at the center of French politics. He led the single largest party in the history of the Third Republic, one that many contemporaries feared threatened the republican regime. Moreover, as several generations of scholars have complained, neither the man nor the movement has been the subject of a serious study. Jacques Nobécourt's study is, in many respects, the scholarly account so many have long awaited. The author's research is especially impressive; he has consulted an imposing array of archives, private and public, French and foreign. The result is a study that yields a particularly rich portrait of the man and his movement. In it there is a wealth of hitherto unavailable information about the PSF, its structure, its organization, and its leaders. Whatever reservations one might have about his interpretation, this book is indispensable reading for anyone attempting to deal with the murky politics of the 1930s and early 1940s.

The author makes it clear at the outset that this is a work of rehabilitation. La Rocque has always enjoyed a terrible press; alternately depicted as France's foremost fascist or as an utter mediocrity. Nobécourt is having none of this. He sets out to demonstrate, among other things, that La Rocque's first name was not Casimir; he did not attempt a coup on the night of February 6, 1934; he had little in common with figures on the extreme right like Jacques Doriot; he did not accept money from the French premier of the early 1930s, André Tardieu; and he did not advocate collaboration with the Germans. Nobécourt's arguments are thoroughly developed and documented and often convincing. To be sure, not all of his points are especially original. Few historians, for example, any longer believe that La Rocque intended to overthrow the government on February 6; most suspect that he did not know what he was doing. Nor would many confound La Rocque and Doriot, although some find striking similarities between their respective movements. Nobécourt's discussion of the byzantine feud with Tardieu is scrupulously fair but adds little to the earlier



analyses of Philippe Mâchefer (*Ligues et fascismes en France, 1919–1939* [1974]) and François Monnet (*Refaire la république: André Tardieu, une dérive réactionnaire* [1993]). At times, he seems more concerned to refute the partisans charges of the 1930s than to deal with the more sober scholarly assessments of the 1990s. He does take particular exception to Robert Soucy's claim, in *French Fascism: The Second Wave, 1933–1939* (1995), that La Rocque called for collaboration with Nazi Germany. Given the general vagueness of most of La Rocque's writings, there is more than one possible reading of his wartime outpourings: a careful reading of the evidence suggests that Soucy's argument is not as outrageous as Nobécourt would have us believe. By contrast, it is hard to argue with his contention that, upon return from two years of captivity in Germany, La Rocque was shabbily treated by Charles De Gaulle's government.

At times, Nobécourt's passionate defense of La Rocque makes for strained arguments. He acknowledges that, in 1938, La Rocque called for a commercial boycott of the Jewish community in Constantine because of the (perfectly understandable) Jewish penchant for voting *en bloc* for candidates of the Popular Front. It seems a bit odd to be assured a few lines later that La Rocque was a principled opponent of political anti-Semitism. Few readers will be convinced by the argument that such a boycott was a legitimate assertion of the need to keep religion out of politics. The author tries gamely to put the best light on La Rocque's role as a minor functionary in the early years of Vichy. But on his own evidence, La Rocque's impossibly ambiguous stance disappointed both his rank and file followers and his principal lieutenants, most of whom abandoned him. Nothing in this book revises Robert Paxton's memorable account of a "colourless" figure pathetically telephoning everyone in search of something to do (*Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940–44* [1974]).

The debate about La Rocque and his movement invariably comes down to the question of fascism. Nobécourt is adamant that La Rocque was not a fascist but a social Catholic in the tradition of Louis-Hubert-Gonsalve Lyautey and a forerunner of De Gaulle. Whatever fascist elements may have been lurking in the Croix de Feu had left by the time La Rocque founded the PSF in 1936. This is, of course, the conventional wisdom, established over forty years ago by René Rémond and generally accepted by most French historians. The dissidents from this judgement have been non-French historians, many of whom Nobécourt has not read and none of whose arguments he confronts. What constitutes fascism is, of course, notoriously in the eye of the beholder. In an revealing aside, Nobécourt cites the case of Edmond Barrachin, long one of La Rocque's closest lieutenants. In 1942, shortly before his defection to the allies, Barrachin was engaged in secret discussions with American diplomat, J. Rives Childs. In the event of a crisis in the Vichy regime, Barrachin assured Childs, the PSF could offer

an authoritarian republican alternative, characterized by a pseudo-parliament, the members of which would be appointed rather than elected. In his report to his superiors, Childs pointedly wondered if Barrachin quite realized that for all his evocation of the French republican tradition, he was proposing a form of government that most would consider to be fascist. Nobécourt's impressive effort notwithstanding, many will continue to wonder if the same could not be said about La Rocque.

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PIERRE BIRNBAUM. *The Jews of the Republic: A Political History of State Jews in France from Gambetta to Vichy*. Translated by JANE MARIE TODD. (Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. Pp. 449. \$55.00.

This book explores the experience of the Jewish magistrates, generals, departmental officials, and legislators who occupied top-level government posts in the French Third Republic. Based on an analysis of the lives and careers of 171 individuals, the book provides detailed information not only about prominent public figures such as Adolph Crémieux and Léon Blum but also about dozens of more obscure high officials and army officers, or "state Jews," as Pierre Birnbaum calls them.

Several of the book's chapters highlight individual kin groups such as the Brisac family that produced a series of generals, or the Bédarrides judicial dynasty. Other chapters focus on particular circles of state Jews such as those closely associated with Léon Gambetta or those seen as the heirs of Jules Jaurès. Still other chapters explore specific themes, such as the development of a "circle of sociability" that tied many state Jews to each other, or the way in which the specter of an anti-Catholic conspiracy was often employed in attacks on Jewish officials. At its core, however, this book is an examination of the tension that existed during the entire period of the Third Republic between the notion that Jews could be equal citizens of France without having to give up their religious identity and the underlying reality that, even when secular republicanism was at its strongest, an undercurrent of anti-Semitism continued to run through French public life.

On the one hand, Birnbaum provides ample evidence of the success that most state Jews enjoyed in their careers, and he demonstrates how they developed a sort of blind love for French republicanism as it evolved between the 1870s and the 1930s. On the other hand, Birnbaum also makes it clear that the careers of Jewish officials and army officers were always colored by their religious identity, sometimes in subtle ways (as when Jewish administrators were passed over for posts in strongly Catholic regions), but often more overtly. Crude anti-Semitic attacks were continually being leveled at Jews across the political spectrum and, indeed,



Birnbaum contends that anti-Semitism was a major feature in all of the "Franco-French wars" of the Third Republic: not only the Dreyfus Affair, but also the struggle over the secularization of schools, the turmoil surrounding General Boulanger, and numerous other, smaller domestic crises.

At every turn, the Third Republic was labeled a "Jewish Republic" by its enemies, and it was their perspective that informed the anti-Semitic legislation enacted by the Vichy government in 1940 and 1941. The reaction of state Jews to this legislation poignantly reflected the conflict between the tradition of Jewish acceptance in France and the persistence of anti-Semitism in the country, for Jewish officials and army officers could hardly believe that they were being betrayed by the government of a France they had so ardently served.

Birnbaum's study is exhaustively researched and full of interesting insights, but some elements of its argument are a bit weaker than others. For example, Birnbaum probably overstates the degree to which the officials he has studied maintained their connection with Jewish life. He does show that many of them held seats on consistorial boards, married within the faith, and were buried with Jewish rites, but in the end, the lives of most of the highly acculturated individuals he discusses were little influenced by Jewish beliefs or practices.

Perhaps the main problem with this volume, however, is that its style is sometimes rambling and often repetitious. Birnbaum has a tendency to restate many of his observations and to refer repeatedly to the same pieces of evidence. To cite but one example, the administrator Henri Hendlé's confrontation with enemy aircraft in World War I is described at least three different times in the text, and his citation for bravery is quoted directly twice (pp. 21, 47, 189). The book is also hampered by Jane Marie Todd's less than elegant translation.

In its original French version, this volume is titled *Les Fous de la République* (1992), and several times in the book, Birnbaum evokes the image of the fool in a king's court who, although originally a target of ridicule, is totally devoted to the monarch he serves and often becomes his close and trusted confidant. Birnbaum argues that Jewish officials in the Third Republic followed an opposite course: they began as trusted servants of the state but ended up as the victims of abuse and persecution under Vichy. How well the image of the fool fits the state Jews of the Third Republic can certainly be debated further, but anyone wishing to consider this question cannot possibly do so without taking into account Birnbaum's extremely valuable study.

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MARY NASH. *Defying Male Civilization: Women in the Spanish Civil War*. (Women and Modern Revolution

Series.) Denver: Arden Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 261. Cloth \$32.00, paper \$22.50.

Mary Nash is a major expert on the subject of Spanish women and the Spanish civil war, and she has dedicated over twenty years to unearthing data on the topic. This book is the culmination of those many years of research, and Nash's goal of examining the "dynamics of gender power relations" (p. 2) is carried out with skill and rigor.

Nash's scrutinizing and balanced historical vision leads her to debunk the myths about female activists during the war. As she has consistently maintained, the many images of women at the front lines and working in "men's" jobs have distorted historical fact about the role of women in the civil war. The controversial issue of the *milicianas*, the spontaneous foot soldier phenomenon that sprang to life in the early days of the war, is a case in point. Although there are many photos of the female soldiers in overalls and carrying weapons (no one has been able to ascertain how many actually went to the front lines), their careers as soldiers were brief and often insignificant. Many of them, in fact, often were relegated to "women's work," such as cooking and laundering for the male soldiers. Nash argues that they were called back from the front lines a few months after the war began for a variety of reasons, among them claims that the *milicianas* were prostitutes and were spreading venereal disease. The most pervasive reason, however, was that the female sector of militants agreed that women's place was at the "home front." In fact, Nash insists that none of the changes the war brought on were lasting and that the perception of women in Spain was not significantly altered by the war.

Nevertheless, Nash goes on to reveal that the potential for major change did exist, given the energy that various proletarian women's groups displayed in their mobilization of the female sector during the war. She analyzes the inner workings of the groups that evolved from the prewar communist Antifascist Women's Organization, which had the largest membership. Presided over by the most famous woman from the war, Dolores Ibárruri (known as La Pasionaria), these groups served primarily to direct female activity for the "cause" at the home front.

Nash's past research has largely concentrated on the anarchist Free Women organization, the only group that had a feminist platform during the war. Here she outlines their commitment to the struggle as women and as revolutionaries; ironically, in spite of the fact that the male anarchists rejected their feminist goals, Free Women built a solid constituency and made significant advances in their struggle for female emancipation during the war. The Free Women organization challenged established gender and class notions; a unique movement that even fought against prostitution, Free Women appears as a major anomaly among the organizations that were largely working for the "cause" and not for female liberation.

Nash also explores the private sector to discuss the traditional role of women as mothers and housewives during the war, emphasizing the collective nature of their work as family caretakers. She discusses rationing, food gathering, and the numerous uprisings by women as they struggled to protect their families from hunger and disease. Nash also discusses other traditional tasks for women such as relief work, the care of war orphans, and nursing.

As Nash tells us in her conclusion, women became agents for change during the war in unprecedented ways. They had a collective voice and spoke out against fascism and repression. Had the forces of history been different, had the pro-fascist Franco regime lost the war, perhaps the role of women would have continued to evolve. As it was, at the end of the war, Spanish women were severely punished for their activism, doubly subjugated as women and as activists. In the worst of cases, they were imprisoned or killed; in the best of cases, the women were relegated to the home and reassigned their roles as submissive beings deprived of voice and public identity.

This meticulously edited text is short of miraculous, given the fact that so many historical sources were destroyed or hidden away after the war. It is only since General Francisco Franco's death in 1975 that information on women in the war has surfaced. Nash has been instrumental in changing the phantom role of women activists from the Spanish civil war through her painstaking and tireless research, and by publishing this book, she has performed an invaluable historical service.

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JAMES D. TRACY. *Erasmus of the Low Countries*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. ix, 297. \$40.00.

James D. Tracy has been a leader in Erasmus studies for more than twenty years. His dissertation, published as *Erasmus: The Growth of a Mind* (1972), reopened questions about Erasmus's intellectual development. *The Politics of Erasmus* (1978) led Tracy to write two additional books on the fiscal and constitutional history of the Habsburg Netherlands, *A Financial Revolution in the Habsburg Netherlands* (1985) and *Holland under Habsburg Rule 1506–1566* (1990). A stream of important articles culminated in a pioneering essay on Erasmus and postmodernist criticism ("Erasmus among the Postmodernists: *Dissimulatio*, *Bonae Litterae*, and *Docta Pietas* Revisited," in Hilmar M. Pabel, ed., *Erasmus' Vision of the Church* [1995]). The issue of postmodernism and his work on the Habsburg Netherlands have kept alive Tracy's interest in Erasmus, to whom he now returns with this biography. The Netherlands connection does not dominate but gets steady reference through the book; critical theory appears at one or two crucial moments.

Tracy recognizes points that Erasmus has in common with his countrymen, their fears of centralizing power, for example, and their attachment to representative institutions. The association between the great humanist and his homeland appears here predominantly as a contradiction, however, one between the intensely corporative character of Netherlands society and culture and Erasmus's bid for independence, a kind of individualism. Here is one of the main themes of the book. Since the corporate society had its origins in family and kinship, Erasmus's position was precarious from the beginning. More important, his resistance extended to a rejection of the corporate ideal as expressed in contemporary religious communities.

Central in Tracy's book and the mark of its distinctiveness among the various current biographies is his presentation of Erasmus's idea of reform. In a chapter incorporated not altogether smoothly into his text, Tracy compares Erasmus with three other "reformers of doctrine": Lorenzo Valla, Juan Luis Vives, and John Calvin. He distinguished himself from these and others broadly in the Augustinian tradition by believing that the evils of society arose less from the "intractable power of sin" than from the "wickedness of powerful men" (p. 73). This conviction gave a sharp edge to his social criticism; it also inclined him to think the worst of rulers in all circumstances and made him a bit gullible to gossip. Anti-Semitism was a more hateful expression of his suspicion of those he thought wielders of influence.

Tracy runs together his two main themes—Erasmus's approach to reform and his resistance to the corporatist ideal—in his depiction of Erasmus's struggle with the mendicant orders, the great battle of his life. Erasmus associated the orders with the rise of scholastic theology, to which he opposed a form of the theological expression more akin to common speech than to dialectic, and with extravagant claims for papal authority. By contrast, he wanted the secular priesthood and the episcopal office to be honored. He rejected the ritual punctiliousness of the orders for, above all, its faith in human prescription and its lack of trust in divine grace. Here he had a genuine point of contact with Martin Luther.

The crux of Tracy's account of Erasmus's apparent equivocations over the Reformation is in his remark that among "men brimming with certitude," his "honest hesitation" stood out (p. 156). Erasmus strove not for toleration in the modern sense but for concord; yet, says Tracy, he was not far short of resisting any idea of forcing consciences.

In a final chapter on reading Erasmus, Tracy comes to the issue of interpretation. A student of Hans Georg Gadamer, he is more optimistic than some contemporary theorists about establishing the author's intentions by reconstituting the assumptions by which he worked. Nevertheless, he accepts that texts and phrases have their own history or, rather, different histories in different contexts. He takes the case of Erasmus's Polish readers. It was representative in that

both Catholic and Protestant readers read him to their own comfort and support. This was a sign of Europe's fate in the sixteenth century.

Tracy has succeeded in writing a fresh "general book" about Erasmus, based on the texts and especially the letters, but one alive to current scholarly controversies. I remain intrigued by the succession of titles: Roland Bainton's *Erasmus of Christendom* (1969), Richard Schoeck's *Erasmus of Europe* (1990–1993) and now Tracy's *Erasmus of the Low Countries* (1996). Does this reflect not only the authors' intentions but also what has been happening in scholarship and the wider world? The region has come into its own.

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MICHAEL HUNDT. *Die mindermächtigen deutschen Staaten auf dem Wiener Kongress*. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung Universalgeschichte, number 164.) Mainz: Philipp von Zabern. 1996. Pp. ix, 406.

Few scholars would have the audacity to undertake a definitive work on the role of the German "lesser powers" at the Congress of Vienna. Until recently, even fewer might have thought it worth the effort. Unduly influenced by the Prussophilism of the Second Empire, historians of *Vormärz* Germany focused almost exclusively on the role of the German "great powers": Prussia and, by necessity, Austria. They only reluctantly considered the influence of states like Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden and usually lumped all the lesser German powers into the category of "petty princelings," barely a rung above the hundreds of "mediatized" former imperial nobility. Following the lead of Baron Heinrich Karl von Stein—Prussian reformer, German enthusiast, advisor to Tsar Alexander I of Russia, and hero of several generations of Prusso-German nationalists—most held a jaundiced view of Napoleon's former German allies, the princes and statesmen of the Confederation of the Rhine.

Who, then, would have the temerity to investigate the interests, efforts, and influence of the representatives of thirty-two principalities and free German cities in the creation of the German Confederation? These were states with populations as small as 5,500 (in the Principality of Liechtenstein), 48,000 (in the Free City of Bremen), and only 619,000 in the largest of the lesser powers (the Grand Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt).

Michael Hundt delved into twenty-nine separate archives in an attempt to understand the role played by representatives of thirty-two inhomogeneous lesser German powers at the Congress of Vienna. His book proves, as did Enno E. Kraehe's *Congress of Vienna, 1814–1815* (1983), that "microhistory" is the only way to comprehend the perspective and *Zeigeist* of a period. Hundt's careful analysis of the reports of twenty-five diplomats who attended some fifty-six meetings as they sought—more often than not unsuc-

cessfully—to prepare a united stand and thus influence Austria and Prussia captures the real situation in Vienna in 1814–1815. One begins to recognize the common pursuit of individual state survival, the vast divergences in territorial and status claims, and even the problems of ill health and expensive Viennese housing that these German diplomats faced.

It is only through such microhistory that one is made to recall that designations like "lesser powers," rather than "small states," reflected the perceptions of a time in which states were judged by their populations rather than by their territorial size or industrial potential. "Souls" were counted as potential taxpayers and, more importantly, as soldiers. In that world, there were more powerful and less powerful states, but all states represented some degree of power. When the German great powers differed—when Austria and Prussia found themselves on different sides of the Saxon and Polish territorial question in November 1814 and when they proposed different constitutions for Germany in the spring of 1815—the diplomats of the lesser powers had their greatest opportunities to influence the outcome of debates. At such times, the lesser powers became important factors in the European balance of power.

Hundt, whose *Lübeck auf dem Wiener Kongress* (1991) gave an indication of his interest and ability to analyze and evaluate the influence of lesser powers, and whose *Quellen zur kleinstaatlichen Verfassungspolitik auf dem Wiener Kongress* (1996) is an indispensable documentary complement to the present work, has established himself among the leading authorities on the "German Question" during the late Napoleonic and early German Confederation periods. His chapters on the German lesser powers during the Wars of Liberation and on the divergent constitutional proposals that came from ten of their key diplomats are highlights of the book. But no one interested in the German Confederation should overlook Hundt's very insightful analysis of the development of the prime characteristics of the German Confederation as it emerged in plenary German conferences of late May and June 1815. Throughout this readable volume, Hundt patiently explains his sources, marshals his evidence, evaluates previous historiographical interpretations, and arrives at the persuasive conclusion that the lesser powers did influence the outcome of the Congress of Vienna. He leads the reader productively through a welter of details, making use of six black and white maps within the text and three separate multi-colored maps appended within the back cover of the work. I am mightily impressed.

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CHRISTINA VON HODENBERG. *Die Partei der Unparteiischen: Der Liberalismus der preußischen Richterschaft 1815–1848/49*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 113.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1996. Pp. 425. DM 78.

One of the main themes in the historiography of the *Vormärz*, the period preceding the German revolution of 1848, is the liberal sympathies of state officials working in the service of obstinately restorationist regimes. The judiciary, in particular, has often been seen as a stronghold of liberal ideas. Christina von Hodenberg's book is a collective biography of judges in the Kingdom of Prussia from the restoration to the mid-century revolution. Offering a comprehensive picture of the lives of her subjects, including insightful discussions of class background, upbringing, education, career patterns, judicial practice, family and private lives, views on politics and society, and civic and political activism, Hodenberg keeps the question of the judges' liberalism at the center of her considerations.

The author notes that a large majority of judges came from families of the educated professional middle class, most of whom earned their living working for the state. Both neo-humanist cultural ideals and the creation of separate social spheres for men and women were typical of this social group, and their family backgrounds would exert a considerable influence on the aspiring judges' careers and opinions. By contrast, Hodenberg downplays the intellectual significance of university education. Aspiring jurists, she observes, did attend universities whose law faculties were strongholds of the restorationist "historical school" of law, but they typically balanced this by attending classes at other universities, where professors endorsed enlightened/rationalist theories of jurisprudence.

A far greater role in shaping judges' lives, Hodenberg suggests, was played by their judicial careers. They began as unpaid judicial assistants, a position in which aspiring jurists were pressed, *de facto*, into the role of investigating magistrates, and moved up through the ranks of the judicial hierarchy; their often painfully slow progress was determined by an extremely rigid seniority system. (Hodenberg shows that both the slowness of the rise and the difficulty in obtaining paid positions have been considerably exaggerated by historians.) In this situation, jurists found the presuppositions of their educated, middle-class upbringing challenged from two very different directions. One challenge came from the nobility, the army officer corps, and the administrative bureaucracy, in whose ranks nobles were far more numerous and more successful at setting the social tone than in the judiciary. Many members of these groups often openly desired to return to the corporate social hierarchy of the old regime. On the other hand, most of those brought before the court for judgment were from the increasingly impoverished and proletarianized lower classes, whose attitudes toward respect for property, sexual propriety, or the nature of honor were alien to those of the educated middle class.

Hodenberg sees this bipartite challenge as determining the judges' political views. They quickly became biting critics of the pretensions of army officers, of the arbitrary actions of the administrative bureaucracy,

and of nobles clinging to their feudal and seigniorial rights. Increasingly, a majority of judges advocated wholesale legal reform, including the abolition of the remnants of corporate privilege and the creation of a system of public, oral, and adversarial court proceedings modeled on the Napoleonic Code.

Such an attitude involved a tacit endorsement of oppositional, liberal politics, especially after the mediocrally minded Friedrich-Wilhelm IV took the throne in 1840. As Hodenberg reminds us, however, this liberalism was in no way democratic. Judges condemned the thievery, lack of religion and culture, and sexual immorality of the lower classes. Stricter repression, rather than the expansion of political participation, was their preferred way to deal with a nascent proletariat. The opposition of judges was a moderate one as well. Their response to absolutism was primarily to call for an independent judiciary, free from political pressure, dispensing justice in a reformed system of law; the creation of a constitution with an elected legislature was a subordinate goal.

This book is based on a wide variety of published and unpublished sources; it is carefully and convincingly argued and written in a lively style—at least by the standards of a German academic monograph. The author sometimes ignores her own strictures on the primacy of professional practice in jurists' views of the world, as she does in discussing judges' attitudes toward gender relations. Although judges felt that mothers of illegitimate children were themselves to blame for having given up their sexual honor, in paternity suits (a major preoccupation of the lower courts), they generally found in favor of the mothers and sentenced the fathers to pay large sums in child support. A similar observation could be made about the judges' condemnation of serfdom and their less equivocal judgments in the many civil cases dealing with servile obligations. Admittedly, the relative scarcity of actual case records in the surviving sources makes it unclear whether this is an ambiguity or a contradiction in Hodenberg's argument. Such objections aside, the book is an excellent contribution to the study of society, politics and intellectual life in *Vormärz* Germany.

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GEOFFREY WAWRO. *The Austro-Prussian War: Austria's War with Prussia and Italy in 1866*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 313. \$59.95.

Geoffrey Wawro's monograph on this long-neglected conflict is the first substantial treatment of the "Seven Weeks' War" since Gordon A. Craig's *Battle of Königgrätz* (1964). The revised version of an award-winning dissertation, the book is concerned primarily with Austria's defeat at the hands of Prussia in the northern (Bohemian) theater of the conflict, culminating at Königgrätz (July 3, 1866). Wawro's revisionist ap-



proach downplays the strategic brilliance of Field Marshal Helmuth von Moltke, attributing the outcome much more to bumbling on the Austrian side, especially by General Ludwig Benedek, the Austrian commander.

As is the case with any army that suffers disaster in war, in the Austrian army the postwar recriminations were endless. Countless subordinates alleged that they would have done better, and perhaps saved the day, if not for the incompetence of Benedek or other superior officers. In a painstaking account of the campaign that second-guesses virtually every Austrian command decision, Wawro makes good use of their reports. Wawro relates the action in a lively style, painting his most vivid pictures in describing the northern theater. The language is colorful but at times overdone, such as in the description of the battle at Vysoko, where Austrian troops are "sucked piecemeal into the Prussian mincing machine" (p. 143).

Wawro is on less solid ground in his analysis of the southern theater of the war, overstating Austria's war aims against Italy and understating Italy's war aims against Austria. Mobilization sent most Austrian troops to join Benedek's force in Bohemia and left a far smaller army in Venetia, with a purely defensive mission. The author's contention that Austria's "principal war aim in the southern theater" was "the smash-up of united Italy" (p. 120) borders on the fanciful. Indeed, the possibility of such an occurrence was discussed in Viennese and Parisian diplomatic circles, but Wawro can cite no military correspondence indicating an offensive motive on the part of the Austrian army against Italy. Instead, he "infers" the sweeping aggressive war aim from scant indirect evidence, mainly the fact that the forces in Venetia received fifty-two percent of the Austrian army's field telegraph wire in 1866 (p. 120). The Austrians, ever the fools in Wawro's tale, are castigated for failing to achieve goals they never intended to pursue.

On the opposite side of the southern front, Wawro attributes to the Italians only the most limited war aims (the acquisition of Venetia), yet acknowledges the fact that Austria, on the eve of the war, agreed to cede Venetia to Italy via France in hope of securing both French and Italian neutrality. The reader is left guessing as to why Italy declared war at all. The preponderance of evidence indicates that Italy took the cession of Venetia for granted and went to war in the hope of acquiring Trieste, Istria, and Dalmatia, gains that would have left Austria practically landlocked. The decisive Austrian naval victory at Lissa (July 20, 1866) not only gave a sound beating to the Italian ironclad fleet, as Wawro acknowledges, but also forced back to Italy transport ships carrying thousands of troops bound for Dalmatia. The sweeping war aims of the Italian court and cabinet, documented in published Italian diplomatic sources and discussed in other recent works, receive no consideration in Wawro's analysis; the matter is ignored entirely except for a single vague reference to the abandonment of

"Italy's plans to open a second front on Austria's Dalmatian coast" (p. 279). The Italians bumbled far more than the Austrians in 1866 and came away from the war only with Venetia, which they would have acquired without fighting at all. Furthermore, the defeats suffered by their navy and army at Lissa and Custoza (June 24, 1866) left the Italian military with an exaggerated sense of inferiority vis-à-vis the Austrians that persisted until the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1918.

Wawro should be commended for focusing attention on a highly significant military conflict that has been all but ignored by historians of the present generation. Indeed, when measured in terms of scope of action and historical relevance, Austria's war with Prussia and Italy in 1866 was Europe's greatest military conflict between the Napoleonic Wars and World War I. The Prussian triumph marked an important step in the unification of Germany, and Austria's subsequent cession of Venetia helped complete the unification of Italy. But perhaps it is a bit much to argue that the defeat of 1866 knocked Austria from the ranks of the great powers. The end of decades of ambiguity concerning the Austrian role in German and Italian affairs left Austria free to turn its attentions inward and southeastward, redefining itself constitutionally and as a hegemonic power in the Balkans. More than the actual peace terms exacted by Prussia and Italy, it was the flawed form of the constitutional redefinition—the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary, created in 1867—and the manner in which Vienna subsequently misplayed its Balkan cards that sealed Austria's fate.

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LAMAR CECIL, *Wilhelm II. Volume 2, Emperor and Exile, 1900–1941*. (H. Eugene and Lillian Youngs Lehman Series.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996. Pp. x, 503. \$39.95.

In 1989, Lamar Cecil published the first installment of his biography of the last Hohenzollern, which took the story of Wilhelm II down to the dismissal of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck in 1890 and Wilhelm's first decade as captain of the ship of state. The second volume completes the story, beginning with a "mid-passage" assessment and ending with the Kaiser's death in 1941. As always, Cecil writes clearly and elegantly, weaving personal anecdotes into lucid analyses of the Second Reich.

From the start, Cecil leaves no doubt concerning his approach to and his evaluation of Wilhelm II. It is, he informs the reader, a "dispiriting narrative of a man and a nation brought to needless ruin, a barren portrait of a career that was without virtue or accomplishment" (p. ix). Given the forty-year span of the book, the author has had to make choices concerning the selection of topics and materials. He has chosen to concentrate on what most concerned the Kaiser—the high drama of foreign politics—and in the process



was forced to omit or gloss over that which least interested His Majesty—the humdrum of domestic politics.

The research for the book is most impressive. Cecil has used to great advantage the voluminous records of the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle, the countless personal papers deposited at the German Federal Archive in Koblenz and the Federal Military Archive in Freiburg, the remaining Hohenzollern family archive in Berlin, as well as lesser-known depositories such as those of the Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg clan in Glücksburg and the Rijksarchief Papers at Utrecht. Moreover, Cecil is comfortable with the secondary works in the field and splendid at mining the rich memoir literature of the period. My only complaint concerns the area of military and naval history, where the author has ignored a good deal of the recent scholarship by Holger Afflerbach, Stig Förster, Dennis E. Showalter, and Wolfgang J. Mommsen. The same is true with regard to records acquired in 1990 from the Military Archive of the former German Democratic Republic, including the critical diaries of Erich von Falkenhayn and Hans von Plessen and the comprehensive Special Collection W-10 of the Army Research Institute for Military History, which deals with the economic and financial history of World War I.

Cecil is at his best when dealing with the personal tragedies and absurdities, the “baffling juxtaposition of modernity and reactionism” of the Kaiser’s reign: the Eulenburg scandal of 1906, the *Daily Telegraph* fiasco of 1907, the Zabern affair of 1913, and especially the bizarre years of exile at Haus Doorn in the Netherlands. In between, he retells the story of Wilhelm’s obsession with navalism in general and Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz (“the greatest German since Bismarck”) in particular. The emperor’s failure to resolve Germany’s relations with “perfidious Albion” was the “thread that ran through Kaiser Wilhelm II’s entire life” (p. 194). During World War I, what Erich Eyck called the vaunted *persönliches Regiment* of Wilhelm II was reduced to a “backseat occupied by a neglected, ill-informed, and increasingly inconsequential figurehead” (p. 219).

The portrait that emerges of the last Hohenzollern is devastating. To his earlier biases against the British, the Slavs, the Jews, and the “yellow race,” the Kaiser in exile added an “appalling streak of cold-bloodedness” as well as strident calls for the suppression of Britain’s (unidentified) “Hebraic and Masonic satellites” (pp. 346, 350). Cecil concludes that Wilhelm II failed “as a son, as a husband, as a father, as a friend, as a commander, as a statesman, and as an emperor.” The pattern of his official and long career descended “through parental alienation, marital tyranny, paternal frigidity, martial pretension, political obtuseness, diplomatic maladroitness, and finally, military in consequence” (p. 356). It will be interesting to see whether

Wilhelm’s other current biographer, John C. G. Röhl, is equally as damning in his final assessment.

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CHRISTOPH NONN. *Verbraucherprotest und Parteiensystem im wilhelminischen Deutschland*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 107.) Düsseldorf: Droste. 1996. Pp. 363. DM 78.

Christoph Nonn’s study of party politics in pre-1914 Germany focuses on the role of the consumer protest movement that developed in response to rising food prices in the early twentieth century. His thesis is that the primary conflict between German workers and the rest of society in the Wilhelmine period ran parallel to, and interacted with, a growing antagonism between urban consumers and agrarian producers as the latter sought to keep food prices artificially high by means of tariffs and other protective measures.

In the late nineteenth century, as Germany changed from a largely agricultural into a predominantly urban society, depressed agricultural prices raised the standard of living in the nation’s rapidly growing towns and cities. But by 1902, when the imperial government, under pressure from desperate farmers, abandoned free trade and imposed major protective tariffs on grain and other agricultural imports, the balance began to shift in favor of agricultural producers. In response, urban consumers soon began to mobilize in defense of their interests. Nonn notes, however, that instead of centering their protest on the price of bread, as in earlier times, German consumers now were well enough off to complain primarily about the sharply rising cost of meat.

Basing his analysis on a wide array of archival and printed sources, Nonn shows in detail how each of the political parties that participated in the Reichstag elections of 1903 and 1912 was affected by, responded to, and sought to benefit from growing consumer discontent. The clear winner was the Social Democratic Party (SPD): by 1914, the SPD, having become the chief advocate of consumer interests, had not only consolidated its traditional support among Protestant skilled industrial workers but had made serious inroads into the ranks of unskilled and Catholic workers and had even won over many urban middle-class employees and civil servants.

In the first part of the book, Nonn deals with the mobilization of urban consumers. After describing the leading role of the municipalities in getting the protest movement started, he discusses, in turn, the mobilization of women, workers, employees, and civil servants and describes the ambivalence of artisans and retailers, whose interests as consumers were often in conflict with their interests as producers and as owners of small businesses. The book’s second part concentrates on the “parties of the middle”: the Catholic Center Party, the National Liberals, and the left liberals. All changed

their strategy and policies, particularly after 1910, in a vain effort to accommodate the interests of urban consumers while retaining essential support among agrarian voters. The last part of the book, entitled "The Transformation of the Extremes," deals with the SPD on the left and the Conservatives on the right of the political spectrum. Whereas the SPD managed to change from a revolutionary worker's party to a reformist party capable of representing the interests of consumers across class lines, the agrarian-dominated Conservative Party failed in its attempt to become a popular people's party (*Volkspartei*), despite great efforts to expand its constituency in the west, to secure new funding from industry, and to distract attention from the economic discontents of the urban middle classes through a variety of nationalist, anti-socialist, and anti-Semitic appeals.

In a final chapter, Nonn summarizes his findings and looks ahead. During World War I, it was the consumer protest movement that eventually shattered the political truce (*Burgfrieden*). Although it initially took the form of street demonstrations against high prices and unfair food distribution, the consumers' cause was taken up by the political parties and soon coalesced with calls for peace and political reform. Although the conflict between urban consumers and agricultural producers continued after the war, political disputes over commercial policy never played a decisive role in the Weimar period. Moreover, the party political picture had been transformed: the extreme left was now occupied by a purely workers' party, the Communist Party (KPD), while the "new right" no longer rested on an entirely agrarian mass base. Although the German National People's Party (DNVP) and the Nazi Party (NSDAP) continued to do substantially better in the shrinking rural areas, both of these "new right" parties found support in all sectors of society—the NSDAP with greater success. Although Nonn cautions that his study can contribute little to the historical dispute about continuities between Wilhelmine Germany and the Third Reich, he therefore comes down on the side of discontinuity.

Nonn tells a complex story well. His book should be useful to specialists and to students interested in the development of modern political parties.

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STEFANIE SCHÜLER-SPRINGORUM. *Die jüdische Minderheit in Königsberg/Preussen, 1871–1945*. (Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, number 56.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1996. Pp. 422. DM 96.

Over the last two decades, the history of German Jews has become a major field of research and public attention in Germany. The broad interest in Jewish history has been motivated not only as a reaction to the destruction of Jewish life during the Third Reich and

the almost complete silence on Jewish topics in post-war Germany but also by general changes in the fields of historiography and cultural studies. In particular, the new emphasis on *Alltags- und Kulturgeschichte*, applied to questions concerning the formation of (inter) cultural identities, offers a paradigm for research in this area.

Stefanie Schüler-Springorum's book on the Jewish minority in Königsberg is a good example of this historiographical trend. It is a solid, well-researched account of the history of the Jews in the East Prussian capital between 1871 and 1945 and has profited heavily from the interpretative models and detailed findings of recent scholarship on German Jewish history. In particular, a more sophisticated understanding of Jewish acculturation challenges the misleading equation of "assimilation" with "denial of Jewishness." Moreover, the book emphasizes the Jewish community as a whole (including women and Eastern European Jews) and not just the elites or central organizations.

Schüler-Springorum's research is based on a variety of different sources, including the archives of the Königsberg Jewish community (for the imperial era), the local Jewish press, and the life stories of and interviews with Königsberg Jews now living in Israel, the United States, and Latin America. Schüler-Springorum is under no illusions about the limits of local history and seeks to view it through the prism of general history, thus providing a background that allows the reader to recognize both the representative and the unusual facets of the Königsberg case.

In 1871, 3,836 Jews (or 3.4 percent of the total population) were registered in Königsberg. After reaching a peak in 1880 with 5,324 (or 3.7 percent), their numbers were again diminished by deportation measures against Eastern European Jews, internal migration, and a low birth rate. In 1930, when the last census was taken before the Nazis came to power, 3,619 Jews (or 1.2 percent) lived in the city. Their history is divided into two very different phases, with the German defeat in 1918 as the turning point. During the imperial phase, they were relatively well integrated into the middle and lower-middle classes of Königsberg, which was a major commercial center in the agrarian trade with Russia. The specific occupational structure of the Jews—their concentration in trade and the free professions—corresponded closer with that of the non-Jewish middle class than in many other cities. This made Jews less conspicuous and allowed even the social inclusion of Eastern European Jews, as long as they were regarded as economically useful. Corresponding to the commercial spirit of the Königsberg middle class was the conservation of an "old-fashioned liberalism," which clung to the ideals of the emancipation era and paid tribute to the significant role of Jewish politicians (such as Johann Jacoby) in the city's past. It was this specific urban and social milieu (distinct from the conservative milieus of the civil service and the military, from which they remained excluded) that let Jews feel at home in Königs-

berg and develop a rich and diverse community life. Schüler-Springorum emphasizes in particular the strong influence of Eastern European immigrants, who "created a multi-faceted Russian-Jewish-German mixed culture on East Prussian soil" (p. 361) and tried to mediate between Eastern and Western Jews.

The changes caused by the German defeat in 1918 hit Königsberg harder than most other German cities. Trade with the East broke down; the new borders isolated the city, which was separated from the Reich by the "Polish corridor"; inflation swallowed up the savings of the predominantly middle-class population. The social climate within the city deteriorated, and Jews were among the first victims. Anti-Semitism had been an integral component of the radical, *völkisch* concept of German nationalism since the 1890s. As a result of the general increase in chauvinist and revisionist sentiments in the East Prussian province, as well as in Königsberg itself, it now became ubiquitous. In contrast to the pre-1918 period, liberal forces were no longer strong enough to keep this hate campaign at bay. Anti-Semitic agitation soon influenced all segments of society. With the rise of the Nazi movement, in particular after 1928, Königsberg became the scene of frequent violent attacks and even riots against Jews. By then, hardly any non-Jew would defend Jewish rights. The social exclusion of Königsberg's Jews, Schüler-Springorum aptly insists, was a process that began long before 1933.

This is a work of sound scholarship. It does not offer revolutionary new insights but impresses by its empirical richness, its attention to current scholarly debates, and, not least, its unpretentious and lucid style.

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MICHAEL SCHWARTZ. *Sozialistische Eugenik: Eugenische Sozialtechnologien in Debatten und Politik der deutschen Sozialdemokratie 1890–1933*. (Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Reihe Politik- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte, number 42.) Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz. 1995. Pp. 367. DM 58.

It is hardly surprising that recent revelations concerning the extent of so-called eugenic measures in post-World War II Scandinavia quickly became a media event in Germany. That a social democratic country like Sweden had a law on the books that, from the time it was enacted in 1935 until its repeal in 1976, allowed for the sterilization of some 60,000 mentally handicapped women and men (the vast majority of these procedures imposed against the will of the individuals in question) could potentially be used to relativize the iniquities of Nazi Germany's own draconian sterilization policy. Most recipients of such news, however, will rightly wonder how allegedly tolerant, democratic countries could subject their weakest and most defenseless members to policies usually associated with the barbarities of the Third Reich. Michael Schwartz's

book provides some important insights into this question. Indeed, in his concluding remarks, Schwartz suggests that by examining the "moderate" form of eugenics advocated by Weimar Germany's social democrats and comparing it to the programs and policies embraced by social welfare states such as Sweden, one gains a far better appreciation of both the allure and the danger of this quintessentially modern project than if one looks at its "radical" or extreme form, Nazi race hygiene. I could not agree more.

Specialists have long realized that the political right never held a monopoly on eugenic thought and practice, either in Germany or elsewhere. Wherein lies the specific connection between socialism and eugenics? What enabled members of Germany's Social Democratic Party (SPD) such as Karl Kautsky, Oda Olberg, and Henriette Fürth to become receptive to calls for the hereditary improvement of the nation? According to Schwartz, socialists and eugenicists both shared the ubiquitous scientism of their age: a scientism that both embodied the Promethean promise of transforming humankind and lent itself to various social engineering projects in Germany's health and welfare sectors. Although they rejected the racism and class prejudice of so-called bourgeois eugenicists in Germany and abroad, some social democrats—and, according to Schwartz, not simply those on the party's political right—began in the late Wilhelmine period to couch social policy issues such as improved hygienic conditions at home and in the work place, birth control (neo-Malthusianism), and liberalization of abortion restrictions in the language of eugenics. This trend was greatly accelerated after the birth of the ill-fated Weimar Republic, when so-called SPD eugenicists attempted to push through health-care certificates, and set up marriage counseling centers. During the crisis-ridden Depression years, they discussed the need for a voluntary sterilization law. Schwartz does well to remind us that many of these issues were viewed as especially relevant to women, and he does an excellent job of outlining the strategies of those SPD spokeswomen who, under the banner of eugenics, attempted to promote partisan policies.

The contentious questions running throughout this book are two: can one rightly speak of a coherent SPD eugenics policy; and, if so, was it important to SPD state and Reich party politics? Schwartz is at great pains to refute what he terms the "marginality thesis" put forth by Paul Weindling in *Health, Race and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism* (1989). Weindling claims that individual SPD eugenics advocates acted not as representatives of the party but as individuals, that there was no SPD eugenics policy to speak of, and that the subject of eugenics remained controversial within the party throughout the Weimar period. As counter-evidence, Schwartz cites the large number of eugenics-related articles in the SPD press, the use made by various SPD lobby groups of eugenic themes, the dissemination of eugenic ideas in communal health care practice, and the

attempt, almost completely unsuccessful, to enact eugenic measures on the state and Reich levels. Although I am not convinced that eugenics as such played a major role within the SPD, Schwartz's book provides a useful correction to Weindling's contention that left-wing eugenicists were primarily preoccupied with the allegedly less objectionable goals of "positive eugenics" (strategies designed to increase the number of so-called hereditarily fitter elements in society) rather than with projects, like sterilization, aimed at limiting the procreation of the "unfit." Indeed, one of the most original aspects of Schwartz's study is his detailed analysis of the controversy between the Catholic Center Party and the SPD in Prussia, over just how to regulate national health; the former stressed population policy programs and rejected SPD attempts to introduce eugenically based birth control and abortion legislation as well as sterilization. This said, it is an irony of history that, during the last year of the Weimar Republic, when preventing the "unfit" was seen as an appropriate means of lowering the welfare burden, the Center Party and not the SPD drafted a voluntary sterilization law that later served as a model for the Nazis.

Schwartz is not always clear about the reasons why SPD advocates embraced "negative eugenics." At one point, he argues that negative eugenics is easier to sell politically, since it is allegedly less value-laden than positive eugenics. Everyone is capable of recognizing who is truly "genetically defective," whereas the hereditarily perfect person is something far more subjective. This mistaken attempt to argue for good and bad forms of eugenics notwithstanding, Schwartz elsewhere offers a far more plausible reason for the socialist eugenicists' actions. Behind the social democrats' negative eugenics platform lay an attempt to biologize (to label as genetically defective) those already marginalized groups in German society that had never enjoyed public support. For the Weimar social democratic eugenicists and the highly skilled workers who formed their constituency, it was the *Lumpenproletariat* who, along with the mentally handicapped, should be socially engineered out of existence. The money saved by preventing the reproduction of such ostensibly inferior human beings could then be used for the good of the overwhelming majority of Germany's genetically healthy citizens.

Schwartz seems to be ambivalent about the kind of eugenics policies embraced by Weimar socialists. On the one hand, he argues that a form of "moderate eugenics" can exist in democratic countries. In his more critical moments, however, he demonstrates, using references from Michel Foucault and Detlev Peukert, just how intrinsically barbarous this modern project is. Today, all countries, social democratic or otherwise, are faced with burgeoning health care costs. The Human Genome project and gene therapy promise to supply medicine in the twenty-first century with biotechnical fixes for the financial and human misery caused by "defective genes." While in no way wishing

to equate these contemporary projects with the long-standing dystopian dream of racial improvement, Schwartz's historical study reminds us that even the standard-bearers of a humane and democratic tradition can be persuaded to engage in very inhumane and undemocratic practices if economic circumstances appear to make them unavoidable. Therein lie both the contemporary relevance of this book and our own need to remain vigilant.

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WILLIAM BRUSTEIN. *The Logic of Evil: The Social Origins of the Nazi Party, 1925-1933*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 235. \$27.50.

TIM KIRK. *Nazism and the Working Class in Austria: Industrial Unrest and Political Dissent in the "National Community."* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 190. \$44.95.

Until recent years, many historians believed that the industrial working class in Germany and Austria resisted the Nazi appeal better than any other social class, as evidenced by the strong vote that socialist and communist parties received in their countries. Although it is now generally acknowledged that the Nazis drew support from all social classes, regions, and religious groups in Germany and Austria, William Brustein and Tim Kirk emphasize that industrial workers formed an important and usually loyal group within the NSDAP from as early as 1925 to the end of the Third Reich.

Brustein is convinced that industrial workers consistently made up around forty percent of the Nazi Party's membership before 1933. Moreover, joiners of all kinds were motivated primarily by material rather than emotional or irrational considerations. Drawing from a wealth of information stored in Nazi Party membership records in the party's *Zentralkartei* as well as in numerous secondary sources, Brustein argues that, contrary to orthodox views, the Nazis were only slightly overrepresented in rural areas and only marginally underrepresented in Catholic communities.

Brustein maintains that both the Nazis' success at attracting skilled blue-collar workers, livestock farmers, and independent artisans and their failure to win over semi-skilled and unskilled laborers, female white-collar service employees, and grain-growing farmers can be attributed to their coherent economic programs. These programs were novel in combining eighteenth and nineteenth-century nationalist-etatist ideas with the Keynesian notion of governmental "pump-priming," and they were advocated by the Nazis long before such policies were adopted by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Indeed, between 1930 and 1933, the NSDAP laid out a series of economic programs designed specifically to aid farmers and to revive industrial employment. It was these programs, rather than anti-Semitism, xenophobia, and hypernationalism, that



helped attract 37.4 percent of the vote in the Reichstag elections of July 1934; Brustein is careful to point out that "no single factor can explain why 1.4 million Germans joined the Nazi Party between 1925 and 1932" (p. 177).

Brustein's book is at its best in pointing out the narrowness and inadequacies of the programs advocated by other political parties of the Weimar Republic. Brustein is also on solid ground in deemphasizing anti-Semitism and imperialism as major factors in the Nazi seizure of power. Yet one has to wonder how carefully unhappy voters read the Nazis' published programs. By way of comparison, how many voters in the United States could list even a few points of the Republican Party's "Contract with America" in 1994? Nor does Brustein note the apparent lack of options for the frustrated voters of the early 1930s. As Adolf Hitler himself was fond of pointing out, all the other major parties had had their chance to rule and had left Germany "a heap of ruins." Brustein argues that many workers were eager to raise their social status and had no desire to abandon the concept of private property, but he devotes little space to the innovative techniques and entertaining aspects of Nazi propaganda. In other words, he ignores the likelihood that German voters were attracted by *both* material interests and Hitler's irrational appeal and charisma. These factors, after all, were not mutually exclusive.

Kirk's book deals primarily with the period between 1938 and 1945 and concentrates on Austria, although the author does make frequent references to Greater Germany as a whole. Kirk also believes that the working class supported the Nazi regime, albeit not always enthusiastically or unequivocally. Austrian "workers had resisted the rise of fascism in the polling booths and on the streets, but did not flock to join the resistance against it once it was established in power" (p. 5). Most workers at first approved of the regime but were subsequently often disappointed. They were especially unhappy with unequal pay scales between workers in Austria and the rest of Germany following the annexation of Austria to the Reich in March 1938. Even the bitterness of anti-Nazis was seriously undermined, however, by the nearly continuous series of diplomatic and military victories between late 1938 and the middle of 1942.

Austrian workers resented the longer work day imposed on them by the government when the war began in September 1939, although their displeasure was mollified a few weeks later by the relaxation of the regulations. Everyday life for workers and others in Austria did not change drastically until the invasion of the Soviet Union. In the second half of the war, however, the mood of the workers was "sullen and querulous." But labor discipline never posed a serious problem for the regime or threatened to impede the war effort, except in the Slovene-speaking areas annexed from Yugoslavia. The second half of the war saw a rising sense of Austrian national identity and even resistance to the regime, but resisters fought as Com-

munists, Socialists, Roman Catholics, or Jehovah's Witnesses and not as a mass movement organized to restore Austrian independence.

Kirk devotes considerable space to labor shortages in Germany during the war. The percentage of women in the German industrial work force barely rose from 26.2 in 1940 to 26.5 in 1943. By contrast, forty-one percent of Soviet women were working in factories in 1940 compared to fifty-three percent three years later. The difference resulted partly from a lack of training among German women in arms-related industries and partly from early decisions to exploit foreigners in order to compensate for domestic shortfalls.

Both books are relatively free of factual mistakes. Kirk errs in claiming that Austria-Hungary was the third largest state in Europe in 1914, when in fact it was second only to the Russian Empire. It is also an exaggeration to say that Vienna lost a quarter of its inhabitants by 1939, although the departure and death of the Czechs and Jews did substantially reduce the capital's population. The Palace of Justice suffered a large fire in 1927, but it was not burned down. The Austrian economy still lagged well behind Germany's in 1938, but it had made considerable progress since 1936. Millions, not thousands, of Russian prisoners of war died in Nazi camps after 1941.

If Brustein's book is the more error-free of the two, readers will be greatly disappointed by the absence of a bibliography (although the book does contain thirty-four pages of endnotes, numerous graphs, and three appendixes). Kirk's study, by contrast, has an impressive thirteen-page bibliography that includes documents from the Austrian State Archives, the Archives of the Austrian Resistance Movement, the German Federal Archives in Koblenz, and the German Federal Military Archive in Freiburg, as well as numerous published documents and secondary sources. The book also has twenty-nine pages of endnotes. Both books are carefully researched, well organized, and well indexed. Their conclusions, however, will come as no great surprise to specialists.

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WALTER STRUVE. *Aufstieg und Herrschaft des Nationalsozialismus in einer industriellen Kleinstadt: Osterode am Harz 1918–1945*. Essen: Klartext. 1992. Pp. 634.

Specialists on the Third Reich such as Gerhard Paul argue that, over the past three decades, more local and regional studies have been devoted to the Nazi era than to any other period in German history. Walter Struve's contribution to this massive literature examines the impact of Adolf Hitler's movement on a small, predominantly Protestant community in the Harz region of north-central Germany. Hanna Behrend's regional analysis of the Nazi party in Gau Süd-Hannover Braunschweig before 1933 (*Die Beziehungen zwischen der NSDAP-Zentrale und dem Gauverband Süd-Hannover-Braunschweig 1921–1933* [1978]), together with a



number of specific works on communities in that area including the classic work by William Sheridan Allen on neighboring Northeim (*The Nazi Seizure of Power: The Experience of a Single German Town, 1930–1935* [1965]), make this a familiar region for specialists on the Nazi movement. Fortunately, Struve's exhaustive archival research, which is combined with extensive oral interviews, and his decision to investigate the impact of the Nazi movement on Osterode both before and after 1933 make his book a valuable addition to the literature on the Third Reich.

According to Struve, Osterode was a typical small agrarian-industrial community in north Germany with a population under 10,000. Over half of Germany's workers in 1933 lived in such locales, which Struve thinks Michael Kater mistakenly classified as rural places. Echoing Allen's findings for Northeim, Struve emphasizes the hostility of the local bourgeoisie to organized labor, particularly after the victory of the left in the election of 1928, which made Osterode's bourgeoisie "ripe" for National Socialism. He argues that the local bourgeoisie was used by the national bourgeoisie (which he never defines adequately) in its fight against the left and democracy. He agrees with Detlev J. G. Peukert, however, that the Nazi elite was never a part of the local bourgeois elite but instead came primarily from the petty bourgeoisie. Owners of textile factories, who had to deal with organized labor, did not join the party before 1933. The few workers attracted to National Socialism, particularly after March 1933, were "proletarian artisans" who were often pressured by the managers of small firms to support the movement. According to Struve, the substantial electoral success of Hitler's movement in the rural sections of Osterode was due to the conversion of prosperous farmers to Nazism. In general, though, Struve attributes the electoral success of the Nazi party after 1929 primarily to national issues and to the image of the Nazi party as an alternative to bourgeois parties.

In contrast to Allen, Struve does not emphasize the local contribution to the Nazi seizure of power in 1933. He describes, instead, the impact of national policies on Osterode's Marxists, Jews, Jehovah's Witnesses, workers, and the local bourgeoisie. Orders came from Berlin to eliminate the influence of Marxists and to persecute Jehovah's Witnesses, who were also predominantly workers. Struve offers the first examination of the treatment of that religious sect in a small German community, and his findings seem to confirm what we know about that group in Augsburg. He corroborates Kater's findings that only half, not all, were arrested, and he suggests that some chose accommodation with the regime. Jews, on the other hand, were part of the local bourgeoisie and culturally better integrated in Osterode than were Catholics before 1933. Like Allen, Struve notes little anti-Semitism before the arrival of the Nazis. Although Struve can rely on the testimony of Jewish survivors to document that some Osterode citizens aided Jews, by late 1938 most Jewish stores were controlled by new owners, and four years later an

article in the local newspaper mentioned the extermination of Jews.

Struve asserts that after 1933, the local non-Jewish bourgeoisie, although subject to the political control of the Osterode Nazis, maintained its social and economic power. The establishment of four major armament firms in the city, however, endangered the local bourgeoisie's economic dominance. Struve is critical of scholars who downplay Nazi repression and, not surprisingly, he suggests that resistance after 1934 was impossible, although opposition to Nazi values persisted. He blames Socialists more than Communists for the failure of any hope of resistance. Struve maintains that state and party policies, rather than those of local firm owners, created a split among workers. The evidence he presents to explain the brutal conditions in one local factory, where the performance of the foreign workers (POWs) had no effect on the income of German skilled workers, seems to confirm Ulrich Herbert's thesis that local work conditions affected the attitude of German workers toward foreign slave labor. Struve concludes that the destruction of the power of labor together with the atomization of society allowed the center, and particularly the "highest social circles" (p. 530), to determine basic policies and to establish total power.

There is little in this book on nationalistic consensus after 1933 or on the operations of the local party and its affiliates. With the exception of a few references to election results, farmers are ignored, and Struve fails to document his charge that large industry financed the party before 1933. Nevertheless, this is an important book, particularly in terms of its scholarship, which rivals that of Lawrence Stokes's study of Eutin (*Kleinstadt und Nationalsozialismus* [1984]). Struve addresses a number of significant issues with regard to National Socialism in general, ranging from the role played by rural elites to the relationship between central leadership and local initiatives. Especially valuable are his efforts to compare his findings on the negative reaction of workers to National Socialism with those of local studies on Northeim, Eutin, and Göttingen. Future local and regional studies of the Nazi movement will be especially valuable if they explain the conversion of Marxist workers to National Socialism, as Franz Walter did for several Thuringian communities (*Von der roten zur braunen Hochburg*, in Detlev Heiden and Gunther Mai, eds., *Nationalsozialismus in Thüringen* [1995]).

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KLAUS KREIMEIER. *The Ufa Story: A History of Germany's Greatest Film Corporation 1918–1945*. Translated by ROBERT KIMBER and RITA KIMBER. New York: Hill and Wang. 1996. Pp. viii, 451. \$35.00.

Klaus Kreimeier's book explores the luminescent world of Germany's twentieth-century dreams. Superbly translated and gracefully written, it combines

powerful analysis and riveting narration. While indulging whimsical curiosity regarding the fascinating men and women who worked for Ufa, it raises profound questions about the nature of modern desire. Kreimeier probes the complicity of Germany's dream factory in the Third Reich's death factories, but he follows other storylines as well: the technology of filming, the business of producing, the responses of audiences, and the expressiveness of the medium. A shelf of books about popular culture in Weimar and Nazi Germany already exists; however, Kreimeier's study stands out as an interpretation that is more supple than Siegfried Kracauer's *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film* (1947), more substantial than John Willett's *Art and Politics in the Weimar Period* (1978), and more democratic in taste than Peter Gay's *Weimar Culture* (1968).

What gave Ufa its shape was its contradictory nature, since the company existed in a "force field made up of capital, politics, film, and the public" (p. 33). Kreimeier opens with imperial politics, which underlay the 1917 initiative of the Army Supreme Command to acquire an interest in German films and establish Universum-Film AG, or Ufa. Ufa's history is bracketed by battle scenes: "It began with nine hundred field theaters for the Imperial Office of Photography and Film, and it ended on January 30, 1945, in the fort of La Rochelle with the premiere of *Kolberg*" (p. 4). General Erich Ludendorff, a key player in the founding of Ufa, was quite frank in his assessment of how much modern warfare depended on the mobilization of popular sentiment, and his insights continued to govern how the German state put visual media to use. From their beginnings on the streets of Berlin, films allowed city people to re-view themselves in highly sensual and melodramatic settings. Urban thrills, like the con artistry of Wilhelm Voigt, the "Hauptmann von Köpenick," in October 1906; the great train wreck at Gleisdreieck in September 1908; or the patriotic demonstrations of July 1914 were all replayed a few days later in Friedrichstrasse movie theaters. What Ufa's military overseers wanted to do was to give a patriotic glow to the melodramatic tensions on which film thrived.

To make it possible for spectators to take visual pleasure in the representation of the nation was also the great ambition of the Nazis. The screened images of National Labor Day (May 1, 1933), for example, recreated what participants scattered about Berlin's Tempelhof Field had not necessarily been able to experience: the synchronized movement of masses around the pivot of leadership in what amounted to choreographed plebiscites. Film coverage persistently repaired reality by allowing audiences to insert themselves in larger collective destinies. These cinematic framings were powerful operations, and to his credit Kreimeier acknowledges the emotional force they gave nationalism. Indeed, war and film replenished the meanings of the modern nation-state and nurtured fantasies about liberation and movement to such an

extent that it is inadequate to summarize the dreams of audiences who flocked to *Fridericus Rex* in 1922 as simply "anti-democratic" and "authoritarian" (p. 96).

Kreimeier is not always sure how nationalist fare satisfied audiences. He faults the Left for not appealing to "psychic and emotional life" and thereby allowing "reactionary forces" an uncontested monopoly over the "imagination of the masses" (p. 176). Here Kreimeier stresses the connection between the big screen and the grand nation. Yet in the Third Reich, these connections evidently frayed. While "National Socialist 'reality' imitated cinema" with its parade-ground choreography and extravagant public architecture, the cinema itself retired into "nooks and crannies," producing escapist drama during the war years (p. 250). The recycled notion of escape is not particularly convincing, and Kreimeier sidesteps the question of precisely how movies drew audiences into a collective destiny or gave them relief from it.

The beginnings of an answer are provided by Kreimeier's close attention to cinema's sensual and erotic aspects. These may have created occasional affinities to the nation, but they also generated other emotional responses. Already in 1918, Ufa's civilian filmmakers dismayed their military sponsors by producing decidedly non-martial projects that starred Pola Negri and Henny Porten, depicted "loose and fast living," and tickled the fancy of apprentices and clerks (p. 39). Precisely because Ufa was a business as well as a propaganda arm and a place of artistic and technical experimentation in which Social Democrats and Jews played key roles, Ufa films cannot be reduced to a single influence. Neither Ludendorff, nor Alfred Hugenberg, the reactionary press lord who took over management in 1927, nor even Joseph Goebbels, the Nazi propaganda chief, obtained complete command; their empire was "difficult to survey and recalcitrant by its very nature" (p. 72). Kreimeier thus sensibly rejects Kracauer's "dark teleology," in which Weimar film screened Germany's fascist pathology. Such a view "denies the role of chance and uncertainty" and rejects the multitudinous possibilities of history (p. 54). The great strength of this book is to keep the various parts of Ufa's machinery in view. Its history, Kreimeier writes, is "a mix of politics and economics, science and technology, mass madness and mass dreams, kitsch, commerce, and art all stirred together in a complex, self-contradictory, and explosive brew" (p. 3). Unfortunately, Kreimeier passes over "hallucinatory offerings and fascinating possibilities" (p. 36) too lightly. Film audiences are not examined closely, and Patrice Petro's devastating critique of Kracauer (*Joyless Streets: Women and Melodramatic Representation in Weimar Germany* [1989]) and of scholarly focus on the male spectator is ignored.

By the time Kreimeier introduces the Third Reich, Ufa is beleaguered but not beaten. After 1933, the best talents emigrated, mostly to Hollywood; production costs soared; exports collapsed; and National Socialist ideological direction under Goebbels created general

confusion. Nonetheless, old forces remained alive: Nazi ideologues complained bitterly about Ufa's penchant for "the odd and the strange, the exceptional and the eccentric," that is, "the very qualities in cinema that had made the medium such a joy for so many people" (p. 265). Moreover, Ufa failed to produce a prototype of the new fascist. The "international flair and worldly eroticism" of Lilian Harvey or Zarah Leander "held sway over Germany's emotions and triumphed elegantly over the Reich Film Guild's guidelines and Rosenberg's doctrine of the Aryan type" (p. 297). There is an unmistakable redemptive note here: amid all the disgrace, charm endures. Yet Kreimeier refuses to lighten these ambiguous grays too much. Depicting naughty sensuality, achieving technical virtuosity, using influence to protect friends, film stars in the Third Reich deluded themselves into thinking they had stayed clean when in fact they had long since become "part of the Nazis' public world and were partially responsible for its horrors" (p. 302). The great achievement of this engrossing book is to show how thoroughly the industry of illusion had become a constituent part of the reality that it appeared on screen to mock.

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ERIC RENTSCHLER, *The Ministry of Illusion: Nazi Cinema and Its Afterlife*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996. Pp. xvi, 456. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$25.00.

Eric Rentschler makes an important contribution to the growing body of literature on the cinema of the Third Reich, the medium so highly prized by Adolf Hitler and Joseph Goebbels because it married ideology, propaganda, and aesthetics to modern technology. Myth and reality were joined in film, an art form unparalleled in its ability to project seductive images of beauty as well as repulsive racial stereotypes. Rentschler is the first writer to enable us to see both the continuity of Nazi film with the Weimar era and its influence on world culture down to the present day. He places the era clearly within the history of cinema, assigning praise where it is due, yet he balances this artfully by demonstrating that a message of unspeakable criminality was often bathed in ethereal light. The result was what Rentschler calls "psychotechnology." He plays Babelsberg off against Hollywood with considerable skill, never losing sight of the interplay between the era's two film capitals. Rentschler is an astute judge of the many roles Goebbels assigned himself, beginning as the intendant—the originator of concepts appropriate to cinematic treatment within the framework of the star system—and embracing the functions of a business manager concerned with finances and box office figures. Rentschler is the first film historian adequately to focus on the role of cinema as entertainment in the Third Reich. He shows as no one before him how film established models for popular culture and for concepts of beauty and fashion

that reverberated through radio, advertising, and mass marketing. Few scholars read a film with greater sophistication or more nuanced appreciation for the interplay of theme and technical delivery. Unquestionably, Rentschler ranks with the best international film critics.

Taken together, this study represents a significant achievement. The book, however, is not without major flaws. The author falls short in his claim of offering a breakthrough in uniting history, theory, and analysis. Although the research on directors, studios, and films is remarkable, there are serious shortcomings in historical sources. A book with this title must be based on all of the extant archival materials dealing with the Ministry of Propaganda, but the Goebbels diaries discovered in the archives of the former Soviet Union (now being published by the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich) were not tapped. Nor did Rentschler consult many other extensive archival collections dealing with the Nazi propaganda elite. He conducted few interviews with surviving stars, directors, and technicians of Third Reich cinema, and his use of the extensive personnel files on individual artists available in the Reich Film Chamber holdings of the Berlin Document Center is far too limited. Moreover, Harvard University Press editors should have insisted on a more effective conceptual framework for the book. As it is, important material on Goebbels must be ferreted out from otherwise commendable chapters on individual films.

Flamboyant prose and jargon, joined with a relentlessly self-congratulatory introduction (the author uses the pronoun "I" some thirty-eight times in this section alone) will trouble some readers. Patience is called for as one is informed that in the Third Reich a state apparatus "colonises fantasy production," while "Fascist aesthetics . . . represent a function of formal surfaces" (p. 14). Nazi films are said to "dialecticize reality," most notably *Hitlerjunge Quex* (1933), where "a movement occupied an individual in the hope of overcoming masses" (p. 59). The historic Paracelsus is rendered "the servant of an ideological elsewhere" (p. 180). The film *La Habanera* (1937) is said to deliver "a synthesis of noble kitsch and nuanced *Kammerspiel*, a regressive scenario outsmarted by an ironic *mise en scene*" (p. 129).

Despite these weaknesses, Rentschler's chapters on the films and careers of Leni Riefenstahl, Luis Trenker, Veit Harlan, Zarah Leander, G. W. Pabst, Hans Albers, and Werner Kraus are valuable. His analysis of Riefenstahl's *The Blue Light* (1932), focusing on the *Bergfilm* genre, is pathbreaking, and his reflections on Trenker's *The Prodigal Son* (1934), blending *Heimat* longing and the poignancy of alienation and suffering during the Depression with the ultimate homecoming to the Alpine heartland, are memorable. The appendixes offer an astonishing compendium of facts and events, directorial filmographies, and film and videotape sources that scholars, archivists, and teachers will all find useful.

Rentschler has written the most important book of Third Reich film criticism, technique, and semiotics to date. A major contribution to the history of an art form, it is seriously deficient at the interface of art and politics. It draws a false dichotomy between ideology and entertainment. By diminishing the importance of ideology in film, it distorts rather than illuminates historical reality. David Welch's *Propaganda and the German Cinema, 1933–1945* (1983) remains the standard work on the historic Goebbels and Nazi cinema.

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TILMAN HARLANDER. *Zwischen Heimstätte und Wohnmaschine: Wohnungsbau und Wohnungspolitik in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus*. (Stadt, Planung, Geschichte, number 18.) Basel: Birkhäuser. 1995. Pp. 340.

Perhaps only narrow specialists are interested in housing policies of Nazi Germany. Yet, while housing policies might seem to be among the lesser aspects of the Third Reich, this book by Tilman Harlander is really about politics, providing fascinating behind-the-scenes glimpses of major personalities struggling for power and for Adolf Hitler's attention.

Harlander uncovered evidence of major conflicts of purpose and divergence of views among housing policymakers, and his book clarifies the processes that gave tangible form to Nazi political ideology. Among Harlander's principal theses are that housing policies emerged not only from Hitler himself but also from a power struggle among his paladins, and that, furthermore, the decisions made during this era laid the foundation for postwar rebuilding and urban development. He argues against the still-prevalent tendency to see Nazi building programs as all of one type. Even the ideological tendencies they represented, he says, were anything but unified; they ranged from anti-metropolis, back-to-the-earth rural settlements to pompous urban housing monuments.

A surprising and valuable contribution is the emphasis the book gives to Robert Ley and the Deutsche Arbeitsfront (DAF) that he led for all twelve years of the Thousand-Year Reich. Ley might seem to have been relatively unimportant compared to Albert Speer and Martin Bormann, but Harlander convinces us otherwise. Following the suppression of opposition and Nazification of the labor unions on May 2, 1933, Ley took over as leader of the DAF, a crucial Nazi party organization that exemplified the Reich's dualistic nature in being Nazi Party on the one hand and national government on the other. Under Ley, the DAF competed directly with the Ministry of Labor and won far greater influence. (To put things into perspective, the DAF under Ley apparently took on many of the competencies of the American government's Departments of Health and Human Services, Labor, and Housing and Urban Development.)

Other major players were Fritz Todt, Speer, and

Bormann. Todt, as Inspector General for Highways, built the Autobahn; he also became Minister for Arms and Munitions in 1940 and Inspector General for Water and Energy in 1941. He was thus engaged in housing workers in crucial industries. Speer, originally Inspector General for Building in Berlin, took on all of Todt's responsibilities when the latter died in 1942 and gained unprecedented powers as Reich Minister for Armaments and Wartime Production in 1943. Bormann rose to be Chief of the Nazi Chancellery and Hitler's powerful personal secretary. Yet, when all of these men became members of a commission to determine guidelines for new housing in 1940, it was Ley whom Hitler chose to chair the commission and whom he made Reich Commissar for Social Housing. Presenting and sorting out the views and machinations of these and other leading figures is a significant service that Harlander provides.

Among the benefits of this book is its linkage, both backward to the famous workers' housing projects of the Weimar era and forward to postwar social housing in the Federal Republic. Anyone seeking insights concerning either architecture or urban planning will, however, be disappointed. As Harlander concludes, housing policy in Nazi Germany was essentially a failure, and little about it was new. Rather than investing heavily in housing, the government chose to seek radical reductions in building costs, coming ultimately to the point of absolutely minimal dwellings.

Thus, what makes Harlander's book stimulating reading is its analysis of the politics of policymaking and the vivid relief in which major players are portrayed. What is obscured in the footnotes is the gross exploitation of slave labor in building German housing during the Nazi era. Also virtually buried is the fact that Ley committed suicide in 1945, after being accused but before he could be tried as a major war criminal.

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GÖTZ ALY. *"Endlösung": Völkerverschiebung und der Mord an den europäischen Juden*. Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer. 1995. Pp. 446. DM 48.

This is an important but annoying book. In it, Götz Aly presents his latest archival findings in support of the thesis that the "Final Solution"—that is, the murder of the European Jews—was the result of a long "decision-making process," intimately coupled with plans to repatriate ethnic Germans and reorganize the populations of Eastern Europe and eventually implemented without Adolf Hitler's direct order. Continuing his earlier work on economic planners, Aly now focuses on the activities of middle-level bureaucrats charged with implementing the movement of populations. Aly, whose earliest research focused on the so-called Euthanasia program, also correctly demonstrates the intimate relation between Operation T4 and the Final Solution: T4 served as model, proved that mass mur-



der was feasible, and showed that the German elites would cooperate.

Although Aly's book is a valuable contribution to our understanding of the origins of the Holocaust, it remains a work in progress; he concludes that many questions remain open (pp. 387–88). Aly presents his research results, as the book's format shows: interspersed with the text are chronologies and quotes from documents—a total of 107 pages—to substantiate the author's arguments. This is Aly's strength; he is a superb archival researcher who has combed through previously unused collections and discovered many new documents. The work is designed for experts; non-specialists will find it extremely difficult to read. Based on his wide-ranging documentation, Aly presents an imaginative interpretation of events, but many of his conclusions remain questionable.

Aly presents three distinct strands of his story in one chronologically arranged work. One strand traces the interconnection between the plans to alter the ethnic composition of Eastern Europe and the plans to solve the so-called Jewish Question. This portion represents Aly's major contribution: he demonstrates that Heinrich Himmler's representatives attempted to combine the repatriation of ethnic Germans with the deportation of the Jews. The two projects were interdependent, and as they collided and thus could not be completed, the frustrated resettlement experts searched for ever more grandiose and brutal solutions. This produced what Hans Mommsen has described as "cumulative radicalization" (p. 398). One might add that the decision to assign both tasks to the same men—Reinhard Heydrich and his agents—made frustration inevitable.

In another strand of his story, Aly describes in detail the various plans to deport the Jews. He shows that as one plan collapsed, another, larger plan took its place. The Lublin reservation plan failed because the space was needed for repatriated ethnic Germans; one might argue, however, that an attempt to resettle millions of Jews inside densely populated Europe was doomed even without the arrival of ethnic Germans. The Madagascar plan failed because any deportation overseas required German world supremacy. The last plan—to deport the Jews to the far reaches of Russia—emerged as Germany prepared to invade the Soviet Union. This plan had to be shelved when Germany failed to defeat the Soviets.

Aly argues convincingly that "defeat" in the east produced the decision to murder the European Jews, and also Gypsies (p. 382) in newly constructed killing centers (p. 393). According to Aly, this shift occurred during October and November 1941. Here Aly enters the debate about specific dates. Christopher Browning's argument (in *German Studies Review* 17 [1994]) that the shift came in the summer during the "euphoria of victory" is equally convincing. Possibly both interpretations are partly true: the shift occurred in the summer but both deportation and killing overlapped until the decision could be fully implemented.

The final strand in Aly's story is his discussion of decision making. This is the most problematic aspect of his work. First, he does not distinguish sufficiently between a decision and its implementation, and he therefore tends to ascribe causation where none existed. A good example is his argument that, in the fall of 1940, the housing needs of expatriated ethnic Germans led to the murder of handicapped patients by T4 along the German-Polish border (pp. 114–26, 187–95). No doubt, various agencies profited from mass murder, but one did not cause the other, even if the perpetrators then and later pointed to "rational objectives" (p. 55) to justify their actions. But as Hitler had already authorized the murder of the handicapped, those killings only involved forms of implementation.

Second, Aly portrays an uninvolved Führer who issued no order, whose decision was not required, and who did not wish to be informed about details (pp. 389–90, 395). This is not credible. Whether we call it an "order" or something else, his paladins would never have embarked on what Aly agrees was a singular and unprecedented crime (pp. 393–94) without Hitler's authorization. But Hitler was not uninvolved. For example, Aly does not mention that Karl Brandt testified at Nuremberg that, at the start of Operation T4, the Führer personally made the decision to use gas as the killing agent.

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MICHAEL P. CARROLL. *Veiled Threats: The Logic of Popular Catholicism in Italy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 275. \$39.95.

Continuing along the lines of his 1992 book, *Madonnas that Maim*, Michael P. Carroll sets out to elucidate the world of popular Catholicism in Italy from the late Middle Ages to the present. As he notes, this book is not based on original archival research but rather utilizes material published over the past couple of decades by Italian scholars. Indeed, one of the goals of the book is to make the findings of such studies known to the non-Italian-reading scholarly community.

Carroll focuses on a series of beliefs and practices associated with Catholicism that in some important ways conflict with official church doctrine. These include cults surrounding Madonna figures and the worship of sacred images, sacred relics, and the skeletal remains of saints. Carroll's central thesis is that, far from being the product of the Catholic Church, these aspects of Italian popular Catholicism arose among the masses and conditioned the church hierarchy. Italians, in his view, are "predisposed . . . to invest sacred images with supernatural power" (p. 57). Church officials have had to adapt to this popular demand or risk losing the allegiance of their flock.

An example is provided by the cults surrounding images of the Madonna. Carroll agrees with the many



other scholars who have noted that worship of the Madonna has deeper popular roots in Italy than devotion to any Christ figure. While others have referred to this as marian worship, however, Carroll finds such terminology misleading. Official church rationalizations to the contrary notwithstanding, he asserts, Italians viewed each separate image of the Madonna as an independent, powerful, supernatural force and not merely as a representation of the one Mary. Accordingly, Carroll refers to this as madonnine worship, and he chronicles its multitudinous expressions in Italy.

For Carroll, the history of Catholicism in Italy is the history of a continuous tension between an official church, with its theology and ritual system, and a populace having its own, deeply rooted views of the supernatural realm. It is a struggle in which, in his view, the illiterate masses long enjoyed the upper hand. As Carroll sees it, the Catholic Church in Italy was a major beneficiary of these folk beliefs at the time of the Reformation, for at the center of the new Protestant orthodoxy was the rejection of sacred images and all that went with them. By coopting relic cults and madonnine devotion, the Catholic Church was able to present itself as the embodiment of popular religiosity in Italy and turned the population against the Protestant threat.

How does Carroll explain the Italian propensity toward religious practices of this sort? He does so first by positing an Italian "national character," one element of which is the tendency not to draw a sharp line between the natural and the supernatural. This, in proper psychoanalytic fashion, he links to childrearing experiences in Italy through which the child is impeded from distinguishing clearly between the self and the external world. From this, Carroll concludes that the tendency to blur the line between the natural and the supernatural "derives from strong unconscious oral erotic desires that predispose Italians toward modes of thinking that emphasize incorporation" (p. 233). Along the way, he uses the argument to account for the great popularity in Italy of representations of the *Madonna con bambino*, the mother with her nursing child.

What evidence does Carroll produce to support this oral fixation of Italians? He points to the practice of sending newborns out to paid wetnurses in fifteenth-century Florence and to infant abandonment, both presumably resulting in babies who suffered from poor milk. Yet among the peasant masses—the very population who in Carroll's account were the originators of popular Catholicism in Italy—sending children to paid wetnurses was never common. Moreover, infant abandonment, while common enough in Italian rural areas, was probably no less common in countries such as France. How could it explain the peculiarities of Italian national character?

This book provides a readable and useful summary of the results of recent Italian studies of popular religion in Italy and argues provocatively for the

primacy of folk religion over the religion of the church hierarchy in explaining major aspects of popular participation in religious practices. Carroll's attempts to explain the peculiarities of Italian popular religion, on the other hand, remain less than convincing.

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MARTA PETRUSEWICZ. *Latifundium: Moral Economy and Material Life in a European Periphery*. Translated by JUDITH C. GREEN. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1996. Pp. xviii, 289. \$52.50.

From the late 1700s to the late 1800s, Italian agricultural writers concentrated on the great land properties (*latifundia*), seeing them as efficient and economical in contrast to small-scale farms, which were viewed as inefficient, uneconomical, and moving toward extinction. After the economic depression of the 1880s and 1890s, these views were reconsidered; many argued the merits of a peasant agriculture, although others continued to see rationality in the *latifundia*.

Agriculture in general suffered from the economic depression at the end of the nineteenth century, and *latifundism* became associated with the environmental, agricultural, and social ills of southern Italy. Specifically, inefficient monoculturalism, social injustice, polarization of social classes, and the degradation of the physical and social environment were viewed as reactionary by-products of *latifundism*. The *latifundia* were perceived to be disinterested in innovation while striving to preserve domination.

This is the context within which Marta Petrusiewicz sets her thesis that the *latifundium* was not a rigid, uniform, reactionary, monocultural system. She argues that there were a variety of contractual agreements and judicial institutions, much crop diversification, and production for the market as well as for direct consumption. Petrusiewicz examines the "golden age" of the *latifundium*, when it was a well utilized, stable system maintained by efficiency and justice. Its decline came just as the "Southern Question" arose. The method of exposition is by a case study of the Barracco estate, the largest in Calabria. Petrusiewicz insists that her case study is not intended to be a general representation of *latifundism* in southern Italy, nor to draw conclusions about *latifundism* in general. Rather, it is intended as a "reconstruction" of the economic and social processes that were used in the *latifundist* system. While tracing the development of the estate, Petrusiewicz keeps a larger question in mind: what role did *latifundism* play in the transition from feudalism to capitalism?

The formation of the Barracco estate through purchases of former feudal estates and expropriated lands, foreclosed properties and the settling of other debts, and encroachment is described in much detail. This particular estate, and *latifundism* in general, remained a stable system through the 1860s. According to Petrusiewicz, the stability of the system was espe-

cially maintained by what she calls a "guarantee system": a set of noncontractual, informal and traditional, mutual expectations based on reciprocity. The owners expected the workers to be loyal, grateful, and good workers. The workers expected from the owners job security, gifts, and help meeting family and other needs. The result was social and economic stability and security.

What changed this relationship? Modernization, according to Petrusiewicz. The latifundisti were not rigid and could not afford to be so. They had to introduce modern machinery and methods to generate sufficient income to meet increasing social and political costs; they also had to compete for markets with the agricultural capitalism of the north during a time of economic hardship. The owners' relationship with workers was modified by the resulting revisions in workers' contracts and unemployment, and these in turn destabilized society. Thus, the traditional latifundist practices did not lead to the "Southern Question." Rather, changes in those practices coincided with the rise of southern Italian social ills.

Ultimately, Petrusiewicz concludes that latifundism had little to do with feudalism or with capitalism. Despite some similarities with both, latifundism neither evolved from feudalism nor evolved into capitalism. It bridged a gap in the agricultural changes in southern Italy.

Discussing the context and thesis of Petrusiewicz's book does not do justice to its detailed descriptions of the economy and society of the latifundium as well as of the personal relationships among the Barraccos and the personalities of individuals. Although the author is correct in stating that the book is not a general representation of latifundism during its golden age, clearly there is much here to build on.

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FULVIO DE GIORGI, *La scienza del cuore: Spiritualità e cultura religiosa in Antonio Rosmini*. (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico, number 25.) Bologna: Mulino. 1995. Pp. 628. L. 60,000.

The history of ideas has a peculiar challenge in attempting to assess a well-known philosopher admired by contemporaries and remembered by historians for writings and positions seemingly unrelated to the concerns at the core of his philosophy. Antonio Rosmini Serbati is usually recalled as one of the Lombard intellectuals of the early Risorgimento. Admirer of Ludovico Antonio Muratori, friend of Alessandro Manzoni and Niccolò Tommaseo, in touch with many of the leading reformers and patriots of his day, he is often cited as evidence of the accommodation that ought to have been possible between a reasonable church and a moderate state. His biography reinforces this impression of a potential sadly unrealized. In 1848,

Rosmini was in Rome counseling reform and, when the revolution there turned radical, loyally accompanied the pope to Gaeta. Once there, however, he was effectively ostracized; a number of his writings were put on the index, including his most famous work, *Della cinque piaghe della Santa Chiesa* (1848), and his (very moderate) essay on constitutions and social justice. When Camillo Cavour sent Rosmini to explain to Pius IX that Piedmont's legislation on church-state relations was not anticlerical, the pope was not convinced.

All of this was peripheral, however, to Rosmini's major concerns. His great project (which resulted in widely cited, multi-volume treatises marked by a wide-ranging, erudite, and often arcane eclecticism) was a philosophic system that reconciled the German philosophy of his day, from Kant to Hegel, with Catholic theology. More central still, Fulvio De Giorgi argues, was his spirituality, which focused on a particular conception of the Sacred Heart. In many respects a reclusive philosopher, Rosmini was also the director of a charitable institution and confessor to several prominent religious orders of women. De Giorgi makes a weighty case that the strands that connect Rosmini's intellectual friendships and public activities with his philosophic work and religious life all pass through his devotion to the Sacred Heart (contrasted with the Jesuit use of the Sacred Heart as militant symbol).

Di Giorgi takes more than five hundred pages of dense prose to do it, and his method is as eclectic as Rosmini's philosophy. He explores Rosmini's old regime roots, including his ties to the work of Filippo Neri and Alfonso di Liguori and his admiration for Joseph de Maistre. But Rosmini's debt to Muratori and the Italian and French writers of the Enlightenment receives comparable attention. Rosmini straddled the eras before and after the French Revolution, De Giorgi concludes. Citations from his correspondence with leading Catholics famous for their independence of church discipline are used to establish that spiritual matters were among their mutual concerns, just as they were the concern of the bishops, clergy, nuns, and pious lay people with whom Rosmini also corresponded. The study's admirable larger ambition is to trace the entire web of connections and influences that constitute Rosmini's intellectual environment. There are numerous references to Saint Simonianism and Mazzinianism, to René de Chateaubriand and Antonio Fogazzaro, and to dozens of others. These connecting webs extend beyond contemporaries to Plato, Augustine, Bernard of Clairvaux, Francis of Assisi, and Thomas Aquinas; the complex intersections of their thought within that of Rosmini are given erudite and elliptical theological labels by De Giorgi, who attributes touches of Vincentianism, Salesianism, Eudism, and Jansenism to various positions and attitudes. Influences are traced into the future (to Bertrando Spaventa and Giovanni Gentile) as well as the past, and it comes as no surprise that the book

concludes by finding some vindication for Rosmini's thought in positions taken at Vatican II.

Many of the attributions in this learned study are hard to follow or difficult to pin down, and there may be tendency here to conflate rhetorical tradition with intellectual influence. No reader, however, could fail to learn from the evidence De Giorgio provides of the vitality of religious inspiration in the culture of the period, of the extent to which a provincial, nineteenth-century Italian philosopher was in touch with major European intellectual currents, and of the ease with which a serious and deep thinker of the early Risorgimento could share that era's optimistic dreams.

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SILVANA PATRIARCA. *Numbers and Nationhood: Writing Statistics in Nineteenth-Century Italy*. (Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 280. \$49.95.

This carefully researched book explores an important chapter of Italian intellectual history, namely the development of statistics during the Risorgimento as a complement to the "production" of the Italian nation. As a primary avenue of investigation, Silvana Patriarca focuses on the works of Italy's pioneering statistical thinkers, from the restoration publications of Melchiorre Gioia and Gian Domenico Romagnosi to the post-unification works, both official and academic, of Pietro Maestri, Cesare Correnti, and Angelo Messedaglia. Along this trajectory, she documents changes in practice, from the descriptive statistics of Gioia to the social physics of Messedaglia, and in ideology. The fundamental transition she documents demonstrates the malleability of the statistical enterprise, for the statistics used by Risorgimento statisticians to present an image of a unified (or unifiable) nation served after unification instead to identify and codify Italian regional diversity.

A second and parallel avenue of investigation is the production of official statistics, first in the pre-unification states and then in the newly united kingdom. Various influenced by French and German/Austrian models, statistics collecting received differing degrees of government encouragement after 1815 in the effort to better know and administer the restoration states. Italian statisticians themselves did not always share official concerns, as they generally pursued statistical investigations first to measure and encourage greater civilization (*incivilimento*), needless to say a problematic concept, and then, especially after 1848, in an attempt to represent the politically divided Italian nation as a statistical whole. Patriarca reviews the statistical enterprises of several pre-unification states, with the notable omission of the Papal States. The apparent lack of interest in statistics shown by the Vatican officials perhaps merits more comment.

Following unification in 1861, "patriotic" statistics became "national" ones, and the earlier separate

efforts were replaced by a single Direzione di statistica that set immediately about measuring the new state, especially its population. Ironically, although the intention of these statisticians had previously been to represent a homogeneous Italian whole, the statistical work of the 1860s, especially in the areas of demography and moral statistics (crime, literacy) emphasized important differences apparently inherent—especially between North and South—that were reified and perpetuated by the logic of statistical comparison.

Patriarca devotes special attention to the *compartimento* (today's region), a political division of Italian territory created by the statisticians. In contrast to the intentionally arbitrary French *départements* created after the revolution, the *compartimenti* reproduced selected historical divisions and so, again, perpetuated these as units of comparison. Patriarca presents their articulation in the context of Carlo Cattaneo's federalist program losing out to the advocates of centralization. And, in fact, for all their statistical significance, the *compartimenti* did not achieve political autonomy until 1970.

By contrast, the smaller communes have enjoyed varying degrees of political autonomy ever since unification, and it is to this topic that Patriarca finally turns. In the work of the Italian statisticians, especially as demonstrated in the 1867 International Statistical Congress held in Florence, she identifies the articulation of a "statistics of communes." This particular statistics originated in what appears to have been a difficult equilibrium between continued federalist tendencies and caution against excessive regionalism. Patriarca might have devoted more space to the apparent proliferation of local statistics and histories in the 1860s as precedents of a persistent trend of *campanilismo* or regionalism that continues in Italy to this day. The "statistics of communes" instead sought to establish a (northern) urban ideal of a well-run and well-served medium-sized town—Italy's 100 cities—and the monitoring (by municipal physicians) of these cities according to a uniform statistical analysis of hygienic conditions. Needless to say, such an ideal reflected Italian reality better in some areas than in others, and Patriarca closes by returning to a more macroscopic view; namely, the statistical magnification and reinforcement of the (vague) "two Italies" division between North and South as it would continue to be represented in subsequent decades.

Patriarca's book makes a fine and useful contribution to scholarly understanding of the development of statistics in the political world of unifying and unified Italy.

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GEORGE F. BOTJER. *Sideshow War: The Italian Campaign, 1943–1945*. (Texas A&M University Military History Series, number 49.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 226. \$29.95.

For a year and ten months of World War II, Allied and Axis forces fought in Italy. Much of Italy was devastated, many thousands of soldiers and civilians died, both contending alliances were strained, and, ultimately, a new Italian regime emerged out of the ruins. This book by George F. Botjer attempts to recount the events of the war in Italy, including not only the planning and conduct of military operations but their impact on the people involved.

Some aspects of the account are carefully written and give the reader a sense of what was going on at the front as well as inside Italy, especially the portion occupied by the Germans. There is a fair presentation of the terrible food shortage in the area under Allied control and of the dilemmas faced as both sides confronted the problem of how to deal with the cultural treasures of cities such as Rome and Florence. Botjer offers a general picture of the resistance movement in German-occupied Italy and the ideological and tactical problems its various factions faced.

In spite of these strengths, several major defects must be noted. Most striking is Botjer's failure to utilize some of the important recent literature on the war in Italy. Although Richard Lamb's *War in Italy 1943–1945* (1994) probably appeared too late for consideration, the reader will look in vain for any use of Carlo d'Este's major books, Gerhard Schreiber's definitive work on the fate of Italian soldiers after the surrender of September 1943 (*Die italienischen militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943 bis 1945* [1990]), or Lutz Klinkhammer's similarly exhaustive study of German policy toward Benito Mussolini's puppet government (*Zwischen Bündnis und Besetzung* [1993]). The detailed review of such portions of the campaign as the fighting on Sicily and the Allied assault on the German defenses called the Gothic Line, as well as the planned German annexation of large portions of northern Italy, simply cannot be understood in the absence of relevant maps.

Botjer unfortunately also fails to throw much light on two of the most intriguing puzzles of this part of World War II: the almost unbelievable clumsiness of Italy's exit from the war in 1943 and the equally unbelievable dilatoriness of General Bernard Montgomery in moving from his landing in the extreme south of Italy to the endangered Allied landing at Salerno—at least at the speed of newspaper reporters.

Because of his utilization of some unpublished Italian documents and substantial Italian-language literature, Botjer provides some new insights into a campaign that is frequently overlooked in discussions of the war. The significance of first Naples and then Livorno as major supply bases of the Allies and the complicated divisions within the resistance in the North and their relations with the Allied command are detailed especially well. But this is hardly the compre-

hensive one-volume work on the Italian campaign that readers are led to expect.

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RUDOLF L. Tőkés. *Hungary's Negotiated Revolution: Economic Reform, Social Change, and Political Succession, 1957–1990*. (Cambridge Russian, Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, number 101.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xxiii, 544. Cloth \$64.95, paper \$24.95.

This well-written and well-argued book by Rudolf L. Tőkés may be compared to Aylmer C. Macartney's *October Fifteenth: A History of Modern Hungary 1929–1945* (1956–1957), generally regarded as the best political history of the country in the English language. Macartney's book focuses on Hungary's ill-fated participation in World War II, culminating in the collapse of the "old order" on the date that appears in its title. Tőkés's study targets another period of high drama in Hungarian history culminating in the demise of the Socialist Workers' (Communist) Party in 1989. Like Macartney, Tőkés starts his story with a counter-revolution (that of 1956–1957), and he devotes a good part of his work to the consolidation of Hungarian politics under János Kádár. But whereas Macartney was a historian with fine-tuned political sensibilities, Tőkés is a political scientist with the detective instincts of a first-rate historian.

Using the political scientist's frame of reference, Tőkés tells us that his story is grounded in a set of constants and imponderables. The most important constants were Hungary's status as a small power and its political culture of compromise shaped by historical necessity and precedence. The imponderable in the flow of history was the personality of the leader thrust upon the political stage. This was Kádár, a home-grown communist whose early dedication to Stalinist principles was rewarded by torture and imprisonment at the hands of his own comrades. Thus steeled in the political milieu of Stalinism, Kádár also had a chance to learn about the limitations of this method of rule. His version of the "normalization" of Hungary progressed through two stages. First (1957–1962), he imposed an iron-fisted rule of terror on post-revolutionary Hungary; then he relaxed it and himself turned into one of the champions of East European liberal communism.

If the first part of the book is devoted to the inner workings of this regime, the second part is devoted to the unraveling of the communist idyll. In this respect, Tőkés rightly puts great emphasis on the difficulties experienced by Hungary's hybrid, market-simulating economy. But the story of demise unfolds in a larger international context, for as the economy became increasingly mired in foreign debt in order to maintain an artificially high standard of living, the Soviet Union itself became entangled in its own luckless political



experiment. At this point, Kádár's political and economic models became inadequate to contain the economic crisis. The political classes of the country now could choose among a turn to hard-line rule justified by nationalist demagoguery, a free market protected by a police state, or a new social contract giving the people of the country a greater voice in public affairs (p. 201). Given the political tradition of compromise, Tórkés argues, the heirs of Kádár chose the last alternative, which led to the "negotiated revolution" of 1989.

One of the great virtues of this volume is that it not only tells us a story in the vein of Leopold Ranke, "as it really happened," but also advances a number of bold hypotheses likely to stimulate further historical debate. One of these is the intriguing suggestion of an alliance between Kádár and the Hungarian populists in 1958, which many other observers would merely see as a pathetic act of surrender to superior force and as a sideshow to the larger political game played between Kádár and the Soviet leaders. There is also the labeling of Kádár as a crypto-nationalist (p. 422), with which many friends and foes of the late dictator would take issue, being inclined to view him as a quintessential internationalist and as a person more attuned to being the chief of an administrative unit than the leader of an ethnic nation. Finally, there is the designation of the late post-communist premier, József Antall, as a "Christian national" politician whose timid design to push back the acceptable threshold of Hungarian history prior to 1945 ultimately doomed the first democratically elected post-communist government. True, some of the members of Antall's party used this label offensive to liberal Hungary, but Antall himself, whether out of confusion or conviction, was just as comfortable with the idea of being a "classical," nineteenth-century, national liberal. Although his party was rejected by a huge majority of the electorate in 1994, one can question whether this was because of the tone of Antall's rhetoric and his expressed concern for Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries or because of the government's inevitable failure to close the vast gap between the material expectations of the public and the harsh economic realities of the post-communist era. These points will be debated by coming generations of historians, but the book itself will remain a standard source of reference for a long time to come.

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KEITH HITCHINS. *The Romanians, 1774–1866*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. vii, 337. \$49.95.

In what is in many ways a prequel to his previous volume, *Rumania 1866–1947* (1994), Keith Hitchins has written what will likely be the definitive work on the emergence and formation of the Romanian nation.

Once again, Hitchens dissects with surgical precision not only the essence of the Balkan state's development but also the implications of that development for its future.

Hitchins begins his study in 1774, the date of the signing of the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, which granted Russia extraordinary authority to serve as the protector of the Orthodox peoples in the Ottoman Empire. This agreement coincided with subtle changes taking place in the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia to produce a transformation that, over the course of the next century, would lead to an independent Romania. That state would be a by-product of external, Great Power rivalry and an internal adaptation of Western models that would provide a foundation for its political, cultural, and economic development.

Although the first centuries of Ottoman overlordship had been relatively benign, by the early eighteenth century, the Porte's control of the principalities through its surrogates, the Phanariots, diminished the semi-autonomous status formerly enjoyed by Moldavia and Wallachia. Although little outwardly changed with Kutchuk-Kainardji, the principalities nevertheless underwent a significant metamorphosis, in large measure in response to pressures from Constantinople. The *boiers*, who would continue to dominate Romanian life throughout the nineteenth century, began to pursue a policy of seeking autonomy by attempting to balance the interests of the Great Powers—and even currying their favor if need be—while at the same time keeping them at arm's length. In so doing, they not only defended themselves against the Ottomans, but, once that "danger" began to recede, they turned against the Russians, who through the Organic Statutes had come to supersede the Turks as the greatest external threat to the emergence of a Romanian "nation." The defense of a notion of "Romanian-ness" became the principal preoccupation of Romanian political and (most importantly) intellectual leaders by the early 1800s. Due in large part to increasing familiarity with (and ties to) Western European developments, especially the Enlightenment and Romanticism, Romanians looked westward for inspiration and inward for a sense of collective identity. In this intellectual tug-of-consciousness between West and East, Romanian intellectuals, who came to speak for and embody "the nation," saw in the former the force of progress away from the stagnation of their Eastern heritage. Entrenched interests were forced to confront the forces of national self-identity. This search for the essence of "Romania" would produce not only an emphasis on language and culture but also a generation—the "forty-eighters"—determined to create a state based on that identity.

It was this intellectual ferment that gave direction to the turbulent mid-1800s. Although the Revolution of 1848 failed to bring about national autonomy, the transformation of Romanian political life, with the objective of uniting the principalities under a foreign



prince, continued unabated. This goal was realized by taking advantage of the differing agendas of the Great Powers until the period from 1856 to 1866, when Moldavia and Wallachia first accepted the dual reign of Alexandru Ioan Cuza and later, after overthrowing Cuza, named Carol of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen as prince.

During the course of the century covered, Hitchins thoroughly examines the coalescing of Romania and its people into a "nation." His analysis scrutinizes all facets of Romanian life. Although nationhood was, at its core, a political process, the author does not overlook the economic and social dimensions of national development, and the implications of those changes for the future. Hitchins is careful to point out that Romania's integration into Europe was a complex process. It was not based solely upon aping Western trends, for Romania was culturally not a Western state. Romania's cultural and spiritual legacy, epitomized by its roots in Orthodoxy and its economic and social ties to the village, meant that any move toward Western models would be tethered and controlled by the past. That in turn opened a debate over the very nature and meaning of the "nation" and the "people." In many ways, both straddled East and West. To move fully to Westernization would have meant abandoning the past. In a world imbued with romantic ideals, this was inconceivable, and in a world in which most Romanians were peasants, it would also have been impossible.

Hitchins has painted a canvas rich in ideas and detail. This is historical scholarship at its best. Through the book's clearly delineated thesis, crisp narrative, and superb bibliographic essay, the author accomplishes his purpose, telling the story of Romania and its people with aplomb.

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HILDRUN GLASS. *Zerbrochene Nachbarschaft: Das deutsch-jüdische Verhältnis in Rumänien (1918–1938)*. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 98.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1996. Pp. 638.

Much has been written about anti-Semitism and the minority problems of interwar Romania, but relatively little attention has been paid to relations among the minorities themselves. In her investigation of German-Jewish relations, Hildrun Glass has thus entered largely unexplored territory. Hers is a logical approach to this complicated question, because she accepts the diverse historical contexts in which these relations developed and thus avoids easy generalizations. She has, in fact, divided her study into four parts, each one corresponding to the provinces (Transylvania, Bukovina, the Banat, and Bessarabia) that were joined to the Old Kingdom of Romania at the end of World War I and that had significant non-Romanian populations. Rather than posit a single Jewish and a single German community, Glass distinguishes four separate Jewish

and German communities, each molded by distinct political, economic, and social circumstances. She has used newspapers and journals to good advantage. They are especially valuable because her study is essentially one about the perceptions Germans and Jews had about one another, and her primary task is to chart their course and measure their intensity. As she pursues this subject elsewhere, she will find the Yiddish-language press in interwar Romania especially useful.

Of crucial importance for the course of German-Jewish relations was the rise of National Socialism. As Glass amply demonstrates, 1933, the year Adolf Hitler and the Nazis came to power in Germany, was the turning-point in those relations. The opposing views that Germans and Jews in Romania took of that event—the former approved and the latter deplored it—signaled a break between them. The break was felt almost at once in politics. Here Glass has had to do a considerable amount of spadework on the role of minority parties in Romanian political life in order to create a suitable framework for her analysis of the degree of German-Jewish cooperation. She is thus able, first, to show how Germans and Jews before 1933 could often work together to defend minority rights against nationalist Romanian legislation and, then, to contrast that behavior with the tendency of German leaders after 1933 to rely on Germany's influence rather than on the law to extract rights for themselves from the Romanian government. The inevitable consequence was to disrupt joint action with other minorities.

Of great value is Glass's differentiation of German-Jewish relations from province to province, using such criteria as levels of economic development, social structures, cultural affinities, and size of the respective communities. The Saxons in Transylvania, who formed the largest German community in Romania, receive the most attention. The power of historical continuity is strikingly apparent in the Saxon sense of identity. Their elite—pastors and schoolteachers—had no particular grievances against Jews, but as a small minority, they thought their best defense was to separate the Saxons from surrounding peoples. Yet, Glass points out, anti-Semitism, though present among them beneath the surface, was by no means strong enough before 1933 to alienate Saxons from Jews, because they recognized that measures taken by Romanian authorities against Jews could eventually be extended to them. In Bukovina, social contacts and political cooperation between Germans and Jews were closer than in the other provinces: mainly, Glass argues, because of the long period of conditioning under Austrian rule and a shared German-language culture. But after 1933, anti-Semitism made inroads here, too, although more tentatively than elsewhere, in part because Jews were economically and numerically stronger than Germans. The situation in the Banat was similar to that in Bukovina both before and after 1933. Glass characterizes the German-Jewish relationship in Bessarabia as one of indifference, as both communities

were preoccupied with their own problems. She notes the traditional nature of the Jewish community, which was mainly Orthodox, Yiddish-speaking, and not given to contacts with other communities. The main exceptions were in economic matters, where relations with the largely agricultural German community gave rise to an agrarian anti-Semitism even before 1933.

This book is an original and stimulating contribution to the history of minorities in twentieth-century Romania. The thorough research and thoughtful analysis that characterize it clearly reveal the complexities of the German-Jewish relationship.

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JOEL RABA, *Between Remembrance and Denial: The Fate of the Jews in the Wars of the Polish Commonwealth during the Mid-Seventeenth Century as Shown in Contemporary Writings and Historical Research*. (East European Monographs, number 428.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1995. Pp. viii, 519. \$49.00.

Not a historical analysis of the massacres of Jews in Ukraine, Joel Raba's book is rather a massive historiographical survey of the mediation of those events in all the available contemporary accounts and historical studies published down to the end of the 1980s. Hundreds of books, articles, pamphlets, and newspaper accounts in at least nine languages, as well as Ukrainian folk songs and traditions, are examined and their contents summarized. It would be worse than churlish to complain about the omission of literature in Swedish. There are forty-seven pages of bibliography and 1,883 footnotes, numbered consecutively! Six chapters treat the material chronologically; within each chapter, sections are devoted to accounts written by members of various national groups.

Contemporary accounts tended to stress the horrific character of the murder of Catholic clergy, Jews, and Poles by Cossacks and peasants. The consciousness of the common human fate of the victims quickly faded, however. Indeed, anticipating later trends, even in some of the earliest Polish literature there was a tendency to "blame the victim," emphasizing supposed Jewish oppression of peasants and Catholics but omitting the victimization of Jews. By contrast, Ukrainian histories of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries assigned primary culpability to the Polish nobility and secondarily accused Jews of religious oppression. The myth that Jewish managers kept the keys to Orthodox churches arose. Ukrainian folk songs recounted attacks on Poles and Jews including imagery depicting Jews as cruel and murderous oppressors. In subsequent historiography of Polish, Russian, Soviet, and Ukrainian provenance, the Jewish dimension, particularly in its tragic aspects, was pushed to the margins and sometimes elided entirely.

Polish historical literature condemned the selfish-

ness of the magnate-aristocrats, assigning their Jewish agents only a minor, if deplorable, role. Russian historical literature depicted the revolt as a social uprising, often emphasizing the removal of alien elements from Ukraine and its reunification with Russia. Ukrainian nationalist historians presented the events as a confrontation between the Ukrainian nation and its Polish oppressor. Attention to myths, like the tale that Jews leased Orthodox churches, was a distraction from this central tendency. Ivan Franko made little reference to the massacres and attempted to cast doubt on their extent. Mikhaïlo Hrushevs'kyi noted that Jews were merely pawns of the Polish authorities and that it was mainly Polish sources that blamed Jews for the revolt. Some Ukrainian writers suggested that only Jewish plutocrats had been the (justifiable) victims of vengeance. While Hrushevs'kyi did not deny Bogdan Chmielnicki's responsibility for murderous attacks, he did, nonetheless, present the Cossack *Hetman* as a Ukrainian national hero. Il'ko Boshchak originated the hypothesis that the massacres were the work not of Chmielnicki but of one of his commanders, Maksim Krzywonos. Moreover, according to Boshchak, Krzywonos was actually a Scot and an agent of Protestant powers.

After World War I, historians in newly independent Poland rejected the pessimism and self-blame they saw as characteristic of predecessors "who put all the blame on our side," as Franciszek Rawita-Gawronski put it (p. 313). A pronounced nationalistic tendency that was anti-Ukrainian and depicted Jews as ungrateful aliens who were, nevertheless, never attacked by Poles, dominated Polish historical literature of the interwar period.

Raba devotes an unusual amount of attention not only to summarizing but even to refuting the work of the Ukrainian historian, Theodore Mackiw. Although Jewish historiography is described in the appropriate chronological contexts, there is little attempt at critical evaluation. In fact, the case of Mackiw is exceptional; there is slight attention to the selection of sources by historians, and there is virtually no synthetic treatment of the various schools and tendencies described here. Raba's emphasis on bibliographical comprehensiveness seemingly left little space for analysis.

This book was first published in a somewhat larger format in Hebrew in 1994. The present work is a translation in a smaller format and without the numerous interesting illustrations that graced the original edition. The translation, for which no one is credited, is often infelicitous and sometimes worse. On several occasions, the Hebrew edition had to be consulted to clarify the meaning of passages in the English version. The book does not appear to have been proofread carefully.

Although Raba took great pains to achieve a tone of dispassionate objectivity, his book seems to me to be a *cri de coeur* demanding that historians, rather than distorting history in the service of one or another

nation or ideology, remember the humanity of victims of historical events.

GERSHON DAVID HUNDERT  
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ANDREW EZERGAILIS. *The Holocaust in Latvia, 1941–1944: The Missing Center*. Riga: Historical Institute of Latvia, in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C. 1996. Pp. xxi, 465. \$49.95.

Soviet tanks moved into Latvia on June 13–14, 1940, and on August 5, the country became a constituent part of the USSR. Eleven months later, German troops reached Riga, the capital of Latvia, and until the fall of 1944, the country (together with Estonia, Lithuania, and Belorussia) was part of the so-called *Reichskommissariat Ostland*, an entity that was to become a constituent part of the eastern regions of the Thousand-Year Reich. Andrew Ezergailis's study of the Holocaust in the Latvian territory, focusing on the *Ostland* years, is the first historical, book-length study of the subject and is likely to set the agenda for related future research on the Baltic area and adjacent lands.

A work of this magnitude understandably covers much more than the Holocaust strictly defined. Ezergailis begins with an overview of the existing scholarly and nonscholarly literature and then, in three context-setting chapters, deals with the political-social situation in Latvia in the months just preceding the German arrival, with the history of the Jewish population of Latvia and Latvian-Jewish relations, and with the presence of anti-Semitism in Latvia during the interwar years. Three chapters follow on the goals and policies of the Nazis in *Ostland* generally and Latvia in particular; on the *Sicherheitsdienst* (particularly *Einsatzgruppe A*) in occupied Latvia; and on the organization of the notorious Arājs Commando, the Latvian execution squad led by Viktors Arājs (d. 1988), which killed or participated in the killing of as many as 60,000 Jews (p. 173). The next three chapters of the book deal with the killings themselves throughout Latvia (especially Riga and its environs); at the now well-known Rumbula site; and in the major cities of Daugavpils, Rēzekne, Liepāja, and Ventspils. The last two chapters consider the organization and role of the *Schutzmannschaften* (police units) in this story, the organization of the Riga Ghetto, and the concentration camps in Mežaparks in Riga and surrounding areas. Four appendixes (forty pages) reprint crucial historical documents and membership/participants lists, forty tables present relevant statistical information, and an exhaustive twenty-one page bibliography lists both archival and secondary sources used for the study.

One might think that a 450+-page study of the Holocaust in a small country (the population of Latvia in 1935 was 1.9 million), in which the total count of murdered Jews by 1944 hovered at "only" eighty-three thousand, would be the last word on the subject. But Ezergailis's analysis makes clear why this is not likely

to be the case. Available *Ostland*-period documents, produced by the Germans, sought as much as possible to attribute the murder of Jews to the "indigenous" population. During the next half-century, the authorities in Soviet Latvia, placing the 1941–1944 period at the service of their own ideological agenda, attributed the horrors of those years to the German occupants and to some Latvian émigrés who, the Soviets claimed, had fled westward in 1944 to escape judgment for collaborating with the Germans. The émigrés generally avoided the subject and, in any case, insisted that any chronicling of German brutality in 1941–1944 be accompanied by the chronicling of Soviet brutality in 1940–1941 and after 1945. Ezergailis's study is based on the documentary by-products of all these disputes; on the voluminous records of war crimes trials (especially the 1976–1979 Arājs trial) in Germany, court cases in the United States, and some seventy-five post-World War II trials conducted by the KGB in Soviet Latvia; on memoir literature and depositions of Holocaust survivors; and on the now substantial number of secondary sources in English, German, and Latvian. The wealth of sources used and the precise detail they yielded for Ezergailis's detective-like analysis place his study on a higher plane of historical seriousness than anything produced on the subject before. According to the author, it is this "centrist" position, based on patient assessment and comparison of archival documents and trial findings, that has been missing from the many pages written about the Holocaust in Latvia and indeed was virtually impossible to achieve before the breakup of the Soviet Union.

Still, as Ezergailis makes clear, a number of basic questions remain only partially answered; he lists eighteen of them emerging from the extremely involuted history of this four-year period (pp. 375–76). Some of these questions concern larger contexts, such as the German policy in *Ostland* generally and the conflicts among the military, civilian, and Berlin authorities. Others have to do with specifics in Latvia: the activities of the police battalions, for example. One major problem, as Ezergailis notes, is that we still do not have an accurate count of how many Latvian Jews, how many Jews generally, and how many others died in the Holocaust in Latvia, the question being complicated by contradictory sources as well as by the post-1941 German practice of transporting Jews from other occupied territories to Latvia and the absence of clear information about how many Jews were killed in the smaller cities and towns (beyond the larger population centers Ezergailis examines). A second problem, also noted by the author, is that we cannot say with any degree of certainty or finality what led Arājs and his execution squad, and other Latvians who played more peripheral roles, to murder Jews or to be accomplices in their murder. The Latvian territories had no history of pogroms in the pre-World War I tsarist period, anti-Semitic sentiments in Latvian cultural and political life were relatively vague, and there is little in the interwar independence of the country that justifies

portraying the murderous behavior of some Latvians in 1941–1944 as a “natural” outgrowth of what came before. Ezergailis is to be thanked for clarifying the nature of these problems and for providing such an excellent start for their further investigation.

ANDREJS PLAKANS  
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ADELE LINDENMEYR. *Poverty Is Not a Vice: Charity, Society, and the State in Imperial Russia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 335. \$49.50.

Adele Lindenmeyr takes the title of her fine study from a Russian proverb and hangs around it a thoroughly researched, informative, and well-written account of the history of charity in Russia from the turn of the seventeenth century to World War I, a subject that has been largely neglected by earlier scholars.

Historical studies of charity in the 1960s and 1970s tended to illuminate the history of poverty and destitution; their successors in the 1980s and 1990s throw the spotlight more on the donor than the recipient, on the culture of giving rather than the parameters of need. Lindenmeyr's study fits in with this change of emphasis; as she candidly acknowledges (p. 6), the voices of the poor are strikingly absent from her account. Nor is the author concerned with the scale of poverty: indeed, the focus on formal and voluntarist structures of poor relief inevitably leaves out of the frame that informal giving and support among the poor themselves that constitutes the submerged part of the charitable iceberg in almost any period and place. This strategy effectively rules out consideration of the possibility that changes in charitable provision might be causally linked to structural social and economic transformation among the lower orders. It also means that, although the poor certainly put in many an appearance in these pages, the story is in many ways less about the poor as such than about the social elite and its relationship with the idea of poverty and public welfare. Indeed, Lindenmeyr's account is bestrewn with elite misunderstandings of the nature of poverty and the personal dilemmas of the destitute. Even the best-intentioned philanthropists must have come across as condescending and out of touch.

Throughout the period of her analysis, the idea was current that generously given charity was an inherent component of Russian identity. Though foreign travellers in Russia might remark on the prodigality of giving and the aura of sanctity which still clung around the figure of the beggar, this identification tended to slow down the infusion of Western philanthropic ideas and practices. It also acted as an alibi for a central government seemingly ever-timorous about tackling a problem of poverty it regarded as dauntingly large. Government seemed, moreover, to become more rather than less timorous as time went on. By the early nineteenth century, enlightened absolutists had installed an ensemble of provincial welfare bodies, and Alexander I was offering encouragement and support

to emerging forms of charitable voluntarism. A century later, much of that picture had been eroded. Political reaction, followed by the consequences of emancipation, distanced government from a state-oriented approach, even as industrialization was adding new dimensions to the problem of poverty. It was to take the horrors of the famine of 1891–1892 to get the central government even to think seriously about reforming the nation's ramshackle poor laws. Even then, little of legislative stature was achieved before the Great War.

With central government in the nineteenth century only too keen to avoid responsibility, initiative tended to pass into the hands of local state bodies and, in particular, the voluntary sector. Despite relative eclipse under Nicholas I, an embryonic bourgeois public sphere appeared over the course of the century, and began to be increasingly committed to an imaginative recasting of poor relief strategies. Charitable associations were the most numerous types of voluntary organizations. Furthermore, they offered a significant opening for the input of charitably minded women. From the 1890s, in particular, the vogue for “scientific philanthropy,” which traditionalists wrote off as Western and “un-Russian,” spawned an impressive range of new initiatives. Unemployment came to be seen as a problem for which the provision of work was appropriate, and the special needs of destitute children also received focused effort. All this seemed small beer, however, in the context of 1917, and Lindenmeyr suggests that the Soviet triumph effectively put the study of philanthropy off the historical agenda. The last secular private charities were abolished in the early 1920s, and it seems to have taken the upheavals of the 1990s to revive interest in a topic whose significance for understanding the character and the complexities of Russian political culture shines through this careful study.

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FREDRIC S. ZUCKERMAN. *The Tsarist Secret Police in Russian Society, 1880–1917*. New York: New York University Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 345. \$50.00.

Few institutions have attracted as much notoriety yet as little serious study as the tsarist political police. Fredric S. Zuckerman seeks to remedy this gap between reputation and reality through a careful examination of the Russian political police in the two decades up to and including the regime's collapse in 1917. His opening rejection of the traditional term *Okhrana* as imprecise and bureaucratically confusing sets the tone for a thoughtful institutional analysis that places the political police in useful historical context.

After a brief comparative introduction, Zuckerman interweaves consideration of two separate but related issues. First, he examines the efforts of the tsarist government's leading law and order officials to design broad policies for coping with opposition. Drawing heavily on secondary works, he evaluates efforts of



police chiefs such as Sergei Zubatov and Aleksandr Gerasimov and interior ministers including Petr Stolypin and Viacheslav Plehve to conceive and implement coherent responses to the fundamental political and social changes that ultimately produced a mortal threat to the existing order. Second, Zuckerman details the operations of the political police at their Fontanka headquarters and in the field. Culling information mainly from memoirs and the files of the Russian Political Police Abroad located at the Hoover Institution, he provides an assessment of the force's performance.

Zuckerman notes that the political police did have some accomplishments, including periodic disruption of the underground organizations of Russia's socialist parties. Yet their overall record was one of dismal failure. Zuckerman's narrative is punctuated by spectacular security lapses, including the assassinations of interior ministers D. S. Sipiagin, Plehve, and Stolypin. Law enforcement leaders misread the dynamics of the revolutions of 1905 and 1917. Their policies for defending order, whether Zubatov's "police socialism" or Gerasimov's aggressive use of provocation, only heightened opposition. In sum, the tsarist government's defenders of order were unable to achieve minimal levels of professionalism, much less a modern police state.

The roots of this failure, in Zuckerman's view, were various. Some, he argues, can be found in the shared shortcomings of all political police organizations. Like their counterparts elsewhere, for example, tsarist officers focused excessively on the conspiratorial activities of oppositional elites (the "leadership syndrome"). They also succumbed to the common tendency to fight the last war, in this case mistakenly assuming that 1917 would mimic 1905.

The most damaging deficiencies in the tsarist police system, though, were purely domestic. Students of the Russian imperial bureaucracy will find many of these flaws very familiar. A shortage of trained personnel, lack of coordination among competing agencies, preference for administrative fiat, excessive reliance on patron-client relations: all bedeviled the political police at least as much as the other branches of the empire's civil service. One arena in which the political police definitely exceeded other agencies, though, was entanglement in court politics. Rigid devotion to autocracy, embodied by police chiefs with close personal ties to the court camarilla, repeatedly dashed efforts at improvement of the force. Even reformers like Stolypin, who, as Zuckerman shows, was willing to collaborate in such questionable police practices as provocation, failed to make a dent in the Fontanka's resistance to change. Indeed, the publishers of this volume would have done well to replace the cover's mug shots of Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin, neither of whom receives attention in the text, with a portrait of Nicholas II.

Throughout the book, Zuckerman shies away from extended consideration of some of the most notorious

incidents in police activity. For example, he presents only a synopsis judgment on possible police involvement in Stolypin's assassination, and he ignores Stalin's reputed role as a police informant entirely. Zuckerman's more extensive commentary on the cases of the infamous police double agents Evno Azef and Roman Malinovskii is judicious, but lacking in detail and somewhat colorless. This is a shame, since his chapter on the daily operations and challenges of detectives is among the most interesting in the text. In general, those looking for striking new revelations on the police will be disappointed.

Zuckerman's restraint is partially a product of the volume's evidentiary base. He did not use archives in Russia, and many of these cases were secret enough to leave little written trail in any event. More important, though, is the very nature of the study. Zuckerman sets out to demythologize the *Okhrana*, to give an accurate assessment of its workings as an institution of government. In this he is successful, adding an important element of balance to our understanding of this contentious branch of tsarist administration.

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MARGARITA TUPITSYN. *The Soviet Photograph, 1924–1937*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 198. \$40.00.

It is a pleasure to report on a worthy overview of Soviet photography. Several circumstances fortunately combine to make this book fresh, substantive, and rewarding. Margarita Tupitsyn is fully at home in the languages and cultures of the former USSR, artistic no less than political. She is also familiar with Western theories and methodology. Perestroika facilitated her access to untapped public and private archives and allowed easier communication with the surviving families and friends of the photographers she studied.

The result is a sharp new look at, and new material on, the evolution of Soviet photography from revolutionary experimentation to abject subservience to the Stalinist state. This is done primarily through discussion of images themselves and of how they reflect the change rather than through lengthy quotations of party resolutions and vicious professional polemics. By now, the political documentation is sufficiently known; the novelty here lies in having an art historian decipher the rise and demise of innovative Soviet photography.

Writing in straightforward prose, free from esoteric jargon or strained interpretations, Tupitsyn presents a sophisticated discussion of the evolution in the imagery of the foremost Soviet photographers: Aleksandr Rodchenko, Gustav Klutis, Sergei Senkin, Valentina Kulagina, Boris Ignatovich, El Lissitzky and others. Her arguments are supported with some 160 extremely well-chosen photo-reproductions.

The introduction and first chapter delineate the early debates (1917–1918) on how artistic representation might best serve the new political order and the



initial reactions of individual artists. Tupitsyn points out that many of the revolutionary innovators in Soviet photography had started out as abstract painters; hence they had a predisposition to the rise of photomontage.

The following four chapters unfold the stages in the story chronologically. Up to the first Five-Year Plan, Soviet photographers adapted variously and imaginatively to the needs of a society in the process of radical transformation. In the early 1930s, discussion mounted over whether the fragmentation of photomontage and radically cropped images or the faithful, conventional representation of reality best served the industrialization and collectivization drives. To the demands of the second Five-Year Plan, photographers again responded variously; some persisted in their commitment to novelty and formal excellence, while others switched to the primitively politicized aesthetics of Socialist Realism. The last chapter focuses on how formalist devices did manage to survive when stringent controls were imposed after 1935. Each stage of development is aptly illustrated and illuminated by Tupitsyn's insightful discussions and comparisons of how the same subject—say, a hand or an image of V. I. Lenin or Joseph Stalin—was used symbolically and what the visual language says about official policies and individual photographer's concerns.

Thanks to Tupitsyn's keys, which unlock so much in the aesthetics and politics of Soviet photography, historians now have useful and eloquent visual documentation for understanding the highly complex and often contradictory interaction between the Soviet state and creative artists. In that process, many photographers managed courageously to uphold their aesthetic standards.

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DEREK WATSON. *Molotov and Soviet Government: Sovnarkom, 1930–41*. New York: St. Martin's, in association with the Centre for Russian and East European Studies, University of Birmingham, U.K. 1996. Pp. xxiii, 274. \$45.00.

Research on Joseph Stalin's contemporaries has moved slowly but inexorably along a path from bitter enemies to unswerving loyalists. The first major work in the field was Isaac Deutscher's three-volume study of Leon Trotsky (1954–1963). Stalin's most implacable opponent. A little more than a decade later, Stephen F. Cohen produced an influential biography of Nikolai Bukharin, an early critic of Stalinism who remained a nominal member of the Soviet leadership until his execution in 1938 (*Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution* [1973]). In the 1980s and early 1990s, revisionist historians intent on debunking the myth of a monolithic Stalinist leadership offered evidence of resistance to Stalin's policies by his own lieutenants. Perhaps the most notable "internal oppositionist" was Sergo Ordzhonikidze, whose life has been the subject

of penetrating analyses by Sheila Fitzpatrick and Oleg Khlevniuk. With this study by Derek Watson—and with the recent publication of Felix Chuev's conversations with Viacheslav Molotov (*Molotov Remembers: Inside Kremlin Politics*, edited by Albert Resis [1993]) and *Stalin's Letters to Molotov, 1925–1936* (edited by Lars T. Lih, Oleg V. Naumov and Khlevniuk [1995])—we approach the end of the cycle of investigations that Deutscher began.

Molotov is, of course, best known as signatory to the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of 1939 and as foreign minister of the USSR during and after World War II. But in the decade prior to his diplomatic career, Molotov served as the country's prime minister, helping to transform the Council of People's Commissariats, (Sovnarkom) from a haven of Rightists into a fully integrated component of the Stalinist party-state machine. In Watson's account, Molotov enjoyed the confidence of Stalin throughout the 1930s, save for a brief period in 1936, when the Sovnarkom chairman dared to advance a more pro-German stance in foreign policy than had been sanctioned by Stalin. That Molotov fell into temporary disgrace is indicated by, among other things, the omission of his name from a list of top Soviet leaders allegedly targeted for assassination by defendants in the Trotskyite-Zinoviev Center trial of August 1936.

Although Molotov figures prominently in Watson's carefully researched study, the book is less a biography than an institutional history of Sovnarkom. As such, it supplements nicely T. H. Rigby's *Lenin's Government: Sovnarkom, 1917–1922* (1979) and Ger van den Berg's detailed survey of Soviet state institutions, *Organisation und Arbeitsweise der Sowjetischen Regierung* (1984). Despite, or perhaps because of, a preoccupation with scientific management and the rationalization of administration, the Soviets created a labyrinthine structure of state institutions, whose development in the first decade of Stalinism Watson chronicles in extraordinary detail. What other political system would consider establishing a commissariat of horsebreeding, an idea ultimately nixed by Molotov? When a crisis occurred, the first response of the Soviet leadership was to reorganize the bureaucracy. In the crisis-ridden 1930s, the result was a dizzying series of administrative rearrangements, many involving "checking organs" that were supposed to impose discipline on a shapeless, protectionist, and often incompetent bureaucracy. One of the most striking features of the Soviet state apparatus, especially before 1936, was the relative weakness of Sovnarkom vis-à-vis individual commissariats. Sandwiched between the commissariats, many of which functioned as mini-fiefdoms, and the central party leadership, Sovnarkom was unable to resolve the competing claims of executive agencies in the tradition of Western governments. And, even in its attempts to coordinate the state's implementation of party policy, it was hampered by a surfeit of agenda items and a deficit of delegated power.

What were the sources and instruments of Sovnarkom's power? How were they used in policy campaigns? Watson addresses these important political questions only obliquely. There is revealing information here on the frequency and topics of Sovnarkom meetings and on personnel and organizational changes at the apex of the Soviet state but very little on how Sovnarkom influenced the making and implementation of policy. One longs for a more explicit and extensive analysis of Sovnarkom's role as mediator—if that is quite the right term—between the central party leadership and the state's executive agencies, which served as the building blocks of Soviet bureaucratic power. As the author acknowledges in his preface, further evidence on Sovnarkom in the Stalinist political system lies in newly accessible state and party archives, material that could not be integrated into this work. With unpublished and secret decrees from these archives, one hopes that Watson will indeed produce a promised "separate piece of work" that builds on the impressive empirical foundation laid in this book.

EUGENE HUSKEY  
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T. I. SLAVKO. *Kulatskaia ssylka na urale 1930–1936* [Kulak Exile in the Urals, 1930–1936]. (Desiat' novykh uchebnikov po istoricheskim distsiplinam, number 9.) Moscow: Mosgorarkhiv, in association with the Volkswagen Fund. 1995. Pp. 173.

In 1930–1931, 128,233 peasant families were exiled to the Urals Region of the former Soviet Union. They came largely but not exclusively from the more southerly regions of Ukraine and North Caucasus and joined with the legions of Russian peasant exiles in the Urals. These were the *spetspereselentsy* or "special migrants." They constituted a significant proportion of the peasants who would be labeled "kulaks" in the Communist Party's destructive drive to collectivize Soviet agriculture and destroy the kulaks, or rural capitalists, as a class. The Communist Party used the *spetspereselentsy* as slave labor in the construction of its giant, new industrial base in the Urals. The *spetspereselentsy* lived and worked in the worst imaginable conditions, struggling with hunger, cold, and lawlessness. Unlike the story of those who suffered in Joseph Stalin's vast Gulag, the peasants' story of the first half of the 1930s is little known.

T. I. Slavko is an outstanding representative of that new generation of Russian historians who seek to disclose the truth of the Soviet past. She has edited several key document collections on the fate of the kulaks in the Urals. This excellent book is intended for Russian university students. It is based on the author's lectures at Urals State University and combines text with documents. The documents are a mixture of previously published primary sources and archival documents from regional archives that tell the story of the peasant exiles' life and labor in the Urals. The introduction includes a useful historiographical survey,

and an appendix contains a series of brief and poignant memoirs written by survivors who passed their childhood in exile.

Drawing on exhaustive research, Slavko seeks to demonstrate that the massive deportations of peasants in the 1930s were a composite and requisite part of the establishment and consolidation of the Soviet system. According to Slavko, forced Stalinist industrialization required cheap and available labor that only the peasant exiles could provide in the quantity that the desolate areas required. Further, collectivization demanded the forced expropriation of the peasant exiles' property as a material basis for the new collective farm system. The result was a human catastrophe of unimaginable scale. This is what Slavko seeks to convey to her students and to all those who will read this book. She also presents a model of careful and precise scholarship based on masterly source work and prudent analysis.

Along with *Raskulachennye-spetspereselentsy na Urale, 1930–36: Sbornik dokumentov* (1993) and *Sud'ba raskulachennykh-spetspereselentsev na Urale, 1930–1935 gg.* (1994), two documentary publications in which Slavko was also involved, this book joins a growing body of documentary literature on the repression of the Soviet peasantry, ensuring that the documents from which history is made will remain forever in the public domain.

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ROGER R. REESE. *Stalin's Reluctant Soldiers: A Social History of the Red Army, 1925–1941*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1996. Pp. xii, 267. \$35.00.

Western historians have long blamed Joseph Stalin's purge of the Red Army in 1937–1938 for leaving the officer corps understaffed and undertrained on the eve of Adolf Hitler's invasion in 1941. Roger R. Reese offers a different view, arguing that the Red Army's rapid expansion in the decade before 1941 contributed more than any other factor to the military's predicament. The problem stemmed not only from the speed of the expansion but also from the unpromising raw material at hand. "The USSR, as a predominantly backward rural society with peasant values, was in most respects unable to create a modern mass army that required people with urban skills and values" (p. 203). It was difficult to train peasants to use modern weapons, in other words, while the officer corps (whose own training was severely truncated so that new officers could be rushed into service) found itself spread ever more thinly over the mushrooming number of divisions. Cohesion and discipline suffered to the point that units performed poorly in the Finnish war and then against Hitler. Along with this "primary" cause of the army's plight, Reese points to the policies of collectivization and dekulakization as "secondary" factors. The turmoil churned up in the countryside by

the regime so alienated most of the peasantry that drafted peasants became even more difficult for the army to shape into reliable, spirited soldiers.

But what about the purge? How can the disappearance of thousands of officers not be seen as a decisive blow to the army's efficiency? Reese's answer is that the purge, by its sensational nature, has long riveted historians' attention, thereby distracting them from more fundamental considerations of the sort described above. The simultaneous expansion of the army during the purge "caused at least as much (if not more) havoc in the officer corps" and "was the greater cause in limiting the effectiveness of the officer corps in leading soldiers and in degrading the [army's] efforts to rearm and reorganize for war" (p. 132). Nor, in Reese's account, was the purge as sweeping as historians have previously supposed. His figures suggest that less than ten percent of the officer corps was permanently removed, in contrast to other Western estimates as high as fifty percent.

All of this casts a different light on the question of why the Red Army could not defend the country in 1941. Reese finds unconvincing the common inclination to place primary blame on Stalin's actions or inactions, and he rejects claims of German technical or numerical superiority. This leaves his finger pointing squarely at the Red Army itself, including its poor training and chaotic organization. When combined with the military's unimaginative, inflexible tactics, we have the key, he contends, to the catastrophic losses suffered by the Soviet Union during the first months of the war.

Although some specialists will differ with Reese over how much weight to assign each of the various factors that contributed to the debacle of 1941, he is to be commended for bringing new considerations to the center of attention. His thoughtful conclusions are likely to change the way many colleagues view the events in question. The book's comparatively technical tone (including the appearance of some Russian words and acronyms without definition) is unlikely to spell-bind undergraduates, but specialists will find the narrative clear and efficient. Even those who cannot accept all of Reese's arguments will likely regard the author as fair-minded and well-informed.

Finally, as readers approach the end of this chronicle of military disarray, they will doubtless be wondering how the deeply troubled Red Army managed, nevertheless, to defeat the Germans. On this score, the book will disappoint them. In the last two sentences of the narrative, Reese asserts that the army described in his book had largely disappeared by 1942, its personnel dead, captured, wounded, or submerged in a much larger pool of new draftees. In this way, concludes the narrative, "the war created a second chance and a new beginning for the Soviet armed forces." Perhaps so, but the book itself makes it difficult to dispose of the question so abruptly. How could a new, effective army have arisen in the face of all the obstacles—a peasant society, rapid military expansion, and so forth—that

Reese has depicted (to say nothing of additional problems brought by the war)? No doubt Reese has something to say here, and his abundant expertise could have yielded a welcome page or two on a question that his book has done much to raise.

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BOHDAN ROSTYSLAV BOCIURKIW. *The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the Soviet State (1939–1950)*. Edmonton, Alberta: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies. 1996. Pp. xvi, 310. \$39.95.

Relations between the Catholic Church and the Soviet State were usually strained. Even today, a stroll by St. Louis des Français Church in Moscow, one of the few Roman Catholic churches to survive the nightmare of Stalinist persecution, reveals evidence of the hostile relationship: a metal frame, which held a surveillance camera pointed at the church, still dangles from the wall of a nearby police building. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, a unique church that celebrated the liturgy of the Orthodox world but accepted union with Rome and straddled the geographic and cultural divisions between Orthodox and Catholic civilizations, faced not just persecution but annihilation.

Bohdan Rostyslav Bociurkiw has written the definitive history of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in the Soviet Union between 1939 and 1950. Drawing on a rich depository of sources, including newly opened archives in Ukraine and Russia; eye-witness interviews; archival materials in Rome; and unpublished memoirs, notably those of the former head of the church, Iosyf Cardinal Slipyi, who was exiled to Rome in 1963, Bociurkiw clearly and painstakingly recounts the Soviet government's persecution and repression of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, especially in the regions of Galicia and Transcarpathia, which were annexed to the Soviet Union after World War II. Bociurkiw shows who was responsible for the suppression of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, why it was attacked, and how the campaign was carried out. His study is a brilliant example of historical scholarship, a case-study of how to use and interpret sources. It is not only a richly detailed examination of church-state relations but also a probing analysis of Soviet and Russian nationalities policies. Ironically, the only gap in his research is the Vatican archives, which are closed except for the selected documents published in *Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la seconde guerre mondiale* (1967–1974).

Bociurkiw shows that the repression of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church during Joseph Stalin's regime was attributable to three forces: Marxist-Leninist ideology, Stalin's opposition to any independent institution, and Russian hostility to Ukrainian nationalism. Bociurkiw is especially informative in describing the nexus between tsars and commissars and patriarchs in terms of fostering Russification and repressing Ukrainian nationalism. The role of the Russian Ortho-

dox Church, which collaborated with Stalin's regime in the suppression of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, is clearly documented. The continuity between the Soviet government and the earlier government of the tsars in opposing any vestige of Ukrainian nationalism is shown. It is perhaps a double paradox that a small church should have become the main supporter of Ukrainian nationalism, but the church in question was concentrated in the western part of Ukraine, where it had ties and support from the much larger Roman Catholic Church in Poland and Austria. Moreover, nationalism in Eastern Europe, unlike Western Europe, was not anti-religious but looked to the clergy for national leadership, especially in the repressed minority nationality regions of the large East European empires in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Amazingly, despite the fearful campaign of brutality and repression, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church survived the Stalinist juggernaut by going underground and obtaining support from Ukrainian believers and nationalists and Roman Catholics in neighboring Eastern European nations.

With the fall of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church regained its independence. It again stands as a blend of East and West in the center of Eastern Europe. There are still tensions, which reflect the complex swirls and eddies engulfing Europe in the wake of the Soviet Union's implosion, but perhaps this church might serve as a bridge, instead of a target of hostility, between Orthodox and Catholic Europe. Samuel Huntington argues, in *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (1996), that religion is a faultline, and this casts doubt on the potential mediating role of Ukrainian Catholicism. Christopher Dawson, however, saw religion as the best hope of bringing unity to a world increasingly interdependent but devoid of common values (*Christianity in East and West* [1959]).

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#### MIDDLE EAST

BENJAMIN N. SCHIFF. *Refugees unto the Third Generation: UN Aid to Palestinians*. (Contemporary Issues in the Middle East.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1995. Pp. xix, 337. \$49.95.

In 1948, the establishment of the state of Israel was accompanied by the flight or expulsion of some three-quarters of a million Palestinians from their homes. For almost half a century thereafter, care of this refugee population—now, with their descendants, numbering some 3.4 million persons—has been the responsibility of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA). In this book, Benjamin N. Schiff provides a detailed, insightful, and highly readable account of UNRWA's history, development, weaknesses, and accomplishments.

The volume highlights several key themes. One is

the early uncertainty surrounding the agency's mandate. In 1948, the United Nations first established a Disaster Relief Program (UNDRP) to cope with the immediate humanitarian needs of the refugees; this was later followed by Relief for Palestine Refugees (UNPR) and then by UNRWA in 1950. Initial relief efforts presumed the timely return of refugees to their homes within Israel; however, as Israel's opposition to repatriation became clear, greater attention was focused on the integration of refugees into host communities. Here, however, UNRWA confronted resistance both from some Arab governments and from refugees themselves, who accused the agency of attempting to "liquidate" the refugee cause. The stage was thus set for the political tightrope that characterized UNRWA's situation for decades to come.

As Schiff notes, UNRWA's eventual response was to devote its efforts to human development. This resulted in a substantial improvement in health conditions as well as impressive educational accomplishments. At the same time, however, UNRWA was suffused with what Schiff refers to as a "residual colonialism," characterized by a paternalistic attitude among many of its (relatively small) international personnel and growing tensions between the international hierarchy and the local Palestinian staff.

UNRWA also encountered a variety of challenges in its relationship with host governments (and, in Lebanon, with the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO]). The volume directs greatest attention to the organization's particularly problematic relations with Israel. On the one hand, Israeli officials were not opposed to improving the refugees' standards of living, hoping that this would calm political tensions and facilitate refugee integration. On the other hand, after the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza in 1967, Israel often interpreted UNRWA's efforts to protect refugees as a "politicization" of the agency's function and a violation of its mandate.

Such tension grew even more severe with the eruption of the Palestinian uprising in 1987, and Schiff devotes a full chapter to this period. The *intifada* saw the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) raid UNRWA facilities and arrest local workers; UNRWA clinics treated more than 40,000 casualties from Israeli gunfire, beatings, and tear gas. In response, UNRWA established Refugee Affairs Officers (RAOs) to monitor IDF activities and intercede to defuse confrontations. The IDF, however, often argued that RAOs interfered in security operations and that increasingly public UNRWA criticism of IDF actions reflected a growing pro-Palestinian bias.

The Middle East peace process and the establishment of the Palestinian Authority (PA) in parts of the West Bank and Gaza has had further implications for UNRWA, and in a postscript Schiff updates his analysis to July 1994. One continuing challenge is posed by UNRWA's financial insecurity, with donor contributions inadequate to keep pace with a growing refugee population. As foreign aid budgets shrink and human-



itarian needs multiply around the world, the funding crisis grows more severe. UNRWA relations with Israel remain tense, aggravated by the periodic imposition of closure on the occupied territories. Newer challenges are posed by the establishment of the PA and the move of UNRWA headquarters to Gaza. The skill with which Schiff treats earlier organizational issues leads one to hope that his analyses will be updated in the future.

All in all, this is an excellent book. For anyone interested in the Palestinian issue, the dilemmas of refugee relief, or the institutional development of United Nations agencies, it should be essential reading.

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JULIAN JOHANSEN. *Sufism and Islamic Reform in Egypt: The Battle for Islamic Tradition*. (Oxford Oriental Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. 323. \$80.00.

Julian Johansen here studies a relatively little known aspect of the Islamic revival. Although the ideological and politicized Islamist (so-called fundamentalist) movements are well known, Sufism, reviving deeply historical Muslim beliefs, practices, and debates, is much less attended to. This book studies the Ashira Muhammadiyya, an offshoot of the Sufi brotherhood (*tariqa*), Muhammadiyya Shadhiliyya. The Ashira is the vehicle for cooperation in promoting Muslim religious reform and for provision of social services. It is the service agency of the *tariqa*, sponsoring a clinic, a hospital, a sports center, schools, and social assistance programs.

Johansen's book, however, is not a study of the functions of the Ashira but rather an examination of the religious views of its leader, Shaykh Muhammad Zaki Ibrahim. The bulk of the book is devoted to extensive paraphrases and commentary on the writings of Shaykh Muhammad, especially those in defense of Sufism and those that define which kinds of rituals and religious practice are acceptable and which are not. These are arcane but intensely controversial matters among devout Muslims.

The central issue for Sufis and other Muslims is whether Sufism is to be understood as a spiritual, mystical, theological, and philosophical tradition or as the cultic practice of the veneration of the holy men of Islam, the Prophet Muhammad, the saints (*awliya*) and the Shaykhs, as spiritual guides and intercessors before God in the world to come. Is Sufism in either guise a valid form of Islam? Which aspects are legitimate and which are not? The position of Shaykh Muhammad Zaki Ibrahim is a "reformist" one, holding that both dimensions of Sufism are true expressions of Islam and valid ways for worshipping God but that the ceremonial and cultic practices surrounding the veneration of saints and holy places must be restricted within religiously defined limits. The reform of popular practices

in the celebration of the *mawlid*s or "birthdays" of saints and in the visitation of saint's tombs requires the cultivation of proper inner attitudes, pious good faith, and spiritual concentration rather than carnival-like festivities. Drumming, dancing, and the free mixing of men and women are proscribed, even if they have some religious justifications. The reformers want to preserve Sufi practice in the main but purge it of its defects.

At the same time, practices proscribed in public may be accepted for private ceremonial. The reform of Sufi practices has to do with appropriateness, decorum, and public reputation as well as religious principles. Part of the program is to create an image of a rational, restrained Sufi practice that will win public support and protect the forms of worship that bring intercession with God. To make this point, several interesting sections are devoted to a detailed description of public and private Sufi *hadras* or ceremonies of worship.

Methodologically this book is hard to define. The literary documentation and the comparisons with authoritative historical Sufi literature suggests a work of history, but the literatures being analyzed are contemporary tracts and newspaper articles. The interviews and descriptions of ceremonies suggest anthropological field research, although the substance is mainly literary. Johansen approaches both text and ceremony without outside references; there are no social science or anthropological theories, no explanatory framework for the current religious context or for historic Sufism; no comparison to other Sufi or non-Sufi movements. The discussions and debates are summarized entirely in the manner of the authors themselves. The strength of this approach is that it gives the substance of the religious discussions with minimal distortion, but the weakness is that this monograph will be informative only to scholars and believers already familiar with the issues involved and largely inaccessible to general readers trying to understand current-day Sufism and other religious currents in Egypt and the Arab and Muslim worlds.

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#### AFRICA

TIMOTHY BURKE. *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption, and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe*. (Body, Commodity, Text: Studies of Objectifying Practice.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1996. Pp. ix, 298. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

This important, engaging, and theoretically sophisticated study explores the history of consumption in twentieth-century central Africa. Historians have often noted the processes through which Africans were drawn into and in turn shaped capitalist commercial economies; rarely have they described and analyzed them. Timothy Burke's book does just that. In the most

limited sense, it is the story of a commodity—soap; but as Burke's wonderfully evocative title suggests, this work takes us well beyond that into the crucial realms of commodification, colonial ideology, and gender construction. The result is a scholarly study, drawing substantially on oral testimony, that evokes the often poignant and contradictory consequences and experiences of colonialism and postcolonialism with a richness and persuasiveness that has generally eluded historians.

Pressing into productive dialogue elements of political economy, critical theory, and cultural studies, Burke teases out the fugitive history of soap and other toiletries and explores how these goods have been understood to work on bodies and thus to have contributed to notions of self and identity. He deploys his theory subtly, anxious not to "risk separating individuals from their bodies" (p. 12) or to reduce the development of the toiletries market to a construction of false needs invented out of and subordinate to the interests of colonialism and capitalism. As Burke points out, it is no easy task to trace the processes through which new commodities became necessities, especially when those products are now regarded as commonplace.

The first half of the book examines hygienic practices that predated European rule and the emergence of imperial attitudes about hygiene. Initially, Europeans used cleanliness most often to distinguish and define the favored African community, the Ndebele. It was only with the establishment of systematic colonial authority that the discourse of hygiene shifted to emphasize race boundaries. But even then, hygiene education suggested ambivalence in the equation of cleanliness and white racial identity. The gospel of hygiene permeated schools, missions, and clubs, where students and women "learned" cleanliness, domesticity, and presumably European civilization itself. These practices and ideas converged with the expansion of retail trading across Zimbabwe and the insidious efforts, perhaps inadequately examined here, of Asian and white petty traders to create African "needs" and hence markets for goods.

But many whites were determined that race must define the market. Just as Africans were legally forbidden to drink European name-brand beers and wines, the practice of trade often reserved particular soaps and other toiletries for particular races. The construction of an African market for toiletries during the postwar period revealed some of the deep tensions between local and metropolitan capital and between the logic of the market and the commitment to white supremacy. The debate in manufacturing, commercial, and advertising circles about the creation of an African market ultimately challenged monolithic racial categories and implied the existence of a differentiated and increasingly sophisticated African population—a profoundly subversive idea to those who would have reserved "white" brands for white people.

Yet, as Burke's fascinating and ironic account of the

growth and impact of advertising and market research reveals, African consumers often contested the definitions of commodities. If Lifebuoy soap was marketed to white women and men, African consumers made Lifebuoy an intrinsically masculine product. Indeed, this appropriation of commodities sometimes threatened the very meaning of a product, as when Africans began to use commercial margarine to smear their bodies and thus challenged its fundamental definition as a food and the very ownership of the product. As Burke argues, "Africans received the gospel of commodification into their homes and their selves, but the converts have to date never behaved as their putative masters and teachers expected" (p. 165).

This complicated response is nowhere more sensitively explored than in Burke's analysis of the use of skin lightening products. He deftly complicates what appears at first to be an account of the unfortunate and unhealthy assimilation of a white model of beauty by linking the application of such creams to the use of Vaseline and ultimately connecting the appeal of these products to earlier practices of body smearing. He suggests, but unfortunately does not really pursue, evidence of local ideas about whiteness that might have challenged facile equations of race and color. Such a criticism is in fact a symptom of the strength of this book: at the same time that Burke provides a compelling "biography" of a commodity, he raises and reframes a series of crucial questions regarding the histories of modern African societies.

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## ASIA

SARAH A. QUEEN. *From Chronicle to Canon: The Hermeneutics of the Spring and Autumn, According to Tung Chung-shu*. (Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature and Institutions.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 287. \$49.95.

Tung Chung-shu (Dong Zhongshu; ca. 195–105 B.C.E.) is surely among the most important thinkers of the first millennium of imperial Chinese history. He was central both to the elevation of Confucianism to a position of state orthodoxy and to the elaboration of a new imperial version of Confucianism that would remain influential until the end of the monarchy in 1912. Yet, although Tung is invariably discussed in general surveys, he has attracted relatively little attention from modern specialists. This is probably because the ideas he is most famous for—yin-yang, five phases (or five elements) cosmology, and a reverential study of the rather arid *Spring and Autumn* annals for the moral judgments allegedly written into them by Confucius—have limited appeal to the modern mind. Modern philosophy seemingly has little to learn from Tung, and Sarah A. Queen is therefore wise to adopt a historical

approach for this study. Tung's historical significance is beyond question.

In part one—nearly the first half of the book—Queen probes the authenticity of the text traditionally ascribed to Tung, the *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu*, through a careful scrutiny of internal inconsistencies and comparison with what is known of Tung's thought from reliable external sources. She concludes that, although the earliest reference to this title does not come until the sixth century, and the book is certainly a composite, much of it does represent Tung's ideas reasonably faithfully. Queen finds the material on five phases cosmology most dubious. The historical Tung apparently employed a basic yin-yang and four seasons (but not five phases) cosmology to buttress his Confucian moralizations and was especially renowned among contemporaries for his interpretation of omens drawn from the *Spring and Autumn*.

In part two, Queen calls upon this reconstruction of Tung's authentic writings to reconsider his philosophy. In fact, although Queen greatly refines what was previously known about Tung, the tenor of this "revision" will surprise few serious scholars. Tung did, indeed, assume the existence of a hierarchical society and an absolute monarch; but, like other Confucians, he also assumed that they were both bound by ritual and moral sanctions. Tung's special contribution, Queen believes, was to produce a "cosmological justification" for these restraints on royal power (p. 133). Heaven itself, and the order of nature, demand them. Imperial virtue sustains the cosmic harmony, ensuring good weather and plentiful crops; imperial deviation from virtue provokes natural disasters. The ruler's obligation, then, is to cultivate this virtue in his heart and to demonstrate it through ritual and benevolence.

Tung objected to the notoriously harsh legalism associated with the founding imperial dynasty, Ch'in (Qin; 221–206 B.C.E.). Over and over again, Tung compares virtue to the yang forces and punishment (law) to yin. Both are essential to good government, but Tung insists on the ascendancy of yang (virtue) in his cosmological scheme. To rule through reliance upon the yin force of law is to violate the order of heaven. This assertion of the Confucian priority of rule by virtuous example over rule by force of law had a decisive impact upon all subsequent dynasties in China.

As Queen notes, the elevation of Confucianism to state orthodoxy also raised Confucian scholars to critical positions in the empire, not just as civil servants but as interpreters of canon. In the Kung-yang interpretive tradition followed by Tung, it was thought that Confucius not only wrote the *Spring and Autumn* as a vehicle to express his vision of the ideal society but, by the very act of compiling history independently, he usurped a royal prerogative and thereby asserted a higher moral duty than mere loyalty to state and sovereign. As Queen nicely demonstrates, Tung then selected for praise individuals mentioned in the *Spring and Autumn* who acted out of humane considerations

in violation of superior orders, and so defended "the moral autonomy of the individual" against "the hierarchical status quo" (p. 147). It seems there is something we moderns can learn from Tung after all.

This is a fine book. My only quibble is with Queen's inclination to describe the *Spring and Autumn* as "scripture" and Confucianism as "religion." As Queen herself acknowledges (p. 231), the classics of Confucianism were not divine revelation, and in them heaven was not ontologically distinct from earth. Rather, heaven and humanity were fundamentally one. This makes Confucianism something less than a religion, but Confucian politics somewhat more than secular.

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ZHENGYUAN FU, *China's Legalists: The Earliest Totalitarians and Their Art of Ruling*. (New Studies in Asian Culture; An East Gate Book.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1996. Pp. x, 177. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$21.95.

Written for a general audience, this book offers a brief overview of the Legalist thinkers in classical China. Zhengyuan Fu discusses the primary ideas of Legalist thought as well as some of their implications for Chinese political culture. He identifies Legalist affinities with the other major classical philosophical schools, the practical effects of Legalist ideas on the formation of the imperial state, and similarities between the Legalists and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The tone of this book is not that of a detached scholarly study. Rather, it is an impassioned essay that lays open the cultural meaning of totalitarian thought and rule from the perspective of one who personally knows the suffering of those who find themselves in conflict with a totalitarian government.

Fu makes clear that law in China is, and has been, a tool of the ruler and the state. The Legalists were concerned with more than law, however. Above all, their goal was political power for the ruler. To help achieve this goal, the Legalists promoted law as a penal tool, to punish and reward the ruler's subjects, both those in government and the masses. In addition, Legalists focused on statecraft, similarly for the purpose of maintaining the ruler's control. In discussing the foremost importance of the ruler's power, Fu touches on such topics as forms of power (authority or the status of domination, material and human resources, intelligence) and the notion of power as an ultimate value. In considering law, Fu makes note of such Legalist views as the identification of law with the ruler's wishes and the arbitrariness of law. The topic of statecraft ranges from instructions to monopolize all power and trust no one to keep the ruler's actions secret, control thought and eliminate all opposition, treat officials like domesticated animals, and institute the practice of mutual surveillance among the masses.

Fu's limited concern with only certain explicit aspects of Legalism unfortunately tends to obscure the implicit, contextual components that were also part of

this school of thought. For example, Legalist thought functioned in a broader system in which cultural dynamics emphasized the distinction between the controllers (the ruler, elites, males) and the controlled (the masses, women, children, domestic animals). The ramifications of this fundamental distinction are obscured by Fu's observation (not in dispute) that law in China has been closely associated with the art of ruling and has not been seen as divinely ordained. Other restraints on behavior, however, were seen as divinely ordained. Confucians, for instance, claimed Heaven as the source of their rituals and virtues, which relegated women, children, the masses, and domestic animals to the category of "controlled" and placed males in the superior category of controllers. Legalist thought went a step further by including even elite males in the (inferior) controlled category. The Legalist perspective was totalitarian, the Confucian simply autocratic. Fu's discussion is repetitious at times, and the brevity of his comparisons and contrasts, especially those involving Western political theorists, renders his conclusions somewhat simplistic.

Fu's use of numerous quotations from original sources is helpful for readers who want to experience the flavor of Legalist writings, and his bibliography provides enough references for those who wish to pursue the topic further. A list of English translations of some Chinese texts is supplied, but other translations and studies are also available. As an introduction to Legalist thought and not an attempt to break new ground or summarize new findings, this text addresses issues that are of interest to contemporary scholars and those concerned with current worldwide problems.

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KAI-WING CHOW. *The Rise of Confucian Ritualism in Late Imperial China: Ethics, Classics, and Lineage Discourse*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 344. \$45.00.

This study suggests that ritualism was indispensable to the revitalization of gentry leadership in seventeenth and eighteenth-century China. By ritualism, Kai-wing Chow means studies of the origins, intentions, linguistic matrices, social significance, and orthopraxy of what is conventionally called "Confucian" ritual and also the use of ritual to attain greater social cohesion and "identity" among regional gentry. These developments were framed by Chinese adjustments to their incorporation into the Qing empire, the contentions among various schools of learning over the validity of earlier interpretations, and the changing role of the gentry—particularly that of the Yangzi Delta—in the eighteenth century.

Hu Shi, Yu Ying-shih, and Benjamin Elman are among the best-known modern scholars to find the roots of a Chinese rationalism in the "evidential" or empirical scholarship of this period. The problem with this empiricist interpretation, Chow claims, is that it

suggests a narrowing of perspective and action, taking "the moral and social commitments of Qing Confucians as a given or as something being eroded by the critical edge of evidential scholarship" (p. 2). By giving weight to ritualism as a philological problem and as a reality in lineage life, Chow hopes to explain how the literati became more scholastically intense and more socially effective.

Chow joins a cohort of scholars (among them Elman, Patricia Ebrey, and Thomas Wilson) who have in one fashion or another targeted the complex intertwining of "lineage" as a discursive element with the divergences in hermeneutic methods of this period. His interpretation of ritualism as a point of continuity among concrete social realities, historical objectifications, and cosmological speculations is distinctive (although related to arguments for an earlier period made by Peter Bol), and Chow is exceptional in giving extended consideration to women's status and function as philosophical and social problems.

Yet the pace of the book is a bit too swift to allow sufficient subtlety in the handling of some issues, and valuable passages, particularly those on women, do not seem well integrated with the rest of the work. Chow rightly decries the tendency to polarize the "Han" and "Song" schools in the textual debates of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (and he convincingly points to Wan Sida as an example of a scholar skeptical of both "schools"). Yet Chow himself tends to reify the dichotomy between "Han" and "Song" interpretations in his own discussion. The sententiousness of many passages undermines the effectiveness of Chow's argument. In his treatment of the Qing court, for example, he depicts the Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong reigns as progressively institutionalizing a Cheng-Zhu "orthodoxy" (here Chow invokes K. C. Liu's powerful working definition of orthodoxy but appears to extend it to objects that Liu might not have intended), overtly cultivating the ritual orientation of the Yangzi Delta literati, and defusing resistance from the scholars and gentry. This is a conventional plotline in studies of eighteenth-century Chinese thought, but it seems to ignore a great deal of evidence concerning the complexity of intellectual and political relations between the Qing elite (not exclusively "Confucians") and the court. More curiously, Chow seems uninterested in the difference between philosophy and ideology. This hampers his analysis of the Qing court's political intentions in patronizing certain portions of the literati community and leaves important discussions of the eighteenth-century revisitations of Zheng Xuan and Xunzi incomplete. Here the work of Maruyama Masao, Herman Ooms and others on Tokugawa Japan might have provided useful comparison.

There is a large literature on the history of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Chinese thought; Chow's book will find a secure place within it. The book makes extremely useful reading for beginning graduate students in all areas of late imperial studies, providing an overview of major intellectual develop-



ments in the later Ming as well as Qing eras. Specialists will find it engaging in a variety of ways. Chow has succeeded in supplying the balance he sought by highlighting the condition of the literati in the earlier Qing. He and others will certainly explore more thoroughly the questions this book raises.

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PHILIP C. C. HUANG. *Civil Justice in China: Representation and Practice in the Qing*. (Law, Society, and Culture in China.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 271. \$45.00.

This is a book that we have long been waiting for, because it tackles a previously neglected aspect of Chinese law, the civil law. Philip C. C. Huang begins with three long-held beliefs about the law of the Qing dynasty (1644–1912) that he will question and knock down “in the light of actual practices” (p. 1). He aims to explicate “the nature of the Qing legal system as it actually was” (p. 1) and not the Qing idealization, which emphasized the criminal law at the expense of civil matters.

What are these long-held beliefs that we are now to discard? First, that Qing courts and their cases focused mainly on penal law and only rarely dealt with civil matters. Second, that evil *yamen* runners and lictors so ensnared and corrupted the operation of the civil law for the sake of their own personal gain that respectable citizens would have nothing to do with the courts. And third, that county magistrates decided civil cases by moralistic, Confucian principles rather than by reference to codified law. Huang argues instead that about “one-third” of all Qing court cases were in the civil realm, a figure that rose to one-half in the early republic (p. 11); that court cases and their accompanying fees came to be prolonged by the increasing sophistication of the antagonists and their litigation specialists rather than by evil *yamen* staff, but that local citizens did indeed frequently resort to the courts; and that county magistrates, far from acting as “didactic” conciliators and relying on their own moral predilections, were officially evaluated partly in terms of their adherence to the several civil law sections in *The Great Qing Code* and therefore had to use that law in rendering judgments (pp. 6, 17, 77–78).

But there is more. Huang is not content merely to disprove some of the old prejudices bequeathed from the Qing; with brilliant insight, he observes that even though the old, half-wrong Qing representations failed to tell the full story of the civil law, these depictions nevertheless possessed an intermediate efficacy. Although wrong, they did help to shape the development of the law. For example, the prevailing notion of the law as mainly penal tended to hinder full development of the civil side of the law and led to the writing of more criminal law. Another Qing representation construed “administrative authority as benevolent but

absolute,” thus weakening the development of judicial independence and civil rights (p. 15).

Most significant, Huang posits an influential “third realm” where representation and reality met, not with the complete ascendancy of one and the total defeat of the other but with a melding that utilized aspects of both. As he explains: “The defining aspect of the Ming system, indeed of Chinese legal culture as a whole . . . is its simultaneous reliance on the official and unofficial” (p. 18). The law comprised both sides of this equation and yielded not only the official and the unofficial but also the all-important “third realm,” where community mediators faced the possible imposition of the law should they fail to reach a solution and be forced to go on to lawsuit and court trial. Even more, litigants dreaded the court’s absolute distinction between winner and loser and preferred the village’s sweetener for the defeated side, which frequently prevented full loss of face.

Huang’s main sources are 638 Qing cases from the recently opened archives of trials in Baxian (Sichuan), Baodi (Zhili, near Beijing), and Danshui-Xinzhu (Taiwan). These offer more than geographic variety, as Dan-Xin was commercially far more developed and sophisticated than the other two. In the Baxian cases, for instance, most plaintiffs were peasant-cultivators, with only 6.2 percent being landlords; Dan-Xin’s statistics by contrast yield twenty-nine percent landlords (p. 145). Huang supplemented his rich source-base of Qing cases with republican-period evidence from the North China village studies carried out by Japanese interviewers working for the South Manchurian Railway Company in 1940–1942.

The book’s findings make it a good prospect for undergraduate courses on Chinese law. Among scholars, both specialists in the China field and outsiders will be rewarded by Huang’s work. The two promised sequels on the republic and contemporary periods should find an equally enthusiastic welcome.

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JANE KATE LEONARD. *Controlling from Afar: The Daoguang Emperor’s Management of the Grand Canal Crisis, 1824–1826*. (Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies, number 69.) Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan. 1996. Pp. xxv, 331. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$25.00.

This book is an impressive and significant achievement. Jane Kate Leonard gives us a close empirical study of the handling of the Grand Canal crisis (1824–1826) that not only elucidates the ecological and institutional history of the early Daoguang reign but challenges us to see the Qing regime of the early nineteenth century in new and important ways. Her mastery of the complexities of the vast network of canals, rivers, dikes, sluices, and reservoirs that comprised the Grand Canal system, its component technology and engineering, and the array of managerial

governmental institutions impresses deeply. Leonard offers the reader an excellent history of the canal, a compelling portrait of the canal-zone economy and related society, and a nuanced case-study of the relationship between the Daoguang emperor and his officials.

Even more important are aspects of her analysis that provide new ways of seeing the Grand Canal and the late Qing imperial regime. In Leonard's hands, the Grand Canal becomes "a metaphor for the imperial state and its imperial leadership" (p. 4), with its images evoking "the power of the imperial state, its strategic-logistical contours, and its demonstrated ability to mobilize human and material resources" (p. 37). In addition, the Grand Canal zone, with its all-important grain transport, was linked by the capital (to which it flowed) to the Inner Asian borderlands that the Qing wished to assimilate into the empire (p. 61). Given the ritual-political import of the canal, it was essential that the Daoguang emperor follow his predecessors in forcefully involving himself in the health of the canal network. It is also notable that the emperor and his officials, evincing considerable ecological understanding, insisted on seeing the health of the Grand Canal system in holistic terms.

In Leonard's depiction of the various phases of the crisis—the autumn crossing emergency and the disaster at Gaojia Great Dike in 1824, the 1825 grain tribute shipments, the issues involving canal restoration, and the sea transport experiment—the Daoguang emperor emerges as a ruler in command of the complexities and process of policy-making, a flexible and shrewd leader in the forefront of constructive and even creative change. During the crisis, the meaning of "controlling from afar" comes into focus: despite the emperor's power to interject himself in regional planning and, theoretically, to direct on-the-ground activities, only regional officials with knowledge of local conditions could shape the specifics of policies (p. 197). The role from afar was one of monitoring, supervising, and sanctioning (p. 117). This center-regional decision-making system reveals the flexibility and the "organizational capacity and creativity" of the late Qing state (p. 252). Although the eventual decision on canal restoration—"muddling through," at a time when the Yellow River was beginning its disastrous cyclical change of course—was not especially satisfying, Leonard shows that, given the problems and the alternatives, it was prudent. There was, she notes, considerably more creativity and daring on the emperor's part in the highly successful sea transport experiment as an alternative to the silted-up canal system.

The regime of the Daoguang emperor was one that was also responsive to changing economic realities and solicitous of the needs of the people. In the canal crisis, the state came to depend on private shipping organizations, for lighterage in the transfer-shipping initiative on the canal and, with Shanghai merchants, for ships on the sea transport. These joint ventures of government and private shippers are in themselves

noteworthy for our understanding of late Qing state and society; even more significant is the emperor's expression of benevolence in establishing for private merchants acceptable terms "that would not damage or disrupt [their] livelihood" (p. 236).

Thus, Leonard shows that, at least in the realm of "logistical and strategic issues associated with the canal crisis," the early nineteenth-century Qing state was anything but inefficient, corrupt, and backwardly authoritarian. Equally significant, Leonard's interpretation transcends the periodization that sees 1800 as being a demarcation between High Qing and Qing-in-rapid-decline. She compellingly argues against the Opium War-fixated view that the Chinese state at the time was inefficient, inflexible, and ineffective—mired in factionalism and careerist politics and therefore incapable of dealing with crisis. In the canal crisis, the Qing state was still highly capable of complex growth and change. For understanding the nature of the Chinese state in the nineteenth century, this book is essential.

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ROBERT D. JENKS. *Insurgency and Social Disorder in Guizhou: The "Miao" Rebellion, 1854–1873*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 227. \$41.00.

The mid-nineteenth century witnessed a number of major peasant rebellions in several regions of China: the White Lotus sectarian rebellions, the Taiping rebellion, the Muslim rebellions, and the Miao rebellion in Guizhou. Most of these episodes have received substantial scholarly study by Western scholars, but the Miao rebellion has yet to be fully examined. Robert D. Jenks aims to fill the gap with this book, which is based on careful study of archives in the national Palace Museum Archives in Taiwan. These sources permit Jenks to assemble a reasonably detailed view of the sequence of events, the cultural and economic background of the rebellion, and the motives and fates of some of its leaders. The magnitude of the rebellion is significant. Over a twenty-year period, the rebellion led to the death of as many as 4,900,000 people. It is important to have a clear understanding of its causes and character if we are to have a reasonably full view of the character and diversity of peasant rebellion and unrest in Qing China.

Jenks attempts to provide a detailed narrative of the events of the Miao disorders, lodged within an explanatory framework intended to clarify the bases of mobilization and unrest. Jenks points out that it is in some ways misleading to refer to this period as one rebellion (implying a unified mobilization and leadership); instead, the time span consists of a congeries of semi-independent periods of unrest, and localization disturbance (p. 5). Among the factors that Jenks identifies as explanatory are ethnic frictions; moral economy considerations; economic deprivation, exploitation, and excessive taxation; weakness of govern-

ment capacity, both administrative and military; opium cultivation; folk religion; and ecological factors. None of these factors play a dominant role in Jenks's analysis, however. Instead, he interprets the several stages of unrest and mobilization based on the factors that seem most salient in the primary sources. For this reason, his book gives the impression of a programmatic effort, in which the first efforts at explanation are laid out to invite further exploration by the next generation of scholars. A central heuristic is Jenks's effort to track the movements of various important leaders and the groups they gathered around themselves through the gazeteers in the archives. (Most of these stories end in the capture and execution of the leader.)

It must be noted that the archival basis of this study has one important deficiency: Jenks conducted his primary research at a time when provincial and national archives in the People's Republic of China (PRC) were inaccessible. Were the study replicated today, PRC sources would certainly shed new light on the period. This being said, the sources available to the author appear to be complete enough to constitute a basis for confident judgment about the chief particulars.

Jenks's book provides a complement to the very lively literature on Chinese rebellion that has developed in the past twenty years. The book serves as a preliminary survey of the terrain of the Miao rebellion rather than a fully developed treatment. Jenks has identified the main contours of the rebellion and a large number of factors that influenced the course of events, and he has prepared the ground for more probing studies in the future. As the China field has witnessed in the treatment of the White Lotus and Taiping rebellions, long periods of unrest offer a profitable lens through which to examine popular culture and local histories. The constellations of folk religion, state-local relations, dialectic of repression and self-defense, and local patterns of property and taxation provide contexts within which to view the outcomes of mobilization and collective action that emerged across China in the nineteenth century. Thanks to Jenks's efforts, we may hope that scholars will bring a second wave of attention to the study of the disorders in Guizhou.

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H. LYMAN MILLER. *Science and Dissent in Post-Mao China: The Politics of Knowledge*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, in association with the Donald R. Ellegood International Publications Endowment. 1996. Pp. xii, 370. Cloth \$38.00, paper \$18.95.

In some quarters of Western academia, science has been excoriated as a repository of elitist, sexist, and hegemonic values. A sharp contrast to this view is provided by H. Lyman Miller's book, which narrates the emancipatory role played in China by science and

its associated cultural patterns. For many Chinese scientists, their discipline is more than a pathway to specialized knowledge; it is an essential element in the transformation of a society weighted down by political and cultural authoritarianism.

The book traces the political roles assumed by Chinese scientists throughout the twentieth century, with emphasis on events since the death of Mao Zedong in 1976. Miller discusses some of the most politically active scientists of the Deng Xiaoping era, the intellectual battles they fought, the hopes they espoused, and their treatment at the hands of authorities both political and scientific.

Although the focus is on the post-Mao period, Miller provides historical context through a description of the forces that have threatened the integrity of the scientific enterprise in the People's Republic. The Communist leadership has valued science primarily as a source of military and economic advance (an attitude that, of course, is not unique to Communist elites). From their perspective, the notion of science as a disinterested search for the truth borders on the frivolous. Moreover, China's scientists have had to work in an intellectual environment dominated by a political ideology that intrudes into every aspect of their work. As Miller notes, some of the ideological forces that have impinged on Chinese scientists have bordered on the bizarre. For example, Chinese particle physicists have had to contend with the notion that matter is endlessly divisible, an article of faith among the dialecticians that causes them to deny the existence of elementary particles.

In Miller's analysis, Chinese scientists have been on a collision course with Communist ideology and institutions because science is an enterprise that is anti-authoritarian by nature. In the late 1970s, Deng and other members of the political elite began to give a freer rein to scientists so that they could contribute to the development of "the forces of production." But as subsequent events showed, liberalization could not be so neatly contained. Many of China's leading scientists were not content to be liberated from the blatant oppression of the Maoist era; they wanted to be altogether free from dogmatism and political scrutiny. Thus, Deng's liberalization has given rise to the politics of opposition, and dissidence has emerged as an unintended consequence of post-Mao reforms.

At the same time, however, economic liberalization also had the perverse consequence of diminishing the economic and social status of scientists, whose position as government employees has left them lagging behind entrepreneurs and opportunistic officials. Science might receive official recognition as a key force of production, but the reality for Chinese scientists has been falling real incomes, poor housing, inadequate research facilities, and even disturbingly high mortality rates.

Miller's book is as much about individual scientists as it is about science in general. Brief biographies of politically active scientists are presented, and the

subjects of these biographies are grouped into distinct cohorts, which allows Miller to trace how distinct "political generations" have been influenced by the major issues of their times. While keeping his focus on scientists as individuals, Miller also provides considerable information on the organizational structure of Chinese science and traces how policy shifts have been accompanied by organizational changes.

This is an important book for anyone interested in contemporary China, the culture of modern science, or the intellectual foundations of democratic societies. It can, however, be criticized on methodological grounds. Miller notes that the scientists featured in the book hold views that may not be representative of Chinese scientists in general, but he makes no attempt to assess how typical they are. Moreover, Miller points out that Chinese scientists do not form a monolithic bloc, and that a group of scientists united over one issue may diverge over other ones. The forces that produce unity and diversity are key aspects of the politics of science and they deserve to be the subject of further inquiry.

Miller might also be criticized for his tacit acceptance of the idea that scientific ideals are fundamentally opposed to authoritarianism, even though support for this view can be found in the historical juxtaposition of scientific advance and a liberal political order. In any event, neither Miller nor those struggling for human rights in China are so naïve as to think that the infusion of scientific values will bring about fundamental change by itself. It can only be hoped that future cultural and political changes will produce an environment more receptive to the joint advance of science and democracy in China.

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STEVEN J. ERICSON. *The Sound of the Whistle: Railroads and the State in Meiji Japan*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 168; Subseries on the History of Japanese Business and Industry.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 506. \$42.00.

In Japan of the early 1960s, you could set your watch by the trains. So proud of running them on time were the local officials in one small town that they played the radio over the station loudspeakers every morning before the express left. As the radio announced 8:00 a.m., the engineer blew the whistle, the doors closed, and the express rumbled down the track. I was young then, and it was my hometown, and for excitement for young boys little else in town compared.

It was not always so, says Steven J. Ericson in this history of the turn-of-the-century Japanese train system. The earliest Japanese railroad firms experimented wildly. Private markets often provide substantial variety, and they apparently did so here with a vengeance. Some firms bought good equipment and ran a tight ship, others skimped on the track and carried passengers on rolling stock closer to cattle cars. Some tickets were cheap, others were expensive. Some

trains arrived more or less on time, others came when they wished.

By the turn of the century, trains still had only been around for a few decades. The first had arrived in Japan in 1854, when some Americans brought a quarter-scale working model (p. 4). It was a smash hit, and both government officials and private entrepreneurs saw the gains to be had from building networks for these machines. But it took them time to start. In 1882, the track network included 171 miles. It grew to 1,871 miles by 1892 and to 4,238 miles by 1902 (p. 9). In 1874, Japan was a world where citizens could joke with each other that to build a railroad "people [had to] be buried alive . . . according to the Christian method" (p. 59). By 1896, it was a world where 450 firms applied for railroad charters in a single year (p. 65).

In 1906, everything changed yet again. That year, in a massive show of force, the government nationalized the trunk lines. In 1905, it had owned 1,532 miles of track, and private firms had owned 3,250 miles. By 1907, it owned 4,453 miles and private firms only 446 (p. 9). Forceful it may have seemed, but to Ericson it was exactly what one would expect. A strong bureaucracy dominated the Japanese government, he argues, and it had designed for the country an "industrial policy." According to that policy, it needed the railroads in order to promote growth through "market-conforming" measures.

If inside every fat book is a thin book struggling to escape, the thin book never made it out here. For perhaps thirty years of railroad history, Ericson gives us 385 pages. That is a lot of words for relatively few trains. Ericson writes history nicely, to be sure, but this is probably still more prose than most readers will want on the subject.

Ericson sandwiches his elaborate account between two "theory" chapters. In them, he pushes a powerful bureaucracy, "market-conforming" model of Japanese regulation. In effect, he tells a careful if overly long history of early Japanese railroads and adds framing chapters that address a few of the Big Questions in Japanese economic and political history.

This is a bit problematic. To test an idea, usually one should let the hypothesis structure the research. Unfortunately, Ericson seems not to have done that consistently. He claims the government had to intervene in the railroad industry because private firms faced a capital shortage, but he never measures the cost or scarcity of capital. He asserts that nationalization benefited the country by adding order to the chaos of private railroads, but he never measures the cost to the diversity of service either before or after nationalization. He claims that nationalization promoted growth, but he never estimates how fast the economy would have grown had the railroads remained in private hands.

Such questions are important, but given that Ericson's heart is in trains rather than theory, it is too bad that he felt obliged to ask them. If other academics treat books the way I do, they buy them profligately;



with the best of intentions, they place them neatly on their "to read" shelves; they look at them guiltily for six months; finally they pull them down, read the introduction and the conclusion, scan the index to see whether the author cited them, and declare the book "read." In the case of this book, such an approach would be a shame, for scholars would read the weakest parts. The heart of the book, where Ericson has obviously placed his own heart, tells a nice story indeed.

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YUKI TANAKA. *Hidden Horrors: Japanese War Crimes in World War II*. Foreword by JOHN W. DOWER. (Translations: Asia and Asian America.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview of HarperCollins. 1996. Pp. xix, 267. \$28.00.

The massive outpouring of studies by historians and others of inhumane Nazi behavior during the twelve-year rule of Adolf Hitler is in sharp contrast to the paucity of studies devoted to Japanese militarist atrocities from 1930 to 1945. The flood of books and articles on Nazi barbarity in Europe is overwhelming. The number of similar articles and books relating to the Japanese rampage is sparse by comparison. Yuki Tanaka's study is a welcome addition to the small but growing body of literature that is beginning to expose the dark side of Japan's recent history.

Tanaka has written an important book. His is an extensive account of Japanese mistreatment of Australian civilian and military personnel captured on various islands in the South Pacific during World War II. Based on exhaustive research in the Australian National Archives, a host of Japanese secondary sources (many Japanese archives are still closed or restricted to scholars), and a limited examination of the material in the National Archives in Washington, Tanaka describes in absorbing, but disturbing, detail the cruel and often deadly mistreatment Australian prisoners suffered at the hands of their captors.

Japan, according to Tanaka, violated its own declaration that it would abide by all the conventions universally accepted for treatment of prisoners of war (POWs). Forcing prisoners to work in war-related industries was mild compared to the truly horrible experiences of other POWs, which included malnutrition, starvation, mass beatings, repeated attempts to enlist Australians as "comfort women," rape of female civilians and military captives, cannibalism in a number of recorded instances, and executions of prisoners for the slightest infraction. Human experimentation by military doctors and their assistants was fairly widespread; forced marches led to numerous deaths from dehydration or exhaustion. These violations were known to those in command, but many in the upper echelons of the military did little, if anything, to rein in the brutality of the local occupiers or their immediate superiors.

Tanaka's purpose in examining these terrible crimes

is to do more than "simply to comprehend events of the past intellectually but also to exercise moral imagination." This view requires "us to take responsibility for past wrongdoings and at the same time stimulates us to project our thoughts toward the future through the creative examination of our past" (p. 6). Tanaka points out that men in all armies at one time or another commit atrocities. He argues further that the Japanese soldier was not unique but very much like soldiers of any other nationality. Moreover, as the tide of war began to go against the Japanese, the ethnic identity of those who guarded prisoners changed. Japanese guards were replaced in many camps by Formosans and Koreans who, having themselves been brutalized by the Japanese, now had an opportunity to behave in the same manner toward the unfortunate POWs in their charge.

Tanaka is a disciple of John Dower, who has written an eloquent foreword to this book. Dower also argues that those Japanese who committed atrocities "were simply ordinary men in extraordinary circumstances" (p. xv). Their crimes were well known to the occupying authorities, but they were not punished because the United States needed Japan as a reliable ally during the Cold War. Thus, "sanitizing the Japanese past quickly became a collaborative Japanese-American undertaking" (p. xiv).

The book is not without its faults. Originally published in Japan as *Shirarezaru Senso Hanzai* [Unknown War Crimes: What Japanese Forces Did To Australians] (1993), its English title is misleading. The horrors recorded in this book were not "hidden." As Dower acknowledges, these crimes were known to the victorious allies. Tanaka's research was based largely on the documents and testimonies of survivors presented at various Australian war crimes tribunals in the immediate postwar period. That information about Japanese war crimes was not widely disseminated in subsequent decades was due to cover-ups implemented largely by the United States but condoned by Canada, Australia, Great Britain, and other former allies.

The book's subtitle is also misleading. Tanaka's description of Japanese mistreatment of Australian POWs certainly falls within the rubric of "war crimes." But these crimes, heinous as they were, pale before those committed by the Japanese against American POWs and, certainly, against Chinese civilians and military POWs. It is estimated that China alone suffered between twenty-five and thirty-five million casualties in the struggle against Japan. History will especially remember the 1937 Rape of Nanking, the large-scale human experiments conducted by Units 731, 100, and Ei 1644, and the massive forcible enlistment of several hundred thousand Korean, Filipina, and other Asian women as prostitutes. Tanaka has focused his attention on the atrocities meted out to Australians, and in so doing he has produced an excellent account. There were, however, untold other horrendous crimes

committed by Japanese military forces. That story remains to be documented.

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ANNE E. IMAMURA, editor. *Re-Imaging Japanese Women*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 358. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$18.00.

As a sequel to *Recreating Japanese Women 1600–1945*, edited by Gail Bernstein (1991), this similarly titled volume is a welcome update, focusing on the postwar period through the mid-1990s, more from a social science than a historical perspective. I cannot do justice to the richness and complexity of this anthology in a necessarily selective review. The term “re-imagining” suggests two aspects of the subject. One is the ongoing change in the lives of Japanese women that calls for an overhaul of the static stereotype of the *ryōsai kenbo* (good wife, wise mother). Editor Anne E. Imamura sees change in the expanding choices open to women in Japan, and most of the contributors begin with statements about those legal, political, economic, technological, and demographic changes that over the last five decades have had an impact on women's lives. Among the most notable turning points are the gender equalization stipulated by the 1946 constitution, imposed by the Allied Occupation authorities; the Equal Employment Opportunity Law (EEOL) of 1986; economic transitions that have enriched women as primary consumers; industries that, increasingly, have taken over domestic chores; the saturation of the entire nation by the audiovisual media; and the phenomenal upsurge in the proportion of the elderly, concurrent with fertility shrinkage.

The other message from “re-imagining” is about “imaging.” From Imamura's definition of image as “appearance,” I take it as the externally visible aspect of women's lives, personhood, and actions: the audience-conscious presentation and representation of women. What is left out is the internal, hidden, unrepresented part of womanhood, which tempts me to ask whether there is not a gap between the visible exterior and the invisible interior, representational constructs and “real” experience, signifiers and signified, deception and “truth.” Implicit in this duality is the possibly deconstructionist argument against images.

These two themes—change and visibility—are addressed by some contributors more systematically than others. In a coherent, well-researched essay, Nancy Rosenberger connects the two in a three-level analysis of women's lifecourses, that examines production-oriented state programs; consumer-oriented media representations, especially in women's magazines; and “live” women who appropriate media images in search of new alternatives to the familiar home/career juggling, moving toward self-fulfillment through freedom,

consumption, leisure, “international sophistication,” and status enjoyment. Patricia Steinhoff, in an essay on the women leaders in the Japanese Red Army, notes the role of the male-biased media in creating overly feminized images—a model wife, a horrible witch, a romantic figure—that overshadow the women's real identities as political leaders.

Margaret Lock critically delineates the “moral discourse” employed by government, press, and health professionals to trivialize menopause as a consequence of the supposedly leisurely life style characteristic of today's women. At the same time, Lock notes that this rhetoric is parroted by menopausal women who are, in fact, exhausted from caregiving labor. Similarly, Susan Long, even though she differentiates the publicized ideal of women as nurturers from their experiential domain, presents women's nurturing responsibilities for children, husbands, and aged parents as an inescapable reality. If there is any deception involved, it seems to be reinforced by women's self-deception.

Change, although definitely occurring, is thus uncertain in its direction. In fact, what cuts across these essays is an emphasis on the persistence of discrimination and gender dichotomy despite legal reforms like the EEOL. Andrew Painter, who observed a national TV station as its employee, shows how TV programs, controlled by senior male staff, prefer to represent women as homemakers, while women workers are marginalized and subjected to harassment in the station's workplace. Department stores, whose customers and employees are overwhelmingly female, would appear more encouraging in promoting and facilitating women's work careers. But Millie Creighton discovered not only actual job discrimination but a self-imposed ceiling on women's career aspirations in their obsession with the “marriageable age.”

Nevertheless, even the most conservative Japanese man today knows that women are not content to be wives and mothers only, with no public life. Even Grandma Yuriko, whose life history is presented by Robert Marra, felt fulfilled because, after having struggled as the mainstay of the family economy through long years of destitution, she found herself a trusted life consultant and community leader, looked up to by villagers. If the homemaker identity is to remain intact, women must find a public niche compatible with their domestic roles and images. Barbara Mori characterizes the tea ceremony as such a niche, since it dramatizes feminine virtues and etiquette in serving others and is thus perfectly consistent with traditional gender norms.

More common than this solution are signs of ambivalence, dilemmas, and frustrations. Glenda Roberts describes full-time, blue-collar workers who fluctuate between work/career and housewifely commitment. This is not women's problem alone, she correctly explains, but mirrors the structure of Japanese society, where overworked workers need to be looked after by full-time homemakers. Anne Allison, while doing field work in Japan, experienced stress and frustration as

the mother of a nursery-school child. Mothers, monitored by school authorities, were expected to be totally involved in their children's school life and to perform countless and rigidly prescribed assignments, such as sewing a bag "thirty centimeters high, forty centimeters wide, and five centimeters in depth" (p. 144). The regimentation and intrusions on privacy that horrified the American anthropologist were accepted by Japanese mothers as necessary for their children's education.

While most of these essays succeed in formulating and substantiating their arguments, I have a few reservations. John Mock should have selected one aspect of his important subject—bar hostesses—instead of covering too many and thereby dissipating his message and data. Sally Hastings provides a useful reference to women legislators in postwar Japan, but her chapter would have been more complete with a general conclusion. Nobuko Awaya (the only Japanese contributor to the volume) and David Phillips take us away from academe to the world of such popular and somewhat iconoclastic writers as Yoshimoto Banana and Hayashi Mariko. Their essay begins by criticizing studies of Japanese women by "foreigners" for failing to recognize evidence of change. This criticism not only targets older publications but, more importantly, serves to question some central observations made by other authors in the present volume, as noted by Bernstein in her afterword.

These reservations are minor, compared with the overall excellence of this book. I congratulate and thank Imamura for assembling so many first-rate contributions by veteran scholars whose expertise in Japan and gender studies is well known. I recommend the book to both professional and general readers interested in Japan, gender, women, marriage, motherhood, career-making, media, and history. It is a timely text for upper-level undergraduate and graduate courses in anthropology, sociology, history, women's studies, and Japanese studies.

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NICHOLAS TARLING. *Britain, Southeast Asia and the Onset of the Pacific War*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 434. \$64.95.

Nicholas Tarling has written a well-researched monograph with all the strengths and a few of the weaknesses of that genre. One weakness, if it can be called that, is the relative lack of readership that such a specialized study commands. This lack is especially regrettable because Tarling makes important contributions to our understanding of the origins of the Pacific war or, as he rightly puts it, the transformation of a European conflict into a global one.

Focus on that transformation led Tarling to the British archives, as he sees London's diplomacy at its center, not policies undertaken in Tokyo or Washington. Britain's leaders knew that Southeast Asia was the

key to American involvement in the war on their behalf, even if it came at the price of adding Japan to the ranks of their enemies. They also were aware that diplomacy was virtually the only tool available to them in the twenty-eight months covered in this book.

There is nothing especially new in these observations, but Tarling provides much greater depth to them by observing that Southeast Asia was hardly a unified area but instead constituted a bewilderingly complex amalgam of colonies of three European powers and the more-or-less sovereign Siam. Even within the British Empire, from Burma to Australia, colonies were anything but ciphers. They had priorities and, quite often, prerogatives of their own that they could and did defend vigorously.

This approach lends itself to a host of insights. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 dampened pan-Asianist sentiment in Southeast Asia with effects that echoed well into World War II. In the Philippines, dissatisfaction with the Tydings-McDuffie Act led to preliminary (and short-lived) feelers of affiliation with the British Commonwealth. Burmese leaders, who in 1937 had won a new constitution that moved their country toward dominion status, openly questioned whether the Burma Road into China ought to be built at all and who ought to pay for its upkeep. Their subsequent use of the Atlantic Charter to bargain for additional autonomy even as some of them toyed with an association with Japan will raise eyebrows. Any reader who had assumed that Malaya and Borneo were simple appendages of the British Empire will be disabused by reading these pages, as London's attempts to form a closer military relationship with Sarawak, to use just one example, were stalled repeatedly.

Yet the very wealth of these observations suggests ways in which this study could have been even more useful. Tarling might have departed from the British records to provide readers with a broader understanding of Southeast Asian perspectives than his base of evidence allows here. He is too modest in drawing judgements from his own material concerning, for example, what role the United States played in the reopening of the Burma Road or what the reader is to make of Anglo-Dutch discussions begun in the autumn of 1940. The latter is all the more curious given Tarling's much-needed reminder that Franklin D. Roosevelt's famous promise of American help in December 1941 was given in the context of Winston Churchill's decision to extend assurances to the Dutch over their East Indian possessions.

Tarling can be excused from directly addressing the issues raised in two other recent studies (Anthony Best, *Britain, Japan and Pearl Harbor: Avoiding War in East Asia, 1936-1941* [1995] and Jonathan Marshall, *To Have and Have Not: Southeast Asian Raw Materials and the Origins of the Pacific War* [1995]), as his work was in proof before they were published. Still, it is disappointing that he did not more consistently consider the major questions of this part of World War II

that they have no hesitation in addressing. He seems to argue that Southeast Asia itself was of quite minor importance to Washington, which might have accepted Japanese domination of the region had it been achieved peaceably and, of course, had it not involved the "white colonies" of Australia and New Zealand. Part of the difficulty stems from a too-great exclusion of American and Japanese initiatives. Many of these were aimed at the situation in China, to be sure, but many also affected Southeast Asia directly, such as the botched Japanese move into northern Indochina in July 1940. And a glance at Washington's growing realization that Southeast Asia was critical to Britain's position would have been useful. Tarling cannot be faulted for failing to consult American and Japanese archives as long as humans are mortal, but his reluctance to incorporate more recent work by scholars who have done so is somewhat disappointing. In all, his book is a valuable addition to a still-growing body of literature on aspects of the war in Asia that, unfortunately, is likely to be consigned to a smaller audience than it deserves.

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BOO TEIK KHOO. *Paradoxes of Mahathirism: An Intellectual Biography of Mahathir Mohamad*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xxiv, 375. \$39.95.

Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad is viewed by many as a controversial and enigmatic political figure, perhaps because of his assertive public demeanor and his success in generating a mass base of popular support in Malaysia. Even before his entry into political life, Mahathir identified public policy goals to transform Malay peasant society and facilitate Malaysian participation in a modern technological economy. His proposals were far reaching, including a fundamental transformation of core Malay national character traits. These early ideals of Mahathir gradually evolved into a fairly consistent world view on a wide range of topics concerning ethnicity, nationalism, industrial policy, environmental issues, Islam, and relations with neighbor states and major powers. When Mahathir became prime minister in 1981, he assumed an activist role as the primary architect and energizer for a host of new programs of social and economic transformation engineered by the state. Because he continues to shape Malaysia's present and long-term public policies, his ideas, strategies, and ideology are crucial for an understanding of contemporary Malaysia.

The title of this book by Boo Teik Khoo gives the impression that Mahathir's ideas have been erratic or contradictory and that his goals and tactics have been shifting or without focus. Yet, the author's analysis reveals instead a remarkably consistent but evolving set of social and economic goals and political strategies. Although apparent inconsistencies and contradic-

tions are listed at the beginning of the volume, by the final chapter, the "Paradoxes of Mahathir" are deemed to be largely the product of public misperceptions of his ideological pronouncements. The book presents a thorough and lucid account of Mahathir's political ideas, but it is less analytical in identifying how political events shaped his ideology. His speeches were often packaged with fiery and acerbic rhetoric designed for maximum political effect on his core support base. As Khoo observes, the clarity and validity of his ideas were less important to Mahathir than their political impact.

The author tends to assume that the ideology of Mahathir was the driving force of politics and public policy. Yet, it could equally well be argued that his ideology was the by-product of political contestation. Over time, Mahathir's ideology evolved to reflect emerging priorities and changing configurations of political opponents. His ideological perspectives are extracted from his writings and political pronouncements dating from his early student days in the 1940s through his formulation in 1991 of long-range national goals popularly known as "Vision 20/20." In the early days of his political life, Mahathir's targets were British colonialists and alien immigrant communities, primarily the Chinese; in later years, Western powers, "market manipulators," the foreign press, and Zionists became the targets of political opprobrium. Mahathir's militant Malay nationalism was gradually tempered by a more comprehensive and inclusive Malaysian nationalism, in part reflecting his maturity in office as prime minister of an ethnically diverse country. While the author utilizes a topical scheme for analysis, the topics correspond generally to the temporal shift of focus of Mahathir's goals and the evolving content of Malaysian political debate. As a result, the account and analysis tend to follow a chronological sequence.

Khoo provides persuasive explanations for Mahathir's ideological perspective and justifications for his public policy pronouncements but gives only slight exposure to the arguments of his critics. From the printed record, the reader is exposed to Mahathir's persuasive argumentation and self-assured ideological world view without equal exposure to his occasional bombast, his impetuous actions, his scapegoating, and his vindictive responses to criticism or opposition. On most issues, Mahathir's ideas are presented in an objective but fairly empathetic way. By contrast, his authoritarian tendencies are subject to more severe and openly critical evaluations.

What was originally a very good Ph.D. thesis has been recast as an even better book. The scholarship is thorough and comprehensive with a writing style that is crisp and lucid. The book should appeal to a wide public readership and be of special interest to area specialists. It is a very worthy addition to a large and growing shelf of excellent works on Malaysian politics and public policy issues. The volume deserves to be in



all research libraries covering the Asia-Pacific region.

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BOBBIE OLIVER. *War and Peace in Western Australia: The Social and Political Impact of the Great War, 1914–1926*. Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press; distributed by ISBS, Portland, Oreg. 1995. Pp. 314. \$24.95.

Since the 1960s, World War I has become something of a preoccupation in Australia. This is not surprising, given the casualty rate: out of a population of just under five million, 58,132 men died and 156,228 were wounded or taken prisoner. It is the Australian equivalent of the American Civil War. This book by Bobbie Oliver analyses the war's impact in one Australian state. Unfortunately, despite claims of revision, its style remains in places too close to its origin as a Ph.D. thesis. Nor is the book "user-friendly." It lacks a simple description of Western Australia and its history, which would enable readers to put the specific events discussed in context. There is no map and—worse still—no index.

The author's purpose is twofold: to assess the impact of World War I, and to provide a critique of Western Australian historiography. Concerning the war's impact in the 1920s, Oliver's picture is harsh. She describes it as "generally devastating" for the working classes (p. 21). Her first chapter pictures the state of Western Australia—despite its very British population, conservatism, and media and public image—as deeply divided along socioeconomic lines. Although large numbers of men enlisted when war broke out, the extremely high unemployment rate was perhaps one motive, and conservative social pressure was another. Pronounced xenophobia and the conscription referenda of 1916 and 1917 made matters worse (although as a conservative state, Western Australia consistently voted "yes," in contrast to the rest of the country).

Soldiers returned home to mean pensions and shabby treatment, despite the rhetoric and the erection of war memorials to "heroes." They, too, were deeply divided, between supporters of the dominant conservative Returned Servicemen's Association (RSSAILA) and those who, influenced by their war experiences, turned to socialism. This paralleled bitter divisions within the labor movement, where moderate politicians tried to exclude revolutionaries of various kinds against a backdrop of violence on the goldfields and long and complex postwar strikes in the shipping industry. Labor politicians, having finally expelled pro-conscriptionists, crushed the more militant parts of the movement and adopted moderate policies of social amelioration, while the conservative Premier Sir James Mitchell organized British migration for another settlement scheme on land unsuitable for small-scale farming, in a savagely hot climate. The conservative parties finally united and set up their organizations to work for continuing political victory.

Oliver argues that a conservative Australian historical profession has created a picture of the era characterized by consensus and moderation. She exaggerates, especially when she accuses G. C. Bolton of continuing this tradition in *A Fine Country to Starve In* (1974). Bolton certainly used the term "homogenous society" (p. 269), perhaps unwisely, but his book's very title should make one hesitate, and he wrote bluntly of "the unemployed . . . the wives, the children, the old men without a job and without a future" (p. 83).

Moreover, new historical work, some of which Oliver mentions in her introduction, is more critical of the old consensus. Bolton himself, in the revised edition of his book (1994), strongly answered his critics. Oliver quotes very selectively from this and ignores his more valid points. As Bolton himself put it, he "used irony as a rhetorical device" and assumed that it "would not be necessary to dig readers in the ribs by telling them explicitly how to respond" (p. xvii). On the one hand is an urbane historian who believes in trying to understand how people felt at the time and letting his readers come to their own conclusions. On the other is a modern researcher, full of facts, the latest social theories, and crusading zeal. Oliver's work supplements that of Bolton; it does not replace it. The publishers would have done well to have insisted on a fairer assessment of the debate, which is an interesting one.

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ANDREW J. MAJOR. *Return to Empire: Punjab under the Sikhs and British in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. (South Asian Publications, number 12.) New Delhi: Sterling, in association with the Asian Studies Association of Australia. 1996. Pp. xii, 247.

This is a most valuable study of that pivotal period, from the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839 to the early 1870s, in which Punjab was transformed from an independent state into an integral part, indeed a bulwark, of British India. Andrew J. Major characterizes this process as a "return to empire" because Punjab had broken away from Mughal domination a century previously.

The book is essentially a "top-down" history, albeit a very well done one. Although considerable information is provided regarding conditions and events in the hinterland, the primary focus is on political elites ruling from Lahore. Indeed, a central theme is the vicissitudes of the chieftain class under Sikh and British regimes. The further we get from Lahore, the sketchier the treatment becomes; important regional centers such as Multan never really emerge from the shadows.

Perhaps the greatest strength of Major's work is his avoidance of such monolithic categories as "Punjabis" or "British." Instead we see a galaxy of politically powerful individuals and groups, constantly combin-

ing, colliding, and recombining in pursuit of diverse agendas. Alliances of convenience were as likely to cut across the Anglo-Sikh divide as to be confined to one side. The Anglo-Sikh Wars and final extinction of Punjabi independence are attributed to this interplay of forces rather than to any set British blueprint for conquest.

Turning to the colonial era, Major takes a rather cynical view of the storied "Punjab School." Its early endeavors are characterized as mainly "of a political, conservative nature" (p. 126). The administration's chief goals were to monopolize political power and to maximize land revenue collections. To achieve these ends, it was necessary to eliminate or bypass the numerous grades of intermediaries, from large *jagirdars* down to local and village elites, who under former rulers had wielded considerable influence and absorbed a large portion of the revenue. At the same time, the administration is credited with a sincere, if paternalistic, regard for peasant proprietors.

The survival of British dominance during the 1857 Revolt is ascribed to a policy of recruiting Punjabi martial classes wholesale for service at Delhi and points east. Thus, those restless, bellicose elements most liable to have caused trouble were converted into a source of strength. On this occasion, traditional chieftains with their clansmen and retainers rendered substantial military assistance to the authorities. (Quite a few of these ralliers had lost almost everything by picking the wrong side in 1848 and now saw a chance to recoup.) In consequence, attitudes toward the once-scorned intermediaries underwent a sharp reversal. From "drones" and "parasites" they came to be seen as "natural leaders of the people."

The 1860s witnessed a concerted effort to cultivate and bolster the old aristocracy. Lavish *darbars* were held; old *jagirs* were increased and new ones bestowed; many chieftains were invested with judicial powers in order to harness them to the administration. On a lower level, rural notables were recruited to serve as links between district administration and the villages (much like the *chaudhris* in Sikh times). Styled *zaildars*, they were recompensed by deductions from the land revenue (*inams*). Most *zaildars* were members of old *chaudhri* families. "*La plus ça change, la plus c'est ça même chose!*"

Although he concedes that the policy of reviving old elites was a source of strength to the colonial administration in the short run, Major suggests that it might have restricted the rulers' room for political maneuver over time. Perhaps so, but, as the author himself has noted elsewhere, landed elites subsequently formed the backbone of the pro-British Unionist Party, which kept the lid on in Punjab until virtually the end of the Raj. It is difficult to conceive of a more successful strategy of control.

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IAN J. KERR. *Building the Railways of the Raj 1850–1900*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xix, 254. \$26.00.

There can be little doubt that colonial British rule made its greatest impact on the society of India through the building of the railways. By the turn of the twentieth century, India possessed a railway system second only in size to that of imperial Russia. The construction of this system absorbed the vast bulk of British capital invested in the subcontinent and also provided the mechanism for a transfer of advanced technology and skills, rare in the colonial world. The effects of railway communication changed Indian society in innumerable ways, ranging from the growth of the cash economy to promotion of a "national" culture to the spreading of chronic epidemic diseases. Although the effects of the railways have received extensive treatment from historians in recent years, the story of how they came to be constructed has been curiously neglected. Ian J. Kerr's book represents one of the few attempts in this century to address the issue directly. It is also a very acute address, reminding scholars of colonial India of what they may have lost in the turn of recent years away from social history and toward cultural criticism. Kerr, self-consciously and unrepentantly, studies the various people (as it would happen, entirely men) who built the railways; the economic, social, and political circumstances affecting their activities; and their reactions to multiple adversities, oppressions, and disappointments. The first half of the book focuses on the entrepreneurs and engineers whose dreams animated India's first significant modernizing experience; the second half looks at the workers and laborers who made the dreams real.

What Kerr conveys very much enriches, but also complicates, understanding of the colonial relationship in India. His story is, as might be expected, replete with arrogant civil servants, get-rich-quick speculators, and terrifyingly incompetent technologists. But it also does much to dispel the notion that colonialism was a monolithic enterprise. There was conflict among British interests and no little discord about how the railways were to be built and who, exactly, should pay for them. In the end, the "guiding" hand of government appears to have been peculiarly clumsy; the success of most projects depended on the wit of men on the scene. Those men were by no means only British, although British capital certainly gained the lion's share of financial benefit. But local-level Indian contractors and labor-supply agents also played a crucial role in moving projects forward, acquiring on the way means to advance the development of Indian capitalism. Kerr usefully reminds us that, in many of its aspects, British imperialism was necessarily a joint enterprise in which Indian society as much remade itself as was remade by colonial masters.

The richest chapters focus on the experience of labor, which was often hard and brutal but, in many ways, also heroic. Conditions were harsh and death

tolls high, but the work was done. Kerr's perspective on labor takes us back to themes in social history that have become increasingly unfashionable. He finds the concept of class useful and sees railway workers remaking their culture in response to their new circumstances rather than merely bringing it unchanged from their "traditional" pasts. He notes militancy and resistance but also accommodation and compromise. He appreciates and respects workers' rationalities in coping with the many problems which they faced. In the end, it is the importance and the dignity of labor that emerges most strongly from Kerr's account: a lesson that could usefully inform further historical explorations of both colonialism and India.

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M. ATCHI REDDY. *Lands and Tenants in South India: A Study of Nellore District, 1850–1990*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. 215. \$19.95.

India is best known today among historians in the United States for *Subaltern Studies*, a publication series from Oxford University Press and a school of historical research: Subaltern group members are among the few Indian historians whose names would be recognizable to most readers of this journal, and they circulate among the transnational intelligentsia. Like the garments made for export that are rarely consumed locally in many Asian countries, subaltern India is cut for global tastes, defined predominantly in America. *Subaltern Studies* is a specialized, complex kind of export, which is produced internationally but also grounded culturally and intellectually in India. As the music of Ravi Shankar and films by Satyajit Ray once represented India artistically, subalterns now represent India historically. Consigned to the underside of world history, subaltern India lives under colonial domination, struggling for its national self-realization.

"Subaltern" is a brand name that helps me to describe by contrast the very different kind of history of subalternity in this book. Anyone who is intrigued by the nature of power in rural India should read M. Atchi Reddy, a thorough, tireless, critical empiricist, who has gathered and analyzed the most detailed body of documentation ever assembled on tenancy contracts—in his case, between landlords and tenants from the mid-nineteenth century to the present in the Nellore District, on the southeastern coast of the peninsula, just north of Madras (Chennai). Reddy's economics does not carry the airy formalism that alienates economics and history in this country; and narrowing his topic to the study of tenancy also allows him to consider big questions of general interest by using rich data from recorded lease agreements. Most fundamentally, he shows that private records produced in farming communities reveal important features of the everyday history of social power in rural India. From at least the 1850s—and, implicitly, before then

as well—farmers were involved in complex economic calculations within their local political settings and broader legal framework. The state played an important role in shaping village rental markets, and the modern state, colonial and postcolonial, appears not as an instrument of domination but rather as a complex of institutions within which villagers worked, facilitating their private pursuits. Contracts written on paper and palm leaf were attested by village notables and registered with the state. They recorded agreements that were at once traditional, encoding the symbols of family status, and modern, stipulating conditions of repayment tied to market fluctuations. The evidence indicates that villagers did not subscribe to a moral economy that was alienated from the market or from the state. Peasant consciousness is expressed in negotiation, conflict, competition, and calculation, not by resistance to domination, semi-feudal or otherwise. Perhaps the most stunning, unstated, feature of the book is the absence from it of colonialism and the nation. Politics here is a post-1950 local politics of conflict inside rental agreements, embroiled in state land reforms and factionalism. Certainly there were local politics in rental agreements before 1950, but because they are not in these documents, they are not in the book. (Further study of this subject could be pursued in the district records for the period before 1850.) This is a totally different kind of history of everyday life and of local social power than we see in subaltern tracts, based strictly on transactional records (which, like the medieval inscriptions, provide a luxurious abundance of empirical fragments), documented by thousands of manuscripts collected from families, village officers, local government, temples, the Registration Department, courts, and lawyers, and also by oral agreements reconstructed from documents and from interviews. Although the explicit theoretical basis of the book derives from development economics, the substance of Reddy's research also resembles economic anthropology or rural sociology; his economics is descriptive, local, and fully embedded in a changing social environment.

Change over time in the conditions, form, content, and process of tenancy are the major themes of the book. After 1950, the number of landowners increased dramatically, with most of the new landowners having less than two hectares. Lease arrangements varied according to crop and growing conditions, and the proportionate value of irrigated land over dry land increased in every decade. Village elders witnessed and tried to enforce contracts, but neither the state nor the local community could contain the increase in local disputes that resulted after 1950 as the value of land and rates of absenteeism increased. Migration outward from the villages appears in this account to be one of the most prominent problems. Caste was always important in determining the terms and conduct of contracts, and the major shift in the caste composition of land owners down the social scale, as higher castes moved from villages to town, represents social mobility

at every level but also a constant shift in the terms of social bargaining. As rent rates went steadily up, the sale of land by absentees to tenants became more common, as did "reverse rental" to land owners who had taken loans from their tenants. The varied interaction of debt and tenancy are considered here in good detail, as are questions of rent rates, women's participation, disputes, and occupational change. Every chapter lays out its empirical basis and ends with a summary of the main points, which are reiterated in the conclusion. The net result is a clear look into a rich body of local data that reflect the historical complexity of power relations between land owners and tenants in rural India.

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STANLEY WOLPERT. *Nehru: A Tryst with Destiny*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 546. \$35.00.

Jawaharlal Nehru was a talented and intriguing man who became a leader of the nationalist movement in India, his nation's first prime minister, a superb writer, and a spokesman for the nonaligned nations during the postwar period. As one of the most important Indians of the twentieth century, he has quite appropriately been the subject of numerous biographies, each hailed—at least by the publisher—as more engaging and authoritative than the others.

Stanley Wolpert has produced the latest of these Nehru biographies, complete with enthusiastic praise from well-known figures, none of whom is a scholar of India. Of Wolpert's about 500 pages, four-fifths are devoted to the period before August 15, 1947, and the remainder to Nehru's prime ministership from 1947 to 1964. In comparison, Michael Brecher's *Nehru* (1959) devotes almost half its space to the post-independence period, and Sarvepalli Gopal devotes two volumes of a three-volume work (*Jawaharlal Nehru* [1975, 1979, 1984]) to the period after 1947. Wolpert's coverage and analysis of the post-1947 period is thin and sketchy.

The main problems with this biography are not in the allotment of pages, however, but rather the quality of scholarship. Wolpert has interviewed a few people, looked at some private papers, and made a cursory visit to the India Office Library in London, but one is forced to say that this is not the work of a thorough professional historian. He has not utilized the vast and relevant materials in the Nehru Memorial Library and the National Archives of India in New Delhi. He has not, in consequence, consulted the papers of the All-India Congress Committee, the main political organization with which Nehru was connected throughout his life as he worked for India's freedom.

Instead, Wolpert has chosen for the most part to use published materials available in any good American library. This book consists largely of quotations from Nehru, Gandhi, and a few other writers and from

published official documents. At least two-thirds of almost any page is direct quotation, but long quotations are not indented and they look as if they are the author's writing. Since Nehru was a fine writer, and since Wolpert has done a good job of selecting quotations and adding a gloss, the book reads nicely.

Wolpert is not very sympathetic or understanding of his subject, however, and clearly prefers Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League, to Nehru. In *Jinnah of Pakistan* (1984), Wolpert characterized Jinnah as a masterful leader, "a genius as a lawyer," an "ingenious strategist," and one who "brilliantly delegates responsibility." There is no such overarching praise here for Nehru. Wolpert believes, incorrectly I think, that Nehru was a revolutionary dedicated to the use of violence, a doctrinaire socialist who preferred his days outside India to those inside, and a power-hungry politician more dedicated to the fate of Kashmir than the development of India.

Wolpert quite aptly quotes Gandhi as saying, "though Jawaharlal is extreme in his presentation of his methods, he is sober in action" (p. 206). There is no solid evidence presented here that Nehru was directly connected to any acts of violence in the struggle for independence. Nehru's rhetoric ran far ahead of his cautious acts, and his antipathy to violence was enunciated on many occasions. But when he became the leader of a nation-state that had to defend its borders, he did utilize the army and police as necessary.

Nehru's India in the post-1947 period had a mixed economy in which many Indian capitalists thrived, although foreign investment was controlled. Nehru's socialism was more pragmatic than doctrinaire. He undoubtedly made mistakes large and small in his plans and strategies for Indian development, but we see these errors more clearly thirty years after his death than most saw them during his lifetime.

Wolpert believes that Nehru was a power-grasping man of limited vision. I think Wolpert has forgotten the idealism, courage, and dedication to his country that ran through Nehru's life. The author frequently calls Nehru a cold man, and he may have been, but the only warmth in this book is in Nehru's vivid and occasionally passionate prose as quoted by Wolpert.

Wolpert also condemns one of Nehru's junior colleagues, Subhas Chandra Bose, for some of the same sins and a few others. He has made glaring errors in characterizing Bose as a fascist who saw Adolf Hitler as his model (pp. 251, 256, 271, 456). Although Bose did go to Germany and worked for Indian freedom under German auspices between 1941 and 1943, he never said a word in praise of Hitler or Nazism and quickly recognized the big mistake he had made. On Bose as on Nehru, Wolpert has not done his basic homework. One would do better to read the long out of print but brilliantly written biography by Brecher or the more complete and interesting three-volume biography by Gopal. Both are more sympathetic to Nehru, and they do not include the kind of amateur psychol-



ogizing, occasionally relevant and often ridiculous, to be found in Wolpert's book.

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#### UNITED STATES

DANIEL WALKER HOWE. *Making the American Self: Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln*. (Studies in Cultural History.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. 342. \$39.95.

Daniel Walker Howe, who has spent most of his distinguished career studying various features in the culture of American Protestantism, here seeks to defend a central Protestant concept: the idea of individualism. Howe is well aware of challenges to individualism from Marxists, communitarians, postmodernists, and others who dismiss the individualist ideal as either illusory or pathological. He contends, to the contrary, that a social order offering "the opportunity to make one's own identity" (p. 5) is an eminently worthy goal, and that the ideal of "the self-made man," suitably universalized, is still a defining theme of American intellectual and cultural history.

But it is not today's post-Protestant, "unencumbered self," glorying in its anarchic and unregulated desires, that Howe seeks to defend. Instead, it is the nineteenth-century ideal of the highly self-disciplined and morally responsible individual agent. Hence the value, as he sees it, of this study, which recovers the positive view of self-construction that was culturally dominant in America until this century and remains widely, although not universally, esteemed today.

For Americans of those earlier eras, the key to a well-constructed self was a "balanced character" that controlled the passions, which were regarded as naturally unruly, by the exercise of rational constraint. Such a view of the self, Howe says, reflected the pervasive influence of "faculty psychology," which envisioned the human psyche as a collection of disparate mental functions and prescribed the hierarchy in which those functions were to be ordered and exercised.

Howe's account begins with the classic polarity of Benjamin Franklin and Jonathan Edwards, whose combined influence, expressive of the more general synthesis of Enlightenment and Protestant perspectives in nineteenth-century America, struck a characteristically American balance between unlimited confidence in human agency and unlimited suspicion of human frailty. He also argues that faculty psychology, particularly as transmitted through Scottish Enlightenment writers, crucially informed the thinking of the nation's political founders. Men such as Thomas Jefferson and James Madison drew a direct analogy between the proper ordering of the psyche and the proper ordering of the polity; indeed, Howe contends that Madison's model of the American national state

in *The Federalist Papers* (1788) was simply a version of the "balanced character" writ large.

Until the nineteenth century, self-making had been largely (though not exclusively) a game for elites. But as the expanding new nation experienced the upheavals of a market revolution and a surge of evangelical piety, the game became democratized, and an ideal of self-improvement and "self-culture" quickly emerged as a cultural norm. This ideal remained firmly tethered to Protestant values, however, and to the hierarchical demands of faculty psychology. Although the era's large-scale social change opened worlds of individual possibility, the self-making paradigm placed a high premium on the virtues of self-discipline and self-regulation as substitutes for lost external constraints.

Howe then goes on to portray a series of eminent Americans who expressed the "self-constructing" ideal, beginning with Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass: both men whose lives were devoted to self-creation and self-improvement, and who connected the achievement of political self-governance with the achievement of personal self-governance. Horace Mann, Dorothea Dix, and Horace Bushnell are also offered as examples of what had become "the typically American preoccupation with the conscious construction of character" (p. 184). The delicate balance struck in their lives would be overturned by the Transcendentalists, however, who chose to reject all authority over the individual and to embrace instead the unconstrained practice of self-culture without a referent outside the self. This move brought into play a different understanding of individualism, for Protestant liberty had always been predicated on the existence of restraining biblical and social authority. Even the most liberal Unitarians had continued to insist on the social and moral authority of Scripture and rational inquiry. But the Transcendentalists concluded that self-making must include the right to make one's own truth. This was an exciting but deeply destabilizing assumption, and one that would eventually spell trouble for the idea of individualism.

For a time, Protestantism remained culturally pervasive, along with its moral presumptions. Even the moral thinking of Henry David Thoreau, who used civil disobedience to construct the self against the state, rested on the unexamined assumption that the promptings of conscience are objective and universal. But what happens when one can no longer assume a normative framework for moral deliberation? Does civil disobedience then become an idiosyncratic or sentimental attempt to constitute moral meaning in the void? Or, as Howe suggests, might we recover some basis for normative judgment by recovering the essential insights of faculty psychology and thereby the essential dignity of self-fashioning?

Such are the issues Howe explores and the questions with which he concludes this suggestive book. He makes a thoughtful case for the recovery of individualism as an ideal of liberty balanced and ordered by restraint and for that ideal's solid rootedness in the

American past. The argument is not without its questionable points, however. One wishes that Howe's use of the term "faculty psychology" had been less broad and elastic and that he had given his readers a better sense of the alternatives to faculty psychology as a way of better defining its peculiar virtues. In addition, Howe's efforts to connect political thought with the characterological imperatives of a "balanced character" or "self-construction" seem forced and unpersuasive—and not entirely necessary to his larger argument.

Still, Howe's historical reconstruction of American individualism and self-making offers something fuller and more promising than the etiolated versions offered by present-day critics. If he is right, the past may have something very important to teach us about our present pathologies and future possibilities.

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GLENN WALLACH. *Obedient Sons: The Discourse of Youth and Generations in American Culture, 1630–1860*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997. Pp. ix, 265. \$29.95.

Historical conceptions of "youth" and the meaning of "generations" have recently spawned a lively literature in American social history. Glenn Wallach has produced a well-written, clearly organized book that makes a significant contribution to the discussion both in terms of topics and of interpretation. The work, begun over a decade ago as a study of antebellum young men's associations and especially the Young America movement, broadened to include groups of varying ethnicity and gender and to incorporate themes and trends from the colonial and revolutionary eras. Nonetheless, the focus remains on the antebellum period, with the longest and climactic chapter entitled "Young America." Geographically, Wallach concentrates on the Northeast, although there are some shrewd comparative references to the South (pp. 132–33, for example).

This book challenges social historians to deepen their sense of the complexity of the interaction of generations in America and the role of youth as carriers of traditional culture as well as rebels or innovators. As Wallach notes, "Most historical interpretations of key events in early America that involved the idea of youth emphasize interpersonal or psychological conflicts" (p. 33). While not denying some validity to such views, Wallach urges American historians to take a clue from recent scholarship on early modern Europe with its more nuanced understanding of the interplay between conservatism and generational conflict. He offers an alternative approach that is most obviously relevant to the early Republic, when "The language of generations was corporate, national, civic. It yoked conservative motivations—follow in the footsteps of glorious founders, stay the course, transmit a heritage unimpaired to those who follow—to an

activist vision of responsibility for building a new society. The language of youth, meanwhile, balanced the fear of disruption and the promise of growth" (p. 7).

According to Wallach, forms of discourse were rooted in the Puritan jeremiad tradition and strengthened by the Great Awakening and the American Revolution. Hence, the varying social and political crises from the colonial era to the Civil War "produced a language that invested a younger generation with responsibilities for maintaining community ideals" (p. 2). The preservation and development of this language depended increasingly on print, particularly the popular press, as well as on varying forms of youth organization. In short, Wallach emphasizes continuity and the deepening of a common American tradition about "youth" and "generations" rather than conflict and discontinuity.

This interpretation is applied deftly to a wide range of cultural, social, and political movements and casts an interesting perspective on all of them. There are insightful discussions of the role of young men's committees among both Whigs and Democrats, including African-American groups in northern cities. Wallach neatly summarizes the youthful response to politics as "a wish for greater opportunity, and a deference to the revolutionary heritage" (p. 66). He evokes "a complex network of associations" in the cities "formed by fire companies, sports teams, trade groups, theater and leisure" (p. 58). Wallach also stresses the importance of young women in reform societies as well as social groups. A particularly engaging chapter on "Art and Memory" explores themes of youth and responsibility in monuments, paintings, histories, and museums of the antebellum era.

The culminating topic is the Young America movement, which was linked explicitly to such European trends as the "Young Italy" element of the nationalist movement. Wallach describes the purpose of Young America as being "to create a rhetoric about youth that implied responsibility to the past while permitting an exploration of progressive change" (p. 117). The works of such writers as Margaret Fuller and Herman Melville are seen as reflective of the movement's essentially nationalist and Romantic core ideals.

Concentration on the antebellum era, with all its good results, does occasionally lead Wallach to underestimate earlier manifestations of youth culture and organization. For instance, he claims that "Young people began to speak for themselves in the first half of the nineteenth century" (p. 55), as though they had not done so effectively in the colonial era. In his excellent bibliography, Wallach cites both Roger Thompson's *Sex in Middlesex* (1986) and my *The Profane, the Civil, and the Godly: The Reformation of Manners in Orthodox New England* (1994), books that, in part, attempt to describe such youth cultures and modes of expression. Our arguments apparently failed to convince him.

Nonetheless, this excellent book not only presents a

more nuanced perspective on youth and generational change in America but also casts new light on such controversial matters as the nature and content of American Romanticism. Another of its major virtues is the strong sense it conveys of transatlantic influences and comparisons both in the nineteenth century and in current historiography.

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JACQUELINE S. REINIER. *From Virtue to Character: American Childhood, 1775–1850*. (Twayne's History of American Childhood Series.) New York: Twayne of Macmillan. 1996. Pp. xiv, 257. \$26.95.

It is exceedingly difficult to write about children as historical subjects. Because they occupy dependent positions and have few opportunities to act independently, let alone to record their experiences systematically, their story is most often told through adult sources and adult eyes. Indeed, many works rely heavily on adult reminiscences, in which the subject's childhood necessarily appears through the veil of memory and nostalgia (or score settling). As Joseph Kett has noted, only in the last century have autobiographers devoted more than a few pages to their growing-up years. Add to these conditions the enormous variety of children's historical experiences and one gets a sense of the daunting task facing the historian who attempts to write a history of American children in any era.

Taking childhood as her primary focus, Jacqueline S. Reinier proposes to analyze both adult beliefs and children's experiences in the era between the Revolution and the sectional crisis. Four of her seven chapters are concerned largely with adult ideas about children, including Enlightenment and republican concepts of childhood, and medical and religious ideas about their management. Three others survey children's experiences at school and work and consider the special case of youngsters who grew up in the shadow of southern slavery. More thematically unified and conceptually satisfying than those examining children's lives, the four chapters on childhood provide a useful overview of how theorists and advice-givers in the young nation imagined the care, feeding, and instruction of the nation's young. Both Enlightenment and evangelical thinkers, according to Reinier, had in common a belief in children's plasticity and a desire to instill in them the "internalized restraint" and "character" (p. xi) necessary for the success of republican institutions. These ideas took on institutional form in the new schools, orphanages, houses of refuge, and factories that attempted to regulate the lives of antebellum children.

When Reinier turns to describing real children, drawing on her wide reading in a rich variety of sources (including some fascinating diaries and archival materials), she offers much interesting detail but little that is conceptually new or arresting. She is attentive to the

variety of children's experiences, including gender and racial differences, but the nature of her sources tends to skew the story toward the literate and the privileged. Moreover, the emphasis on variety renders some sections of the book jerky and episodic and threatens to drown any larger themes in a sea of information. Readers will find Reinier's text most useful for interesting details and anecdotes; they will turn to her footnotes for helpful research leads.

The book is nicely illustrated, primarily with paintings of children. Only two of the sixteen figures represent artifacts produced by or associated with children: a watercolor and an embroidery piece created by students at Sarah Pierce's academy in Litchfield, Connecticut. The illustrations hint at some lost opportunities, especially the chance to analyze what changing conventions of portraiture and the development of the daguerreotype might reveal about adult conceptions of childhood. Although Reinier does not solve the problems inherent in writing the history of children or point scholars in new conceptual directions, she does present some engaging materials on how adults viewed and treated children and intriguing glimpses of some children's lives.

ANNE M. BOYLAN  
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STEPHEN NISSENBAUM. *The Battle for Christmas*. (A Borzoi Book.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1996. Pp. xiii, 381. \$30.00.

This is a secular picture of the transformation of the Christmas season during the nineteenth century. It is realized in often detailed episodes selected by Stephen Nissenbaum to make his points. Nissenbaum provides a history of the research and writing of the book over a twenty-year period, which is helpful in understanding his purpose and the selections he makes. Any churchly aspect of Christmas is pretty well excluded. We never cross the threshold of a church of any Christian denomination to see what is going on there. Extensive research focuses on the chaos and social disorder so often prevalent at the holiday season, which is studied in settings as diverse as New England emerging from Puritanism, Knickerbocker New York City, and the antebellum and Reconstruction South, the last with heavy emphasis on the African-American experience. The general transformation in the nineteenth century is toward a more domesticated Christmas celebration with an emphasis on gift giving and the advent of several enduring Christmas myths, such as those of the Christmas tree and of St. Nicholas metamorphosed into Santa Claus.

In New England, against a religious background of Puritanism and later Unitarianism, Nissenbaum documents widespread hoodlumism fueled by heavy consumption of alcohol in a society that early rejected religious celebration of the feast. Eventually the days around Christmas become more child-centered and less disorderly, although at the cost of a degree of

commercialization. One of Nissenbaum's theses is that materialism is not characteristic only of modern times. In this section he makes effective use of the multigenerational Sedgwick family papers. Taking off from Clement Clarke Moore's 1820s poem, "A Visit from St. Nicholas," he shifts the scene to Anglo-Dutch Manhattan. Contrasting themes of disorder and misrule curbed by domestication are repeated. Santa Claus is seen as a manufactured tradition, but one that claims historical origins in seventeenth-century Holland. The supposed origins of the Christmas tree in eighteenth-century Germany are explored and theories advanced that it made its way into American culture by way of colonial Germans or Hessian soldiers or—a much later provenance—the example of Britain's Prince Albert.

Nissenbaum is inclined to claim again that the "tradition" is more an invented than an authentic one. There is a long excursus on the social antidotes sought to increasing materialism and selfishness: a study of public and private charity, including agencies like the Children's Aid Society and its promotion of the practice of sending trainloads of poor children to the western United States. Attention is paid to the Newsboy Lodging Houses that dotted the Manhattan landscape and had a special culture of their own, which came into conflict with more sedate charity on the occasion of the grand dinners for the poor tendered in Madison Square Garden and the Grand Central Palace. The poor ate on the ground floor; they were observed from the balconies by their patrons.

More explicitly paternalistic was the practice, said to be widespread in the antebellum South, of a relaxation of the rigors of slavery at the Christmas season. A carnival atmosphere, gift giving, and license to drink alcohol were all part of "Christmas frolics." This carried over into the Reconstruction era, so that federal authorities had to take action to disabuse the freed African Americans of the notion that Christmas would usher in the millennium, with land redistribution and all the other benefits for which they hoped. Nissenbaum's book is well documented but sporadic and episodic. It is not a history of Christmas as Americans celebrated it in the nineteenth century; it does what it does well.

JAMES HENNESEY  
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THOMAS P. SLAUGHTER. *The Natures of John and William Bartram*. (A Borzoi Book.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1996. Pp. xx, 304. \$27.50.

If one does not look closely at the title and dust jacket of Thomas P. Slaughter's book, one might expect it to be a book about nature as viewed by John and William Bartram, and it is—in part. But natural history takes a secondary role to the author's attempt to explore the thoughts and feelings of father and son. Slaughter claims that this is not a biography; rather, he has attempted to put himself into the mind of the Bartrams

and sees his own thoughts and emotions as heavily influencing his view of the two naturalists. Slaughter hopes thereby to correct the lack of appreciation for the role of emotions in most standard biographies. As he states, this book is less about nature than about the "imaginative construction of nature" by the two men; it is more about "interior than exterior exploration"; and, finally, it examines "how two people showed anguish and joy in another time" (p. xvi-xviii). Slaughter also believes that historians need to "rediscover the lost wisdom of 'anecdotal' evidence" (p. 271) and argues that his approach allows such rediscovery. He rightly anticipates a polarized response to his study.

In many ways, the Bartrams are good subjects for Slaughter's approach: they left a significant body of writings, there was love but some conflict between father and son, they stood apart from fellow Americans on many subjects, their travels and lives touched many different peoples and environments (William particularly helped to move American literature toward Romanticism), and they each had a "dark side." It is this "dark side" of their personalities that Slaughter repeatedly emphasizes. John was "hopelessly insecure," hated Indians, lusted for Indian women, was indifferent regarding slavery, and was frightened of wilderness. William suffered from an "unresolved crisis" as a teenager and used "snakes to tell us about himself and his father, his transformation late in life into a man" (p. 144). He believed he was not appreciated as a scientist, felt betrayed by his father and others who pushed him into business, and feared women. William was deeply disappointed with the public response to his *Travels* (1791). He could not match the accomplishments of his father.

The book consists of ten chapters. The first introduces both men at the end of their lives. The format thereafter is topical and roughly chronological. Three chapters concentrate on John's early life, his views on nature, and his plant business and relationship with Peter Collinson. These take the reader to 1765 and John's appointment as botanist to the king, which resulted in his trip to the South with his son. The next three chapters introduce William and explore the relationship between father and son, and the final three chapters concentrate on William's life after his father's death.

This book will not be of particular interest to most historians of science. It contains much information about the Bartrams and eighteenth-century natural history, but the science is better presented in studies such as Edmund and Dorothy Smith Berkeley's *The Life and Travels of John Bartram* (1982), which do without the introspective discussions. Whether or not early American historians will find value in this book depends upon whether or not they like this type of history. A reader interested in eighteenth-century naturalism might question whether many of the issues Slaughter concentrates on are the issues that are most important about the Bartrams. Skeptics of the author's approach will criticize some overly imaginative discus-



sions that strain the historical sources and some questionable conclusions, such as that regarding John's views on slavery. Readers who support Slaughter's attempts to get history out of its old ruts will find this an enjoyable book, however. It is well researched and written, full of imagination, and stimulating.

RICHARD A. OVERFIELD  
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FRANCIS JENNINGS. *Benjamin Franklin: Politician*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1996. Pp. 240. \$27.50.

This is an appealing book. Francis Jennings lets no one doubt where he stands on the issues he surveys: "I make no pretense of being loftily 'objective' by indifference" (p. 164) to some of the material evaluated. Jennings is caustic toward certain other historians, who, he believes, have not held sufficiently high the standards of their craft. They show "absolute ignorance," are "asinine" or "merely bigoted" (p. 165), or they have ignored his previous books and thus their work is "deficient in research and unreliable in interpretation" (p. 23). "Unprofessional discourtesy should have limits," he maintains (p. 23) and, as a result, he is "ticked off" (p. 23).

Despite such fractious comments, Jennings's book is the best I have seen on the scheming and intrigue that typified Pennsylvania politics of the 1760s and 1770s and Benjamin Franklin's role therein. He makes plain how young Franklin "cultivated patronage from whoever could give it" so that he might rise in power and prestige in Pennsylvania society (p. 175). Jennings also lays bare the conflicts between Franklin and his colonial adversaries such as the Reverend William Smith and others who contended with Franklin for power. He writes in a captivating way about the Walking Purchase, the Paxton Boys, and Indian troubles on the Pennsylvania frontier. His elucidation of Franklin's and the Assembly's struggle with the Penn family is solid and clear.

But Jennings is no filiopietist, and this is no usual book about the Philadelphia Sage. Throughout his pages, he shows how Franklin's account of these matters is deficient, misleading, and sometimes outright flummery: "Franklin's *Autobiography* is about as valid as a campaign speech [and] belongs on the same shelf with *Pinnocchio* and *Swiss Family Robinson*" (p. 18). It is, Jennings charges, "pollution in the wells of history" (p. 20). The same could be said of much of Franklin's public writing and personal correspondence. Jennings speaks of Franklin's "schemes and projects" (p. 71), charges that "he deserved the word 'opportunist'" (p. 61), and tells of his "massive ego" and "callous conduct" (p. 197). He concludes that "Franklin was, above all, a political animal" (p. 71) who could not bring himself to acknowledge mistakes or failures. "The genial old fellow of his *Autobiography* bears small resemblance to the sour apple of 1764" (p. 166).

Jennings also speaks of Franklin's membership in the Medmenham Monks Club in England during the 1760s. Known also as the Hellfire Club, this was an association of noble rakes who freely indulged their sexual proclivities. Almost as an aside, Jennings notes that these activities have brought embarrassment to "Franklin's editors" (p. 184). Yet for evidence of Franklin's amorous delights, he cites only Daniel Mannix's *The Hell-Fire Club* (1959). Thirty years ago, in *Road to Revolution: Benjamin Franklin in England, 1765-1775* (1968), I set forth the most complete examination of Franklin's role in this organization that has yet been printed. Jennings seems not to know of it.

Had Jennings ended his book on page 174, it would have been a much more powerful study. His use of evidence and his analysis to this point is superb. Unfortunately the last twenty-six pages attempt to summarize "how this loyal king's man turned into a Revolutionary hero" (p. 175). Jennings's effort fails.

Among other matters, he raises the issue of Franklin's activities in land speculation. Earlier in the book, he tells how "Franklin approved heartily of building empire westward" (p. 84), and he is surely correct. In his exegesis of that interest, Jennings states that Franklin first became involved in speculation in 1769; in fact, he had been active in such efforts since 1754, when he drew up a plan for the establishment of two transmontane colonies. Franklin participated in the years thereafter in the Illinois Company, the "Suffering Traders" Company, and the Indiana Company and became one of the movers and shakers of the Grand Ohio Company, later called the Vandalia Company, in an attempt to curry favor with King George III (whose wife was supposedly descended from the Vandals). Jennings does not indicate that he is aware of Franklin's long history of involvement in land speculation.

He writes that, following Franklin's appearance before the Privy Council, "Samuel Wharton demanded his resignation from the Vandalia project" (p. 186). Not so. Wharton had nothing to do with it. Franklin and Thomas Walpole concocted a public withdrawal from the company while Franklin privately and quietly continued to hold his shares of stock. On another matter, Jennings writes that Franklin forwarded the Hutchinson letters to Speaker Thomas Cushing of the Massachusetts House, "hoping that they would be circulated privately." Again, this is not so. Although Franklin *expressed* that intention, he knew that Cushing would show them to Samuel Adams, who would use them as had been done earlier with papers of Governor Francis Bernard. Nor is Jennings's sketch of the Intolerable Acts either accurate or historical. Lastly, Jennings asserts that the "moderate, royalist Franklin" in 1774 still held to "his most cherished desire . . . to somehow bring about a principled reconciliation between the crown and the colonies" (p. 187). Not by that time.

Despite these cavils, Jennings has written a worthwhile book. Buy it. Read it. Profit from most of it.

C. B. CURREY  
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HOLLY A. MAYER. *Belonging to the Army: Camp Followers and Community during the American Revolution*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 307. \$39.95.

Military historians have tended to neglect all about warfare that does not concern strategy, operations, and battles, and consequently have ignored the many other ways that people are drawn into war and affected by it. Holly A. Mayer sets out to redress this imbalance of attention for the American Revolutionary War. She began with an interest in camp followers, but research soon turned her toward the broader concept of community. The term "camp followers" immediately suggests women, young and not so young, like Bertolt Brecht's *Mother Courage*, making their wares available to soldiers needing sustenance. Some, not all, are prostitutes. But Mayer gave up this narrow, conventional understanding of camp follower once she realized how many kinds of civilians, "men as well as women, black and white" (p. ix), were part of the Continental Army. "Community" thus became her label for an enlarged and refined conception of her book's subject.

Sutlers, teamsters, farriers, coopers, wheelwrights, and a host of other artisanal and mercantile skills were vital to any premodern army, and how best to recruit and manage the people who performed those functions never ceased to be a military puzzle. In the history of warfare, privatization is not a new idea but a very old one. Supply and maintenance functions, like nursing, that are fully militarized today were often performed little more than a century ago by private persons or groups who served under military law. Families might even follow their menfolk to war, cooking, cleaning, and nursing in exchange for food, shelter, and protection; what armies lost in leanness they gained in logistical support at low cost. Mayer notes how often American officers brought their sons, boys of ten or twelve, into the army, nominally as soldiers, but actually to serve as "waiters" or orderlies to their fathers. Less often, American wives followed their husbands.

But it is the much larger group of civilians beyond actual families that made up most of the Continental Army community. If we take the term "community" to mean a number of people in one place, linked by their involvement in a common enterprise, then the word fairly describes all the people of the Continental Army. But a stricter definition, as in "dense networks of social interaction," raises an important question. Characteristic of the Continental Army, including its civilian members, was a looseness of affiliation and a transience of personnel. Mayer herself notes that it was a "chaotic" community (p. 236). Unlike British regiments at the time and American regiments of the Civil

War, personal records of the Continental Army rarely reveal any sense of strong communal or organizational identity. Charles Royster's *A Revolutionary People at War* (1979) argues that, after 1776, the Continental Army became increasingly isolated, even alienated from American society. The army itself may have become more communal in its shared sense of grievances, but little in the evidence presented by Mayer suggests that even this negative sense of "community" could be applied to the army's "camp followers." Perhaps she intended nothing so rigorous and has used the concept of community simply as a convenient way of describing the broader membership in the army while avoiding the traditional connotation of disreputable women, but the question remains.

An endless effort by George Washington and Congress to integrate this great variety of civilians, performing military functions that ranged from essential to dispensable (if inevitable), into the military system never yielded a satisfactory result but led instead to "civil-military conflict and confusion" (p. 194). Reliance on civilians raised costs and weakened lines of military control, but using officers and soldiers to perform "civilian" functions, like transportation and supply, diverted precious combat strength and often lowered the quality of performance. Soldiers scorned teamsters and supply clerks, sergeants regarded wagon masters as their inferiors, and troop unit commanders refused to accept commissaries and other civilian staff officers as equals. Resentment was mutual in this undemocratic army. Women, many of whom nursed, washed, and cooked for the army, ranked just above African-American laborers at the bottom of the military status ladder (except, of course, Martha Washington and the visiting wives of other senior officers).

Following her broadened definition of camp followers, Mayer draws on existing studies of Continental Army logistics and administration by Wayne Carp, Erna Risch, and Louis Hatch. But the consequent attention given to these structures comes at the expense of the social analysis we are led to expect from her emphasis on community. This said, her book is broadly researched in both published and manuscript evidence and sensibly argued. It serves a continuing need to know more about those "who also served" in the Revolutionary War.

JOHN SHY  
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JEAN EDWARD SMITH. *John Marshall: Definer of a Nation*. (A Marian Wood Book.) New York: Henry Holt. 1996. Pp. xi, 736. \$35.00.

The charm of Jean Edward Smith's new biography almost overcomes a reviewer's need to look at it with a critical eye. Eminently readable, the book paints a personal portrait of the fourth chief justice that utterly captivates. "Marshall was a man of simple tastes and uncomplicated outlook," Smith writes. "Careless of dress, indolent of manner, and a friend to all who

approached, he possessed the best-organized mind of his generation. A shrewd politician, a moderate republican, a federalist by principle but a democrat in his daily contacts, Marshall was a patriot and a nationalist" (pp. 19–20). Smith spends half the book—the better half—describing how Marshall developed this persona in the years before his appointment to the Supreme Court. As a native of Virginia's frontier Fauquier County, as a soldier who spent the winter of 1777–1778 with George Washington at Valley Forge, as a thorough student of the law, as a devoted suitor and then husband of Polly Ambler, as a Virginia assemblyman, a practicing lawyer, an adroit diplomat (the chapter on the XYZ affair is the most entertaining in the book), a United States congressman, and finally as secretary of state—in each of these roles Marshall developed skills and acquired values that would remain with him throughout his life. And all that he learned he put to good use in service to the nation as its chief judicial officer. According to Smith, under Marshall's leadership, "the Supreme Court became a dominant force in American life. The broad powers of the federal government, the authoritative role of the Court, and a legal environment conducive to the growth of the American economy stem from the decisions that flowed from Marshall's pen" (p. 1).

While Smith's conclusion contains elements of truth, it also illustrates a larger problem with the book: the author, who is neither a historian nor a legal scholar, is so enamored of the greatness of his biographical subject that little is permitted to interfere with the chief justice's seemingly inevitable march to glory. The story is thus somewhat exaggerated and devoid of nuance and complexity, and it is built on a lack of knowledge and understanding of the historical development of the institution to which John Marshall was appointed in 1801.

From the very first page of the book, Smith demonstrates his unfamiliarity with the Supreme Court in the 1790s. Contrary to Smith's assertion, Marshall did not "establish the independence of the judiciary" (p. 1); the Constitution did, by requiring that federal judges be appointed with life tenure and with salaries that could not be decreased while they were in office (Article III, section 1). Justices in the 1790s behaved in ways that showed that they were determined to maintain the independence that was given to them. When Congress, in the Invalid Pensions Act of 1792, assigned the justices duties that the latter thought were inappropriate for the judiciary, they declined to execute the statute—the first instance of a federal court exercising judicial review of federal legislation. When President Washington, in 1793, asked the Supreme Court for an advisory opinion on a number of questions involving the interpretation of treaties, the court refused to cooperate. (A better knowledge of the events surrounding this incident might have tempered Smith's interpretation of a similar request made to the Marshall court by President James Monroe [pp. 468–69]).

These became the foundations of judicial independence that Marshall enlarged upon.

Smith errs with regard to matters of fact and matters of interpretation. He states, for example, that the Supreme Court's term was "limited to one month a year" (p. 3). Not so, according to section one of the Judiciary Act of 1789. Smith chides the court of the 1790s for poor attendance and lack of a quorum, causing cases to be continued and court "sessions to be canceled entirely" (p. 283). In a court composed of six justices (and some years only five for practical purposes, because the chief justice was in Europe on a diplomatic mission), a quorum of four was required, and a review of the minutes shows that no term of court was canceled in the 1790s; by contrast, the 1811 term of the Marshall Court could not be held for lack of a quorum (p. 400). Reading the minutes would have saved Smith from other errors as well: his statements that only three justices heard the case of *Hylton v. United States* (1796) or that only three justices showed up for the August 1800 term of court (p. 610n) are just plain wrong. Smith praises Marshall for being the first to wear a black robe (p. 285), but he was not. Although no definitive evidence exists that reveals what colors the justices wore, a letter in 1794 points out that the newly appointed justices refused to don scarlet robes, so the custom was changing well before Marshall took office.

Much of Smith's misinformation about the early Supreme Court can be accounted for by the fact that he has read none of the current literature on that period. This contributes to his mistaken notions about the court's lack of authority during its first decade. Smith asserts that the court "did not possess the power of an ultimate arbiter whose decisions would be binding on the other two branches of government" (p. 282). If the opinion of the Supreme Court did not matter, why did government officials go to so much trouble to bring the question of the constitutionality of the carriage tax statute before the court in *Hylton v. United States*? Even more telling, if the court's constitutional decisions were not binding, why did Congress and the states bother to enact the Eleventh Amendment to modify the court's ruling in *Chisholm v. Georgia* (p. 283)? Why did the court of the 1790s, unlike the later Marshall Court, encounter no difficulties when it considered appeals from the highest state courts under its section 25 jurisdiction?

Smith's treatment of the Marshall Court suffers from his apparent lack of interest in legal developments as opposed to political ones. Court terms are disposed of in a few short, formulaic sentences: how many cases were considered, who wrote the opinions, how many were unanimous. For cases of constitutional significance, Smith provides clear, useful descriptions, but there is little that is new. Non-constitutional cases are hardly considered. But the fact is, this book is a biography. In it we learn much about the chief justice: his life, his relationships (especially with Thomas Jefferson), his superb management of the Supreme

Court, and his influence. John Marshall the person comes alive. But John Marshall the legal thinker and craftsman is more elusive. Scholars will not find much of analytic value. For general consumption, however, and for a lively introduction to the times in which the chief justice lived and the court that he led, the book is ideal.

MAEVA MARCUS

*Documentary History of the Supreme Court of the United States, 1789–1800*

HERBERT A. JOHNSON. *The Chief Justiceship of John Marshall, 1801–1835*. (Chief Justiceships of the United States Supreme Court.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 317. \$39.95.

The Chief Justiceships of the United States Supreme Court series's goal is to provide the general reader with comprehensive surveys of the work of the court by describing and analyzing how the chief justices and their associates collaborated to shape constitutional, international, and private law in response to the pressures of the times. Herbert A. Johnson, series general editor, has written an engaging and provocative survey of the Marshall Court. The charm of John Marshall's personality, the continuing dominance of Marshall and his court over American constitutional discourse, and the meager documentary record offer a daunting challenge. Johnson's credentials as a Marshall scholar—editor of Volume I (1974) and coeditor of Volume II (1977) of *The Papers of John Marshall* (1974) and coauthor of *Foundations of Power: John Marshall, 1801–1815* (1981)—have equipped him to meet it.

Any study of the Marshall Court, Johnson cautions, "must be in many respects inconclusive" (p. 3). Investigators need to use imagination but also to recognize that no single justice nor any single case can support generalizations about the Marshall Court, or any court. Courts stand at the nexus of law and politics and will, then, be constantly evolving. Because Johnson approaches the task as a historian rather than a constitutional lawyer, he also warns against reading the present into the past.

Johnson's Marshall, a "people person" (p. 21) whose intellect and "heart" (p. 262) made him a great chief justice, is familiar. Refreshing insights, however, do add nuances to the picture. Johnson suggests that Marshall's well-known tendency to alter his majority opinions to bring other justices to a unanimity owed more to a natural modesty and open-mindedness than to a desire for consensus. Marshall influencing his associates is more familiar than associates influencing Marshall.

The Marshall Court, then, was more than Marshall, although his charm, heart, and intellect were crucial to it. Johnson carefully describes each of his associates and explores the elusive dimension of the relationships between these colorful, forceful personalities and Marshall. He proposes, for example, that Justice Joseph

Story was loquacious not from a desire to dominate but simply because he could not help it and that his well-known intellectual contributions taxed the moderation and political deftness of the chief justice, his close friend. Johnson suggests that the clash between Story and Justice William Johnson probably proved equally taxing. Insights into the Marshall Court dynamics characterize discussions of each of the justices, even Gabriel Duvall, Henry Baldwin, and Robert Trimble, who do not usually receive such personal attention.

The work of the Marshall Court comprised not only constitutional cases but also the justices' work on circuit and in international law matters such as neutral rights on the high seas, the slave trade, Indian rights, as well as the affairs of corporations, negotiable instruments, real property, bankruptcies, and insolvencies that were part of the rapidly changing American economy of the early nineteenth century. The circuit work took the federal courts into the lives of ordinary citizens. Equally important but less noticed, the circuit business impressed on the justices the desires and concerns of the people they met. One of the contributors to the evolution of the Marshall Court was not only the changing political circumstances but the justices' increasing sensitivity to those changes. It is probable, Johnson suggests, that some of the justices who did not write many Supreme Court opinions might have more lustrous reputations if scholars studied their numerous circuit opinions. Johnson's conclusions about the justices' circuit work gain support from his pioneering computer-assisted analysis and his inclusion of charts, graphs, and appendixes on opinion writing, points of law, and circuit work. Characteristically, Johnson cautions against using his graphs as statistical comparisons.

This is an impressive work certain to shape succeeding volumes. General readers will be delighted to find such a balanced and comprehensive discussion of the history and historiography of the Marshall Court in this accessible form. Specialists will be struck by the painstaking scholarly research, erudition, fine writing, keen insight, and judicious inference. It was only mildly frustrating to have Johnson disarm criticisms almost as quickly as they arose.

FRANCIS N. STITES

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GEORGE DAVID RAPPAPORT. *Stability and Change in Revolutionary Pennsylvania: Banking, Politics, and Social Structure*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1996. Pp. xix, 276. \$37.50.

George David Rappaport provides the first full-length study of the political battle in Pennsylvania during the 1780s to revoke the state charter of the Bank of North America and the subsequent successful efforts to recharter the bank. Rappaport argues that the bank war grew out of the response of a traditional society (preindustrial and noncapitalist) to a modern, capital-



ist, bureaucratic institution. The political struggle, Rappaport suggests, was a class struggle, rooted not in exploitive class relations (and without the violence one associates with class warfare) but in the different ways that particular classes related to the emergent capitalist order. The work is thus another contribution to the "transition to capitalism" debate, and one of the first to use evidence from the Middle Atlantic states (rather than New England) to argue that late eighteenth-century America was noncapitalist. Rappaport also writes to reassert the importance that social historians of the 1970s placed on the explicit use of theory in formulating historical inquiry.

The Bank of North America was chartered by Congress under the Articles of Confederation in 1781, with the stipulation that each state had to approve its local operation. The bank was located in Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania granted it a charter. Robert Morris, newly elected financier under the Articles, was the guiding force behind the bank. Morris justified the bank as a war measure to help the revolutionary government manage debt payment and the cash flow needed to provision troops. Rappaport suspects that, from the first, Morris envisioned the bank as a private, profit-making institution that would provide short-term commercial loans to merchants, and by mid-1783, that is exactly what the bank had become. With the postwar economic collapse (1784–1786), the bank became a political target and was caught up in the struggle between Pennsylvania's nascent political parties, the Republicans (who supported the bank) and the Constitutionalists (who did not). The public debate engaged the talents of Morris, James Wilson, Tench Coxe, and, eventually, Tom Paine on the side of the bank and J. D. Sergeant and William Findley against it. Rappaport's analysis of the pamphlet war is one of the strongest aspects of this study.

Rappaport devotes the first five chapters to theory and historiography. He argues that late eighteenth-century Pennsylvania did not have a capitalist economy and that it was a traditional, not a modern, society. Voluntary associations, rather than a powerful state or bureaucratic organizations, addressed social problems, and these associations formed the basis of the first modern political system. Politics revolved around the interests of the three politically significant classes: merchants, artisans, and petty commodity producers (relatively self-sufficient farmers and the great majority of rural inhabitants). Commercial farmers are also mentioned, but at crucial points they are subsumed under the label of petty commodity producers (see p. 133).

Rappaport uses three tests for capitalism—entrepreneurship, market involvement, and wage labor—and applies each test to merchants, artisans, and farmers/petty commodity producers. To clarify the method and its problems, consider his treatment of farmers. In the Philadelphia hinterland, most farmers were not entrepreneurial risk takers, but his study seriously underestimates the extent to which local

transactions occurred at market prices and farmers relied on wage labor. If account books picture a society in which neighbor traded with neighbor, these records make it clear that farmers did so at market prices and that they obtained labor far more often by hiring their neighbors than by having them drop by for barn-raising frolics. Rappaport is correct to argue that not every rural inhabitant participated fully in an extra-local market and that reciprocity shaped economic relationships, but the nuances of regional distinctions and chronological change are not emphasized in this study.

And perhaps such nuances matter. Rappaport's discussion of Chester County, in southeastern Pennsylvania, indicates the problem with the distinction between farmers and petty commodity producers. Most of the evidence Rappaport carefully surveys about rural Pennsylvania comes from more than a decade of work on Chester County by numerous scholars, most of whom would argue, unlike Rappaport, that Chester had a vigorous market economy (with fluctuating commodity prices and wage labor) throughout this period. Chester supported the chartering of the bank, did not support the repeal, and supported the rechartering: exactly what one might expect, using Rappaport's model, from a region dominated by commercial agriculture. Was Chester more commercial than Rappaport acknowledges? Did petty commodity producers dominate the economy but simply not care about the bank issue? How does one prove the connection between market involvement and politics? The specific links between the rhetoric heard in the Philadelphia assembly and the needs and behavior of constituencies in rural Pennsylvania are difficult to tease from the evidence.

To argue with his analysis is not to deny Rappaport's substantial accomplishments. He has provided a careful review of the literature on the "transition question" as applied to the Middle Atlantic states, pinpointed the bank war as a moment of crisis for Pennsylvania's political economy, and, through his analysis of the Sergeant-Wilson and Findley-Morris debates, explored how the modern, bureaucratic, impersonal features of the Bank of North America deeply threatened some Pennsylvanians' notions of what a just and equitable social order should be. Before reading this work, I would have argued that the Pennsylvania bank war was an economic struggle between farmers who wanted paper currency and a land bank and merchants who wanted a commercial bank. Rappaport has added considerable complexity to such an analysis.

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ROBERT E. SHALHOPE. *Bennington and the Green Mountain Boys: The Emergence of Liberal Democracy in Vermont, 1760–1850*. (Reconfiguring American Political History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 412. \$49.95.

Robert E. Shalhope is best known in the field of early American history for his work on revolutionary ideology and culture. A previous book, *The Roots of Democracy: American Thought and Culture, 1760–1800* (1990), attempted an ambitious synthesis of revolutionary political culture including literature, painting, and music. Its focus was national, but Shalhope's choice of 1800 as the terminal date precluded exploring the full flowering of democracy. The volume under review does that, but in a local setting. In this new book, religious commitment and economic development also achieve a prominence missing in the previous volume.

The book divides Bennington's story into three parts: its founding and early years through the Revolution, its subsequent development until after the War of 1812, and its transformation by the mid-nineteenth century into a New England mill town. Each of the sections is introduced by short biographies of some of the *dramatis personae*. A narrative then takes the reader sequentially through the most important aspects of the town's development. Those familiar with Michael Bellesiles's *Revolutionary Outlaws: Ethan Allen and the Struggle for Independence on the Early American Frontier* (1993) will find few surprises in Shalhope's account of the town's early years. Nevertheless, Shalhope's focus on Bennington's diverse social composition, his preoccupation with the relationship of the religious culture to the political culture, and his continuing the story to the eve of the Civil War make this a very different book from that of Bellesiles.

Shalhope's Bennington was born out of the complex upheavals accompanying the Revolution. Initially, most of these involved disputes over land ownership between those settling Vermont under New Hampshire's titles and the authorities in New York. After the Revolution resolved this conflict, other divisions surfaced. Religious tensions appeared between New Lights and Old Lights as social divisions developed between "Up-hill" farmers of essentially localist persuasion and "Down-hill" residents interested in establishing connections with long-distance markets (p. 181). Fissures in the social fabric in turn expressed themselves politically in the emerging struggle between egalitarian democrats and those who subscribed to an elitist, hierarchical vision of society. Shalhope's narrative shows how all three sources of conflict interacted locally, leading first to turmoil but eventually to a stable "democratic" synthesis.

Instead of democracy slowly triumphing over its opponents, however, Shalhope argues that Bennington—and for that matter Vermont—began as a democracy. The elitist challenge arose later as a result of the migration of Old Light gentry to the area, particularly in the years following the Revolution. In Shalhope's view, the nineteenth-century synthesis that emerged did so against a background of intense conflict over religious issues—all five of the town's settled ministers between 1779–1830 were eventually dismissed—and over local education. It also was com-

posed of anomalous elements. At its heart lay a group of capitalist entrepreneurs who made peace with one another as they displaced challengers to their emerging hegemony. The strong then reconciled their prominence with the prevailing egalitarian ethos by invoking the ideal of equal individual opportunity, although their actions—particularly as they related to public education—often belied their words.

Shalhope also examines how the evolution of Bennington's democracy on the local level fit into larger state and national political developments. He concludes that local and national politics had relatively little to do with each other. Though local leaders assumed competing political identities in the second party system, they never let that competition threaten their local hegemony. Most local issues remained strictly local. Where national issues impinged on the locality—such as antislavery and temperance—the local leadership carefully constructed a consensus by avoiding the extremes. Thus, the town endorsed colonization instead of immediate emancipation and moderation rather than complete abstinence.

Shalhope's account is more complex than this short summary suggests. I was particularly fascinated by his description of how the reforming zeal of some of the town's ministers, who identified with the Second Great Awakening, aroused the opposition of "Up-hill" elements. I also was struck by how anxious everyone in town was by the 1840s to claim some relationship to the Revolution. These themes do not find a place in most standard accounts of the emergence of American democracy. Shalhope takes a sufficiently broad-gauged approach to his subject to make this book a rewarding read for anyone interested in the period.

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RICHARD FRANCIS. *Transcendental Utopias: Individual and Community at Brook Farm, Fruitlands, and Walden*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 256. \$32.50.

In an address to the Mechanics' Apprentices of Boston in January 1841, Ralph Waldo Emerson called his auditors to meliorative transformation of society. "What is man for," he asked, "but to be a Reformer, a Re-maker of what man has made . . . Let him renounce everything which is not true to him . . . and do nothing for which he has not the whole world for his reason" (*The Dial* 1: 4 [April 1841]). Over the next six years, in response to Emerson's vocative challenge, the life-cycles of the three Transcendental social experiments in Massachusetts—Brook Farm (West Roxbury, April 1841–June 1847), Fruitlands (Harvard, June 1843–January 1845), and Walden (Concord, July 1845–September 1847) were played out. Richard Francis offers a close critical reading of the primary philosophical preoccupations of Transcendentalist thinkers and, by extension, a study of the fulcrum of New England thought in the Jacksonian era by using these short-

lived attempts at reifying, embodying, and living the ideal as a concrete background against which to project the abstract immateriality of Transcendental ontological dilemmas.

It is important at the outset to delineate clearly what this volume is not: it is not a general history of these communities, of the personal motivations or objectives of their founders or members, or of the socioeconomic bases of their organization in any very detailed sense. Readers seeking information on these utopian ventures as communities—dates of foundation and termination, provisions of constitutions, details on daily life and division of labor—will have to consult other sources. Francis's strategy here seems to be a simultaneous historical rehabilitation of Transcendentalist thought and of its reformist expression in community from the charges of airy irrelevancy and practical incompetency that a pervasively materialist society has brought against the movement from its inception. In its execution, this strategy is more successful in addressing the intellectual core than the practical implementation of Transcendental thought.

Francis argues that Transcendentalism has too often been misunderstood as a thoroughgoing philosophical dualism when it might more appropriately be seen as a strategy for dealing with intellectual destabilization by constructing the universe as unity in diversity, order in flux, the One manifested profusely in variety. Understood in this way, Transcendentalism becomes an integrated, dynamic, and energized intellectual force; its characteristic expression is dialectical: law vs. contingent phenomena, eternal vs. transient, continuity vs. change, consistency vs. variability, and nature vs. history. For Francis, the Transcendental key to reconciling these oppositional forces was the idea of phenomenological seriality, which comprised the essential philosophical nexus between the Transcendental mind and the natural and social worlds.

The doctrine of series, as manifested in the American translation of the utopian ideas of Charles Fourier, provides the link between Transcendental theory and praxis, the mental tool to reconcile harmony and disorder, association and individuality, the ideal and the real. Indeed, Francis suggests, there is even a seriality to the three Transcendental experiments, ranging from the transformative power of community at Brook Farm, through the redemptive power of the consociated family at Fruitlands, to the restorative power of the "community of one" at Walden.

Francis's reading of Transcendentalism is penetrating, ingenious, and potentially very rewarding for the knowledgeable and diligent student. His discussion of the theme of masquerade and his demonstration of the use of the visual, typographical representation of the serial idea in Transcendental texts, linking them to Fourier's "Série de la Culture des Poiriers," in his *Théorie des quatre mouvements et des destinées générales* (1808), and Albert Brisbane's "Simple Formula of the Movement of a Serie" (a translation of Fourier's tabular phalansterian representation that appeared in

*Social Destiny of Man; or Association and Reorganization of Industry* [1840]) are exemplary. His emphasis on the earthy side of the communities—their meditations on manure, frank consideration of sexuality, and penchant for games and festivals—lends flesh to the Transcendental specter. His discussion of William Harry Hartland and the English Transcendentalists' reactions to Bronson Alcott offers a fresh perspective on Anglo-American thought.

In the end, however, Francis does not succeed in recuperating the communitarian tradition of Transcendentalism. His analysis of thought cannot obscure the fact that these experiments were considered extraordinarily peripheral even by other utopians of the time. Fruitlands is not mentioned in any of the three contemporary surveys of communal societies—John Humphrey Noyes, *History of American Socialism* (1870), Charles Nordhoff, *The Communistic Societies of the United States* (1875), or William A. Hinds, *American Communities* (1878)—and only Noyes discussed Brook Farm. Nor does Francis effectively confront the implications of a contemporary assessment (signed "C.L." and probably by Charles Lane) of pre-Fourierist Brook Farm that found it "an assemblage of persons not brought together by the principles of community . . . necessarily . . . subject to many of the inconveniences of ordinary life as well as to burdens peculiar to such a condition" (*The Dial* 4: 3 [January 1844]).

Finally, the text exhibits the perils of overzealous postmodern interrogation of texts. Transcendental ideas become prolepses of Jacques Derrida, Mikhail Bakhtin, Michel Foucault, Roland Barthes, and Stephen Jay Gould. Too often, the references to latter-day texts are too cryptic to bear the metaphorical weight they are assigned, and in a few instances Francis fails to identify the texts in question. The absence of a bibliography is a serious drawback as well. Nevertheless, the volume presents an innovative approach to Transcendental thought and may be read with profit by those with sufficient familiarity with contemporary literary and cultural theory.

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HERSHEL PARKER. *Herman Melville: A Biography*. Volume 1, 1819–1851. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. xx, 941. \$39.95.

This huge volume, which devotes nearly 900 pages to Herman Melville's life through the publication of *Moby-Dick* (1851), is by far the most thorough and detailed biography yet available of one of America's greatest novelists. Heretofore, Melville's life has been like a half-inflated balloon with an intricate pattern on it: the balloon and its pattern were clear enough but not always sharply delineated. By retelling the narrative of Melville's life on almost a day-by-day basis, making use of the total range of primary documents relating to the novelist and his circle, Hershel Parker

has inflated the biographical balloon to such a mammoth size that one sees its unfolding pattern in crystal-clear, sometimes mind-numbing detail. Although Parker makes no earth-shaking new revelations, and although he skimps on historical background and on literary analysis, he should be congratulated for rendering in readable prose a host of facts about Melville and his oeuvre that were previously available only to a handful of scholars.

Parker's biography is intimately related to *The Melville Log*, a scholarly resource long used by Melville specialists but unfamiliar to most general readers and even to many Americanists. Originally edited in 1951 by Jay Leyda and now being updated as *The New Melville Log* by Parker, this compilation of Melville-related documents reproduces nineteenth-century sources—letters, reviews, journal entries, and newspaper clippings—that relate directly to Melville. As Parker explains in both the preface and the afterward to his biography, *The New Melville Log* is a file of Melville documents in his computer that grows ever larger as more and more relevant materials are discovered. "This ever-varying digitized Log," Parker writes, "facilitated the Northwestern-Newberry edition of Melville's *Correspondence* (1993), and it was the digitized version, still further enlarged, from which I drafted most episodes in this biography" (p. 899).

There are distinct advantages to this approach to Melville's life. Its greatest benefit is that it presents all the known facts about Melville's life in virtually unvarnished fashion, without the theoretical claptrap and self-indulgent posturing that accompanies much contemporary criticism. Just as *The Melville Log* is a fascinating assemblage of documents, so Parker's biography is an impressively capacious transmutation of such documents into a fluid narrative. In the 1980s, during the heyday of the so-called "new historicism" in literary studies, wide-ranging, hard research lost status among many critics, while an often flimsy, subjective manipulation of historical evidence took its place. Parker's biography is one of several recent works of literary scholarship that bring careful research back to the fore in critical and historical writing.

The main result of Parker's reliance on nineteenth-century documents is a sense of solidity and dependability. Because he draws from a mass of Melville family letters, many of them ignored in other biographies of the novelist, he is able to paint a far fuller picture of Melville's domestic circle than was previously available. By describing the whole range of reviews of Melville's early novels, he gauges the complexity and subtlety of the nineteenth-century response to the writer, who is all too often presented as having had a uniformly hostile relationship to his contemporaries. Parker's account of Melville's New York literary circle, which included the journalist Nathaniel P. Willis, the editor Evert Duyckinck, and the novelist Cornelius Mathews, is sufficiently ample to be considered as a worthy complement to Perry Miller's classic study, *The Raven and the Whale* (1956).

The overall story Parker tells—Melville's emergence out of a family background of faded gentility and financial uncertainty; his exotic adventures at sea as a young man; his early popularity as an escapist sea novelist, followed by a philosophical deepening that resulted in complex works like *Mardi* (1849) and *Moby-Dick*; his ecstatic friendship with Nathaniel Hawthorne; the pressures put on him by his conflicting roles as husband, father, and literary breadwinner—is familiar enough but is retold with such scrupulosity of detail that it often seems fresh. Parker gives wonderfully full descriptions of Melville's ancestors, parents, siblings, cousins, wife, and friends. Especially helpful are his portraits of Maria Melville, the novelist's pious, long-suffering mother, and Gansevoort Melville, his brilliant, erratic older brother. Often he convincingly links the narrative of Melville's private life to key moments in his fiction, which is proven to be more firmly rooted in autobiographical facts than was previously known. Although alert to sexual tensions within Melville and members of his family, Parker is never heavy-handed or overbearingly Freudian. He avoids the armchair psychologizing and sensationalism that characterizes the so-called "pathobiographies" of American authors that have appeared all too frequently in recent decades.

Whenever Parker steps outside the range of Melville's immediate personal and literary contacts, his biography becomes thin. The politics, culture, and society of Melville's time are indicated only sketchily and haphazardly. This is a pity, since Melville himself wrote that "Great geniuses are parts of the times; they themselves are the times, and possess a correspondent coloring." While Parker voraciously integrates into his narrative the findings of documentary scholars, he ignores critics such as Carolyn Karcher (*Shadow over the Promised Land* [1980]), Michael Paul Rogin (*Subversive Genealogy* [1983]), Sheila Post-Lauria (*Correspondent Colorings: Melville in the Marketplace* [1996]), and myself (*Beneath the American Renaissance* [1988]) who have established many links between Melville and his social and cultural contexts. Similarly, although Parker mentions almost all the books and periodicals Melville is known to have read, rarely does he give a sense that he himself has closely read these writings, which therefore are tied to Melville's literary maturation only loosely. Since the contours of Melville's private life are well known, it would seem that the greatest leap into new territory would have been a *cultural* or *intellectual* biography that drew fresh connections between Melville and his varied contexts.

Even taken on its own terms, as a record of Melville and his immediate circle, Parker's biography leaves some things to be desired. In an effort not to "choke the pages with modifications, corrections, and rebuttals," Parker says at the start that "I never correct any biographer in the body of this book" (p. xvi). Since his intention is to supersede previous biographies, especially Leon Howard's *Herman Melville: A Life* (1951), it would be helpful if he apprised us of at least the most



significant revisions he is making in the life record. As it stands, the uninitiated reader could read his book without being sure how much new ground is being covered and what its importance is in the evolution of Melville scholarship. Also, it is surprising that so well researched a book lacks normal footnotes or, in place of them, an extensive bibliography of biographical and critical work on Melville.

Still, Parker must be commended for planting Melville studies on the bedrock of hard primary evidence. As a result of his heroic spadework, future scholars will be able to use this evidence to reassess responsibly Melville and his writings.

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MYRA C. GLENN. *Thomas K. Beecher: Minister to a Changing America, 1824–1900*. (Contributions to the Study of Religion, number 47.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1996. Pp. xiv, 236. \$59.95.

Being a Beecher in the nineteenth century was not easy, especially if you happened to be one of the many “minor Beechers.” Lyman, the patriarchal publicist of the emergent Evangelical cause, had high expectations for his numerous offspring, which his children tended to fulfill in ways he might not have expected. Harriet, of course, took the nation by storm with *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1852), and Henry attained notoriety through his adultery trial. Catherine and Edward had substantial careers as reformers, and Isabella gained attention for her eccentricities. James and Charles didn’t amount to much. Thomas, it might be said, was the “unknown Beecher,” enduring a stormy youth to find eventual if somewhat unconventional success as a Congregationalist pastor in the upstate town of Elmira, New York. Myra C. Glenn now provides a full-dress study of Thomas Beecher’s life, fleshing out the briefer sketch in Marie Caskey’s *Chariot of Fire* (1978), which focused primarily on his theological development. Glenn presents Beecher’s life as a constant struggle to come to terms with the expectations of his domineering yet loving father, as well as a continual interaction with both successful and ne’er-do-well siblings in an ongoing family drama. Beecher, who took quite a bit of time to settle into a clerical vocation, worked out his stances on the spectrum of theological, social, and political issues that a family of public intellectuals would of necessity feel compelled to address in a rather unpredictable fashion, buffeted by his ambivalence toward his father and eclipsed by his far better-known older siblings.

After various, less than successful forays into education and the ministry, Beecher eventually settled down with his second wife in Elmira, where he served for several decades as the minister of the Park Congregational Church. During the earlier part of his public career, he was something of a conservative on

many public issues; although he endorsed the war for the Union and served, stormily, as a military chaplain, he never acknowledged racial equality or full enfranchisement of African Americans. Despite the impressive careers of his wife and sisters, he was also for many years reluctant to advocate social and political equality for women. More broadly, he was throughout his career preoccupied, seemingly to the point of obsession, with the defense of an ordered, hierarchical society even at the sacrifice of individual liberty. Given the unconventional careers of his siblings and even of his New School Prebyterian father, who had been unsuccessfully tried for heresy, this militant yet quirky conservatism calls for an explanation.

Glenn suggests, but does not develop very fully, a two-tiered approach to Beecher’s inconsistencies and ambivalences. First, she describes him as unsure of his masculinity and at one point hints at a homosexual component to his personality. This argument seems tenuous without better evidence. At another level, Glenn links Beecher’s professional anxieties to the broader erosion of the prestige and influence of the clergy that took place in the nineteenth century, resulting in part, in Ann Douglas’s phrase, in the “feminization of the clergy.” This is plausible enough but might have been enhanced by a broader look at the Beecher family’s experience in this regard, especially Lyman’s own coming to terms with the disestablishment of Congregationalism in Connecticut some decades earlier. What seems clear enough is that any young man positioned thus in such a family would experience serious problems in finding a distinctive identity and that Beecher’s seeming ideological contrariety can be seen as a stage in finding his own voice.

After Beecher was ensconced at Elmira, he seems to have become confident and successful enough to exert public influence while continuing to take risks. An eccentric still remembered locally for his three-wheeled bicycle, he defiantly continued to drink after temperance had become the Evangelical fashion, especially among his wife, other women, and clerical reformers; ultimately, however, he endorsed the prohibition platform. Similarly, this antifeminist eventually endorsed women’s ordination and was succeeded in his pulpit by a husband-and-wife clerical team that he himself had groomed. Beecher’s most lasting though little-known contribution to American ecclesiastical life was his conversion of the Park Church architecturally and programmatically into what was arguably America’s first “institutional church,” providing a home-like environment as a context for extensive urban outreach.

In general, Glenn tells Beecher’s story thoroughly and ably, although a broader comparative treatment of his father’s and brothers’ ministerial careers might have added further nuance and context to the story. Although Thomas Beecher will remain a minor figure

in American religious history, Glenn's biography is a worthy enhancement and in-filling of the record.

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ANNE KELLY KNOWLES. *Calvinists Incorporated: Welsh Immigrants on Ohio's Industrial Frontier*. (University of Chicago Geography Research Paper, number 240.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1997. Pp. xxiii, 330. \$24.95.

Among those interested in the formation of American ethnic identities, it is an old adage that one half of all immigrants left their homelands to escape religious strictures, and, of course, the other half came to America to make sure that the first group could not get away with it. As with all such clichés, there is much truth to the suggestion that there were basic ideological disagreements among members of immigrant groups; and it is also certainly the case that some people appointed themselves the moral watchdogs of their ethnic communities. Although the overwhelming majority of nineteenth-century immigrants wanted to take advantage of economic opportunities, some individuals—and, more likely, groups—settled in America so that they could create fundamentalist religious enclaves. But few scholars have attempted to illustrate the social mechanisms that made it possible for these groups to maintain traditional values even as they were challenged by the divisive effects of individual opportunity within the maturing American industrial economy.

Anne Kelly Knowles attempts to illustrate these processes. She argues that the Welsh Calvinist Methodist immigrants to Jackson and Gallia counties in southeastern Ohio (from 1837 to 1847) participated, as a group, in the capitalist work of charcoal iron production so that they might have the economic wherewithal to maintain their traditional separatist agricultural community. They tried, like the Puritans of seventeenth-century New England, to be *in*, but not *of*, the modern industrial world. Knowles points out that, again as with the Puritans, the Welsh could not finally prevent their children and grandchildren from being tempted by the individual rewards of economic success and that, as a result, the community eventually assimilated into the wider American society.

This book addresses questions that have vexed social historians for decades. When did rural folk change their economic and moral *mentalités* to accept individualistic, capitalist competitive practices? Could some groups resist the transition? Knowles argues that some fundamentalist Christian groups could, and did, choose to compromise when they dealt with the development of capitalism (both in their homelands and in America), so that they could preserve their traditional communitarian cultures. She shows how, in Great Britain, the rural predestinarian Welsh were able to maintain traditional folkways by resisting capitalistic land reforms (enclosures) and by making periodic

migrations into industrial centers. The young men and women would relocate for a few months to the lead mines of Montgomery, to the iron fields of Monmouth, or to the dairy business of London, where they made enough money to maintain their farms back in Cardiganshire. Such economic compromises continued when, in the 1830s, a sizeable group of Welsh emigrated to Ohio. For the first decade, few outsiders noticed the small colony of strict Calvinists in the foothills of the Appalachian mountains. But when the Americans all around them began to realize the economic potential of the landscape for the production of pig iron from charcoal-fired furnaces, the Welsh financed, built, and ran three furnaces of their own. One of the companies was a successful venture, and the investors greatly benefited from the profits. But, Knowles argues, the community leaders insisted that economic success made it all the more important for the settlers to keep watchful eyes on their neighbors to prevent backsliding.

Knowles also keeps a careful account of her subjects. Realizing that the vital records for the immigrants are not sufficient (in either Great Britain or the United States) before 1850 to flush out the details of their lives, she relies on information found in obituaries published in Welsh-American religious periodicals. Knowles was able to plug many of the holes left by official sources, particularly about the migration histories of the immigrants. Even though she was careful to eliminate obituaries from after 1853, when the journals "increasingly show a bias in favor of socially prominent adults" (p. 12), one must ask whether the entire spectrum of the community is represented by the data.

Since this work is both a geographical and a social history of the Calvinist Methodist Welsh, Knowles was forced to make sacrifices in her coverage. There is little information, for example, about the social structures of communities, either in Wales or in America. One wonders how status was determined and whether status relationships changed after the group emigrated. Despite these questions, the reader comes away from the book with a very favorable impression of both its contents and its conclusions.

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T. STEPHEN WHITMAN. *The Price of Freedom: Slavery and Manumission in Baltimore and Early National Maryland*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1997. Pp. 238. \$35.95.

For many years, historians have been aware of the unusual nature of slavery in Maryland. Although the institution was not abolished until the Civil War, it continually lost vitality during the nineteenth century. By the eve of the Civil War, nearly half of the state's black population was free.

How and why this occurred is the subject of T. Stephen Whitman's important book, which probes this

subject more deeply than any previous study. Digging into a broad range of primary sources, especially manumission, slave sale, guardianship, and county court will and estate records, the author asks what caused these unique circumstances. If many historical studies of manumission focus on the humanitarian, religious, or economic motivations of slave owners, or on how former slaves merged into free black communities, Whitman argues that the spread of slavery, industrial and urban growth, and selective manumission were not exclusive from one another but actually reinforced each other, at least in Maryland during the early nineteenth century. As time passed, the balance tipped in favor of freedom, in large measure because slave owners, slaves, and term slaves (bondsmen and women promised their freedom at a future date if they worked productively and profitably) believed freedom to be most desirable and most profitable. Slave owners, some of whom owned slaves and hired free black workers at the same time, were under constant pressure to make sure their black workers performed, while slaves and term slaves could put substantial pressure on owners' profits by not working hard or by running away. The case study of J. K. McKim and Sons chemical business in Baltimore reveals the importance of maintaining a stable work force. When two slaves ran away, the firm's profits plummeted, and McKim began to hire rather than purchase more of his work force. As Whitman suggests, the industrial and urban nature of slavery in Baltimore as well as the city's unique history as a center for runaway slaves and hirelings are most significant in understanding the process of change that occurred. While the central theme of the book focuses on the tension among owners, slaves, term slaves, and free blacks, the author also devotes chapters to free black family life and political-economic thought. In addition, he examines, in imaginative ways, slave and free black children, the fears of single white women in dealing with male slaves, and roles of female slaves and free women of color. It is difficult to criticize such a fine study, but it would have been beneficial if Whitman had discussed more fully how he compiled his database[s], perhaps in a separate essay. Also he could have examined in more detail the interracial violence that occurred in Baltimore and elsewhere as this process unfolded. But these are minor criticisms of a penetrating and subtle analysis that substantially expands our understanding of the subject.

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MART A. STEWART. *"What Nature Suffers to Groe": Life, Labor, and Landscape on the Georgia Coast, 1680–1920*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1996. Pp. xix, 370. \$45.00.

Long-term landscape change rewards only sustained scrutiny. No casual glance, no contemplation of some

lone constituent advances understanding, for landscape is shaped and shaper both, and the shaping depends on context. Mart A. Stewart argues superbly that ecology, geography, and social history must combine if any past landscape is to make any sense at all. His monograph is a model of sophisticated interdisciplinary analysis and visual acuity. Scholars in disciplines from colonial studies to agricultural history to landscape studies will find it a stunning achievement.

The book takes its title from a phrase in a letter written by a transplanted northern plantation overseer to his absentee employer, the owner of a massive coastal-zone estate growing rice and cotton for market, as well as most of the food for its hundreds of slaves. Stewart uses the long tenure of Roswell King, and especially his shift from fatalism to confident control of the coastal-zone ecosystem, to anchor the middle of the monograph. Leading up to King's early nineteenth-century takeover are impeccably researched chapters analyzing the colonial landscape of the coastal region, especially that landscape as inaugurated according to far-off visionaries intending Georgia as an ideal settlement and quickly adapted by its settlers into something radically different. Beyond the middle of the book, and the transfer of King's power to his son and others, Stewart traces the changes following emancipation, the growing reliance on steam power for water pumping, rice polishing, and sugarcane processing, and the rise of the long-leaf pine lumbering industry just inland of the plantations.

Unlike most books arcing across eras, this monograph is sumptuously rich in detail woven by its author into many larger arguments that demonstrate the enduring power of place, and especially what ecologists call "natural systems," through gradual and traumatic social change. Stewart explains how King and his employer, the Philadelphia landlord Pierce Butler, not only understood hurricanes and "freshets" as isolated interruptions in a larger hydraulic-based rice agriculture but saw them as part of a larger order in which the building of dikes, irrigation ditches, and social control existed.

Stewart provides a masterful insight into the complexities of slavery-based agriculture in an estuarine region. Not only did slaves enjoy West African crops like sorghum and African-based medicine, but the convoluted salt creeks and canals also enabled them to travel, often surreptitiously, to other plantations and to Savannah to sell their own crops and handiwork. By the first years of the nineteenth century, estuarine slaves not only held positions of genuine power, particularly in determining when rice crops should be flooded and drained, but appear to have disliked upland slaves imported into their coastal environment. Slaves arriving directly from Africa assimilated far more quickly into the region than did native-born African Americans transferred from upland plantations. Perhaps native-born slaves knew what Stewart teases from the plantation records and contemporary ecology: that the coastal zone was a modified West

African and West Indian disease environment where malaria strains proved far more virulent, and where the hard-won irrigation ditches incubated yellow fever, dysentery, and, after the 1830s, cholera. So many whites died from "fever" in the region that slaves often worked relatively free of day-to-day white inspection, in time relishing their understanding of hydraulic technology, intermittently sabotaging the control efforts of plantation overseers, and always conducting their own business enterprises along the salt creeks. Stewart emphasizes that post-emancipation wages drew many coastal freedmen into the adjacent pine woods, but many others never left the peculiar salt-marsh landscape that their ancestors had made and their parents managed. He demonstrates that freedmen in his chosen region bought real estate at a rate higher than those elsewhere in the former Confederacy and explains why they were able to do so.

Control of slaves and by slaves paralleled control of natural systems and control by natural systems. No book better describes the growing of rice, cotton (particularly the silky "sea-island" cotton that brought premium prices in England even as it exhausted the soil), and sugarcane over generations, but what makes this monograph so special is that Stewart makes clear how the planters, overseers, and slaves all understood their efforts in larger ecological contexts involving estuary salinity, rogue rice varieties, sandy soil exhaustion, floods, and natural and artificial manuring. Moreover, Stewart traces the slow demise of coastal-zone plantation agriculture against the innovation of large-scale truck gardening and the rise in lumbering and turpentine-making just inland and the subsequent development of long-abandoned coastal plantations as resorts for Savannah families (and, on Jekyll Island, a private club for millionaire capitalists). Finally, the book analyzes the devastating impact on contiguous lands, and especially on small-enterprise African Americans, of the Corps of Engineers' successful channeling of the estuary seaward of Savannah, something envisioned by the first settlers of the region. Some readers may expect a more detailed treatment of Savannah, but Stewart focuses on a larger landscape, and his efforts will shape scholarship for decades.

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BRADLEY G. BOND. *Political Culture in the Nineteenth-Century South: Mississippi, 1830–1900*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1995. Pp. 343. \$35.00.

In this copiously researched monograph, Bradley G. Bond proffers bold and intriguing arguments about the political culture of nineteenth-century Mississippi, only to return in the final analysis to the familiar but convincing conclusion that in both antebellum and postbellum Mississippi, the tenacious grip of white supremacy and the politics of race emphatically defined the parameters of political culture. According to

Bond, as settlers of a frontier state deep in the cotton South, white Mississippians of the 1830s embraced *herrenvolk* democracy, the idea of an enslaved black working class, and market opportunity. They defined liberty and virtue in terms of whiteness and economic independence (which they understood as the control of productive property and/or successful market engagement) and sought to create a homogenous white society resting firmly on the foundation of African-American slavery. A shared commitment to white supremacy obscured potential class differences among whites during the antebellum era.

It is on the point of yeoman participation in the market economy that Bond breaks most forcefully from the prevailing tone of previous historiography. Disputing claims ably advanced by Steven Hahn (in *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Country, 1850–1890* [1983]) and others that antebellum yeomen feared dependency on the market and practiced safety-first agriculture, Bond asserts that both the number of Mississippi farmers who failed to achieve self-sufficiency and the narrow margins of error allowed by many who produced a family subsistence testify to the fact that Mississippi yeomen instead pursued an "accumulation-first" strategy that gave the accumulation of wealth and property priority over subsistence concerns. Mississippi yeomen saw the economic rewards promised by market participation as a better guarantor of independence than self-sufficiency. Although Bond presents impressive evidence that the plain folk of antebellum Mississippi participated, sometimes vigorously, in the market economy, his argument that the yeomanry readily adopted a market-oriented *mentalité* remains problematic.

Mississippi prospered when the cotton economy boomed and suffered when it slumped. The state's first political instincts included loyalty to Andrew Jackson, and those instincts were reenforced when Jackson's antipathy toward banks proved prophetic. Mississippi chartered banks with abandon during the 1830s as the cotton economy expanded, but when the panic of 1837 and the subsequent economic depression revealed the banks' reckless speculation and their unreliability as sources of specie, voters vented their hostility by supporting Democratic candidates opposed to redeeming the bonds of Mississippi's state-sponsored bank. Outside of Natchez and its hinterland, the commercially oriented Whig Party enjoyed comparatively little support in Mississippi, but by the late 1840s, the state's overwhelming Democratic majority divided sharply into a faction of cautious Unionist Democrats, led by United States Senator Henry S. Foote, and a faction of ardent states' rights Democrats, led by future Confederate President Jefferson Davis. Bond portrays Mississippi's hostility to any outside threat to its ideal of a homogenous white society as so instinctive and deeply rooted that loud appeals to manly resistance easily overwhelmed cautionary voices. Mississippi narrowly averted secession



in 1850, arguably coming even closer to leaving the Union than traditional Hotspur South Carolina, and when antislavery Republicans captured the presidency in 1860, Mississippi seceded with little hesitation.

Yet the sacrifices compelled by a full-scale war took their toll on Confederate Mississippi, unleashing class resentments even before the siege of Vicksburg cut the Confederacy in half. Mississippi's white plain folk resented conscription, draft exemptions favoring planters, the tax-in-kind, and the Confederate army's impressment policies. As a result, increasingly half-hearted support at home plagued the war effort. But Union victory, the emancipation of slaves, and Republican Reconstruction temporarily unified white Mississippians as never before. Horrified at the prospect of social equality and black political power, Mississippi whites mounted a concerted campaign of fraud, intimidation, and terror to restore white rule. This restoration movement was led, if not always controlled, by an emerging elite of "New Departure" Democrats, merchants, and professionals committed to economic progress through increased business and industry. But New Departure Democrats proved equally committed to white domination of a nominally free black underclass.

Eventually an agrarian revolt emerged, driven by frustration with low cotton prices and growing rates of tenancy as well as resentment of crop-liens and corporations, again revealing class divisions among whites. But Bond argues that the agrarian insurgents of the 1890s failed to mount an effective campaign on behalf of beleaguered farmers and other small producers because they could not escape the stultifying grip of the two central tenets of Mississippi's political culture: that blacks must be subordinated at all costs and that market participation promoted good citizenship. Moreover, after experiencing substantial electoral success, the Farmers' Alliance split over the questions of the subtreasury and the Populist Party, leaving agrarian insurgency divided at its moment of opportunity. Ultimately, the farmers' effort to redistribute economic power from town to countryside failed, but the bitter racism vented by rural plain folk during the protest triumphed. The paternalism of the New South elite, however racist in its own right, yielded to a coarser form of white supremacy that led to whitecapping and disfranchisement before formal segregation, an idea backed by middle-class conservatives eager to diminish racial violence, satisfied the demands of Mississippi rednecks and their champions, such as James K. Vardaman.

On the whole, Bond's careful portrait of nineteenth-century Mississippi is grim, and justifiably so. After brief moments of prosperity during antebellum cotton booms sustained by the sweat of slaves, the Mississippi story is one of grinding poverty, persistent racism, provincial isolation, and local rule by a small elite of merchants, landlords, and bankers whose conservatism and intolerance were surpassed only by that of the white plain folk whom they outsmarted from time to

time in order to preserve their control of local affairs.

LACY K. FORD, JR.

University of South Carolina

GEORGE HARWOOD PHILLIPS. *Indians and Indian Agents: The Origins of the Reservation System in California, 1849–1852*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1997. Pp. xviii, 238. \$27.95.

This book restores the narrative balance of California Indian history during the critical early years of the gold rush. It tells the vital story of those who implemented federal policy as well as those who made it. More importantly, it allows us to see the Indians of California as full participants in key events that shaped their destiny.

George Harwood Phillips posits several distinct periods for the "zone of interaction" in California's San Joaquin Valley. The first phase, 1769–1830, was marked by periodic raids of Spanish soldiers in search of fugitives from the coastal missions. The second phase, 1830–1849, was a time when valley tribes "increasingly implemented strategies of offensive resistance" by raiding coastal settlements to obtain horses and mules for traders from New Mexico (p. 36). Phillips has described these first two phases in his earlier work, *Indians and Intruders in Central California, 1769–1849* (1993). The current volume analyzes the third phase of interaction, 1849–1852, during which the native people of the interior were overwhelmed by hordes of newcomers flooding across their land during the gold rush.

The focus of the book is primarily on the work of three federal commissioners who were appointed in 1850 to serve in California. Congress empowered George Barbour, O. M. Wozencraft, and Redick McKee to make treaties with the Indians of California, but beyond that their operating instructions were vague. Phillips does well to emphasize the creative license the commissioners exercised; the implementation of policy in the field often involved a good deal of on-the-spot improvisation.

As the commissioners began their work, the Indians of California were actively resisting white encroachment. Native leaders such as José Juarez, the highly respected chief of the Chauchila, called on his people to expel the interlopers. "The white tribes will not go to war with the Indians in the mountains," he assured his followers. "They cannot bring their big ships and big guns to us; we have no cause to fear them" (p. 43). Members of the "white tribes," meanwhile, were outraged that native people were blocking access to valuable lands desired for mining and farming.

Phillips correctly argues that the active resistance by the California Indians influenced the work of the commissioners. At first, the commissioners had contemplated removing the Indians from the state, in conformity with prior federal practice. This notion was soon abandoned in the face of large numbers of militarily aggressive Indians. The alternative seized

upon by the commissioners was to create large reservations *within* the state. This was a break with tradition, an innovation made necessary not only by the dictates of geography but also by the active resistance of the Indians. One of the commissioners presented the alternative in the starkest terms: "The Indians of California can never be removed into another State or Territory remote from the sea coast. You have but one choice—KILL, MURDER, EXTERMINATE, or DOMESTICATE and IMPROVE THEM" (p. 167).

The commissioners proceeded to negotiate eighteen treaties with such native leaders as José Jesús (Siakumne), Cornelius (Tuolumne), and Cypriano (Awal). The treaties recognized Indian title to vast tracts of land in the interior of California and promised to provide the Indians with food, clothing, and other supplies. The members of the state legislature, representing clearly the majority view of their constituents, urged Congress not to ratify the treaties. Meeting in secret session in June 1852, Congress unanimously rejected each of the treaties.

In his telling of the story of the commissioners, Phillips rehabilitates their reputation. He defends them against the "superficial evaluations" of earlier historians who dismissed them as blunderers (p. 187). Phillips credits the commissioners with originating the policy of federal reservations that later was adopted throughout the West. Here is perhaps Phillips's greatest contribution: he demonstrates that although the treaties were rejected by Congress, at least two of the proposed reservations functioned for a time. Historians generally have given credit for this key innovation to California's first superintendent of Indian affairs, Edward Fitzgerald Beale. Phillips grants Beale the right to be considered only the developer (but not the originator) of the reservation system.

Undoubtedly this is an important corrective. But it should be noted that the vast reserves proposed by the commissioners—encompassing a total of nearly 7,500,000 acres—were not the model followed elsewhere. Rather it was the much more modest, and more coercive, reservations established by Beale and his successors that were replicated.

This is an excellent book, meticulously researched and presented with clarity. It deserves an honored place in the library of every historian of Indian affairs.

JAMES J. RAWLS

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E. A. SCHWARTZ. *The Rogue River Indian War and Its Aftermath, 1850–1980*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 354. \$34.95.

Although E. A. Schwartz's book makes an important contribution to the history of Indian policy generally, it is equally significant that it deals with a specific place and people largely overlooked in United States, Western, and Pacific Northwestern history and scholarship. To date, only one other full-length scholarly study—Stephen Dow Beckham's *Requiem for a People: The*

*Rogue Indians and the Frontiersmen* (1971)—has attended the importance of the Rogue River War, which took place in the 1850s in southwestern Oregon. Schwartz adds greatly to our limited knowledge of the war, and he breaks with Beckham by following the story of the Rogue River Indians—today known as the Confederated Tribes of the Siletz—into contemporary times.

Schwartz's tells a story of the Rogue/Siletz that differs from what is typically heard in Native American studies. Rather than Euroamerican people and their government working in unison to conquer and corral Indians who were divided from each other by traditional jealousies and animosities, the story of the Rogue/Siletz is one in which settlers, miners, politicians, and territorial, state, and federal governments were in continual conflict with each other over how best to deal with the native peoples of southwestern Oregon. For example, the war of the 1850s pitted not only settlers and miners against natives, but it also pitted Oregonians against the federal government because of disagreement over the course Indian policy should take. Schwartz also shows how local political intrigue between Know-Nothings, Democrats, and Republicans influenced the course of the war. He reveals the national debate that swirled around the conflict, producing criticism of the pork-barrel nature of the war.

Schwartz does an excellent job of putting the Rogue River War into local, regional, and national contexts. He argues that it was an extension of the California gold miners' war of extermination. He compares and contrasts it to the other Northwest Indian wars of the 1850s, notably the Yakima War and the Puget Sound uprising. Schwartz ably considers the effect on the Siletz of ongoing alterations in federal policy in the years that followed the war. In the national context, he for the most part concurs with the findings of Frederick Hoxie and Francis Paul Prucha but revises Prucha's understanding of termination. Rather than termination resulting from efforts to curb excessive federal spending that supported unassimilated tribal enclaves, Schwartz argues, by the 1950s, the Siletz people had already assimilated into the greater society, and the largest share of the resources allocated to support them had been taken away. Under these circumstances, the Bureau of Indian Affairs chose to terminate the Siletz. Schwartz argues that the reason why the Siletz were such good candidates for termination is because they had worked concertedly to fulfill previous government policy objectives, although the federal government and others did not recognize this. In addition to all this, Schwartz concludes that regardless of bumbling, contradictory, self-serving, and conflicting federal and local policy changes continuing into the 1980s, the Siletz have adapted and survived.

There are a few problems with this work. First, Schwartz allots roughly sixty percent of the volume's space to coverage of the Rogue River War. This makes the book unbalanced, as considerably less attention is

given to the many years that followed the conflict. Second, although the author does tell us he is not writing an ethnohistory, it might have been appropriate for him to have taken an ethnohistorical approach. Such an approach could yield a better understanding on the part of the Siletz people as to the whys and hows of their compliance with changing policies in the postwar years and would have also given better balance to the study. Notwithstanding these criticisms, the book is exceedingly interesting and makes an important contribution to Native American and regional history.

PETER BOAG  
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WILLIAM L. LANG. *Confederacy of Ambition: William Winlock Miller and the Making of Washington Territory*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 310. \$30.00.

William L. Lang deftly interweaves two narrative threads in this well-written biography: William Winlock Miller's impelling ambition and a yearning for family. Unfortunately, the lack of revelatory personal correspondence and business records leaves his depiction of the Washington pioneer incomplete. Rather than providing a history of "the making of Washington Territory," as the book's subtitle suggests, Lang has sketched the making of Miller's personal fortune.

In the spring of 1850, the twenty-eight-year-old Miller left Beardstown, Illinois, for the Oregon country. He briefly taught school in the Willamette Valley before Illinois Whigs secured his appointment as inspector of revenue for the Port of Nisqually on Puget Sound. Miller thus became the first federal official in what would become Washington Territory. He settled at Olympia and, notwithstanding his \$1,000 annual salary, his taxable property "topped \$6,000" by 1853 (p. 49). Lang observes that Miller certainly "knew how to make money" but concedes that "how and where he developed this talent are obscure" (p. 49). Although there is "no paper trail that charts how he acquired sufficient capital," Miller soon had more than \$7,000 loaned to businessmen and public officials at interest rates as high as five percent a month (p. 52). The economic and political leaders of the region were "partners in a larger enterprise"; consequently, "the line between public and private affairs tended to blur" (p. 51). Particularly, the reader is left to presume, in Miller's case.

His investments increased in value after Miller lost his position following the Democratic victory in 1852, but he was unfulfilled. He "longed for family and community" (p. 55). After being rejected by the daughter of a Hudson's Bay Company employee, however, he refocused his energies on business and politics. Already financially enmeshed with leading Democrats, Miller was appointed deputy collector of customs. Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens quickly came to rely on Miller for political advice and personal finan-

cial support. Stevens's heavy-handed treaty negotiations in the mid-1850s led to the Indian War, a key event in the territory's early history. Lang glosses over the origins of the conflict and fails to note that General John Wool blamed the governor for causing the war.

Miller served in the territorial legislature following the Indian War, and in 1860 was appointed superintendent of Indian Affairs. When Stevens subsequently accepted a military commission, Miller became "the most important Democratic dispenser of patronage in the territory" (p. 143). He served less than six months, however, before being replaced by a Republican. Miller's web of political and financial connections again rescued him from public obscurity, when he was named deputy collector of internal revenue for Washington Territory. Lang explains that "Miller saw officeholding as a means to reciprocate political friendship, the governing principle of his political behavior" (p. 149).

Following the Civil War, as his business ventures increasingly centered on San Francisco, Miller finally began his own family. He married Mary McFadden in 1869, and they had two sons. He continued to spend much of his time in San Francisco, however, away from his family. Lang concludes that Miller was typical of Gilded Age entrepreneurs, "who embraced their roles as achievers and assigned their wives responsibilities for 'making a home'" (p. 218).

Miller was "a town father" and the "richest citizen" in Olympia by 1872, when he was elected mayor. Voters looked to him to secure Olympia's selection as the terminus of the Northern Pacific Railroad. Instead, Tacoma was picked the following year, signaling an end to Miller's political career. He died in 1876, not yet fifty-four years of age. Mary McFadden Miller lived until 1927 and proved to be a canny businesswoman.

Lang is limited by his sources; Miller apparently provided few intimate glimpses into his private life or public career. Despite this, Lang implausibly urges the reader to agree that Miller's "sense of family . . . was stronger than his actions indicated" (p. 154). The author is curiously circumspect in discussing Miller's bachelor life, acknowledging only "suggestions" that "he frequented bawdy houses" and "appeared to have some manner of regular relationship with one woman referred to as 'Becky' or 'Fat Becky' and another named 'Fanny'" (p. 184). Lang notes on several occasions that documentation of Miller's business enterprises cannot be found, but he also relegates significant information (such as the value of Miller's estate) to the endnotes (p. 287n).

Miller, assuredly, was "a well-heeled and business-like Democratic party manager" (p. 112). His impact on history resulted primarily from his financial relationships with leading politicians. Yet, even if we accept the premise that his first federal appointment "made him one of the participants in the making of Washington Territory," Lang forgoes a detailed analysis of his political and financial associations. It takes

more than propinquity and officeholding to influence the development of a territory. Similarly, the author's treatment of politics is unconvincingly simplistic. He makes no mention of Miller's proslavery views until the election campaign of 1860 is well underway. And the reference to "Congress's acceptance of the Wilmot Proviso in 1846" is just plain wrong (p. 18).

In his preface, Lang describes how the wife of Miller's grandson challenged him "to find out what made W. W. Miller tick. Why had he come West? How had he made his money? And why, perhaps, had he married Mary McFadden?" (p. xi). Despite its stylistic strengths, this biography leaves such pertinent questions largely unanswered.

WILLARD CARL KLUNDER  
Wichita State University

MICHAEL A. MORRISON. *Slavery and the American West: The Eclipse of Manifest Destiny and the Coming of the Civil War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. Pp. xii, 396. \$49.95.

In this book, Michael A. Morrison examines the transformation of the territorial issue from a national question to a sectional one. He argues that ideals inherited from the American Revolution informed partisan debates over westward expansion through the late antebellum era.

Beginning his analysis with the controversy over the annexation of Texas, Morrison maintains that partisan stands on the expansion issue were consistent with the broader, ideologically infused debates between Democrats and Whigs. Democrats thought in spatial terms. They saw republican regeneration, individual liberty, and freedom from a powerful central government best secured in an expanding nation. Whigs thought in temporal terms. To them, a healthy society depended on community institutions and economic development. A rapidly expanding frontier perpetuated economic subsistence and social barbarism.

The introduction of the Wilmot Proviso in 1846 signaled a transition with regard to the expansion issue. Morrison is at his best in explaining the different emphases that antislavery Whigs and free-soil Democrats brought to restrictionist (and eventually Republican) ideologies and in linking ideology with a narrative of debates in Congress. Building on the work of Eric Foner, Morrison argues that whereas Whigs construed the necessity of slavery restriction in moral terms, Democrats applied Jacksonian tenets respecting the limited powers of the federal government to argue against the establishment of slavery in territories where Mexican law had prohibited it. The growing equation of "southern rights" with slavery expansion doomed the southern Whig component of the second party system. Democrats survived the territorial issue a bit longer by advocating popular sovereignty in the territories. The ambiguity of this doctrine allowed both its northern and southern adherents to make it compatible with principles of republican self-government

and regional equality. During the Lecompton and federal slave code controversies, the contradictions of popular sovereignty were exposed, and the Democratic Party fissured.

Morrison wears his historiographical attire loosely. He views the territorial issue as central to the coming of the Civil War, and, unlike the revisionists of yesteryear, he does not regard that issue as a shamsical abstraction. But unlike Foner and Eugene Genovese, Morrison contends that the issue had little substantive significance: "If access to the territories was the principal demand of the South, why did the slave states secede from the Union? If, however, the primary object of the Republican party and the North was to keep slavery out of the territories, why did it not acquiesce in secession?" (p. 276). Morrison agrees with Mills Thornton and Michael F. Holt that access to the territories was a powerful issue because it symbolically involved the preservation of liberty and equality, even as it drove home the contradictions between those ideals.

The author's thesis, then, is not new, but he is the first to examine closely the relationship between expansion, on the one hand, and republicanism and the sectionalization of the territorial issue, on the other. Arguably, by focusing exclusively on that relationship and assuming that it was of paramount importance, Morrison's interpretations of complex political developments that involved other state, local, and federal issues are often unidimensional. As others have pointed out and Morrison himself recognizes, the republican ideology of the revolutionary era had changed dramatically by the 1850s, becoming so protean that almost any position on any issue can be explained within its context. Although the idiom of republicanism remained, the disjuncture between the language and practice of republicanism makes it difficult to separate what was ideological from what was merely convenient.

Did Jacksonian Democrats oppose an activist federal government because they saw it as a promoter of economic privilege or because a party devoted to the negative state could more easily smother internal divisions than could one devoted to governmental intervention? Did Whigs oppose territorial expansion for ideological reasons or because most frontier states usually voted Democratic? Did Douglas Democrats support popular sovereignty because the doctrine incorporated the republican principle of self-determination or because it kept the intrapartisanly divisive territorial issue out of Congress? Party strategy was at least as important as ideology. Morrison does not ignore the former, but his emphasis is unmistakably on the latter.

These quibbles aside, the book is a worthwhile read and makes a significant contribution to the literature. Historians have too often examined the expansion issue in the 1840s with the hindsight knowledge that it



became a sectional one, without appreciating fully its initial partisan quality.

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HANS L. TREFOUSSE. *Thaddeus Stevens: Nineteenth-Century Egalitarian*. (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 312. \$39.95.

This is political biography rendered "the old-fashioned way," just as we have come to expect from Hans L. Trefousse, our most productive historian of the Radical Republicans and their struggles against racial inequality. His major publications span four decades: *biographies of Benjamin Franklin Butler* (1957), *Benjamin Franklin Wade* (1963) and *Carl Schurz* (1982); a collective study of the Radical Republicans (1969); and an analysis of Andrew Johnson's impeachment and trial (1975).

While contributing this distinguished list of titles, Trefousse has consistently developed the case for the Civil War-era Republican Party as having embodied democratic biracialism, ideals expressed most admirably by its radicals, but best implemented by the astute Abraham Lincoln, who consistently transmuted ideological egalitarianism into public policy. In this study of Thaddeus Stevens, the first since Fawn Brodie's controversial *Thaddeus Stevens: Scourge of the South* (1959), Trefousse effectively develops these interpretations anew, but occasionally at the risk of overlooking other pressing questions that a more broadly focused study of the "Great Commoner" would address. "The old-fashioned way" of developing political biography by linking subject tightly to the year-by-year calendar of electoral and congressional politics does have drawbacks. At the outset, however, it is essential to comment on this work's considerable strengths and the substantial contribution that it makes to our understanding of a challenging and pivotal figure.

Above all, Trefousse presents Stevens much as his contemporaries might have encountered him: a compelling figure blessed with rich political gifts and values, not the crabbed tyrant that mythmakers have claimed him to be. From the 1820s, when Stevens first crusaded against the Masons, until 1868 when death terminated his wars against racial inequality, Stevens displayed a superior grasp of law and day-to-day politics, powerful rhetorical talents, and an undeniable aura of charisma. His powers of political leadership, Trefousse clearly shows, derived from these positive qualities, not simply from an acerbic tongue or vindictive spirit (as his detractors have always held), though the author does admit that Stevens could exhibit these qualities too. Readers will come away from this biography understanding both the sources and the limitations of Stevens's political leadership rather than assessing him according to shop-worn stereotypes.

Just as important, the "old-fashioned way" of writing

biography also reminds us forcefully that political narratives are, contrary to certain contemporary theoreticians, much more than the fragile "fictions" we invent to impose artificial order on the chaos of human experience. Instead, as Trefousse clearly demonstrates, they supplied the fundamental building blocks of conflict and change in Civil War-era politics and in Stevens's sense of his evolving place in public life. In an age in which party bureaucracy was minimal, elections frequent, partisanship fierce, and when voters were well-informed and active, linear patterns of cause and effect moved rapidly back and forth between legislative battles in Washington, D.C., state-level politics, and concerns expressed on the county or district level. In this manner, they reshaped party allegiances and political careers.

By presenting Stevens's career in response to these dynamics, Trefousse charts his subject's political evolution with clarity and precision. By the book's end, the reader is well positioned to understand how a fervent young Antimason, educational reformer, and survivor of Pennsylvania's infamous "Buckshot War" finally felt compelled to develop so sweeping a vision of biracial democracy. In like manner, the reader also comes to appreciate how limited by the politics of war and Reconstruction Stevens ultimately was when attempting to legislate his vision into reality. Although Lincoln relied on radicals like Stevens to be "vanguards for racial justice," justice itself, once compromised, was easily denied, Trefousse notes; a truth that compellingly connects this biography of the "Great Commoner" with the nation's enduring racial tragedy.

"The old-fashioned way," however, also exacts costs, as illustrated by my desire to have learned far more about (in Leslie Fiedler's phrase) the "man behind the man." For example, Trefousse curtly dismisses the importance of the racially loaded "scandals" that always surrounded Stevens, and about which Fawn Brodie has attempted to make much: first, the canard that Stevens was the father of a murdered black woman's unborn child, and second, the assertion that he maintained an intimate relationship with his African-American housekeeper, Lydia Smith. The truth or falsehood of both stories is not at issue, but the possibility of their far-reaching impact on the feelings and attitudes of Stevens, a handsome, physically handicapped bachelor, certainly is. In a similar vein, Trefousse clearly explains Stevens's views on each of a multitude of individual political questions, from education and currency reform to tariff policy and "internal improvements." Yet he leaves it to the reader to trace their deeper connections and mutually reinforcing elements. In contrast to Eric Foner's suggestive, brief analysis, Trefousse offers little guidance about the place of Stevens's overall political outlook in the Republican ideology of "free soil, free labor, and free men."

If the "man behind the man" remains elusive, however, the public figure of Stevens given us by Trefousse steps forth in fullest view. In this fundamental sense,

the "Great Commoner" has at last found his proper biographer, one who explains his political greatness with knowledge and insight.

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HEATHER COX RICHARDSON. *The Greatest Nation of the Earth: Republican Economic Policies during the Civil War*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 126.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 342. \$35.00.

The Congresses in American history that have produced systematic, sweeping changes in the body politic are surprisingly few, but two of the most important occurred during the Civil War. The nature of the legislation passed under Republican leadership, however, has been enigmatic. Most historians have asserted that Civil War enactments laid the groundwork for the rise of corporate capitalism and its glaring inequalities; yet some of the laws did not beckon to an industrial future, and others established the end of slavery and citizen equality before the law. Heather Cox Richardson has produced a useful work that revises our understanding of the Republican Party and the policies that Republicans implemented. Richardson emphatically agrees that Republican legislation transformed the country, but she sees the long-term effects as ironical rather than intentional. Republicans wanted an egalitarian society of independent producers. Their efforts to secure such a nation instead created the Gilded Age.

Richardson's study goes over the well-trodden territory of Republican economic legislation during the Civil War: tariffs, banking system, war bond sales, indirect taxes, the Union Pacific Railroad Act, the Homestead Act, the Land Grant College Act, and legislation related to slavery. What separates her work from previous studies is her attention to Republican economic ideals. She insists Republicans had core economic beliefs: the labor theory of value, the harmony of interests, social mobility through individual effort, a rising standard of living through saving and investment, and the use of the state to build a framework that released individual energy. What Richardson adds as new, what others have missed, is the Republicans' favoritism to agriculture and their belief in antimonopoly, antibanking, and antibureaucracy.

Richardson found these themes by paying close attention to the logic employed by Republicans in congressional debates. Thus the antibanking impulse came out in the war bond issuances; because Republicans found bankers unwilling to sacrifice self-interest for the war effort, they took the financing of the war directly to the public. The Morrill tariffs were notable not because they protected American manufacturing but because they tried to protect American agriculture as well. Antimonopoly sentiment could be found in the provisions of the Union Pacific Railroad, the Homestead Act, and in the animus of the party to slavery.

Both the struggle over the Union Pacific Railroad and the Freedmen's Bureau revealed the party leaders' loathing of government bureaucracy because of fear of political monopoly and corruption.

For nineteenth-century political historians, this will be an important book with crucial insights into the nature of the Republican Party. Richardson's attention to political economy offers a refreshing vantage point from which to assess Civil War legislation, and her willingness to delve deeply into economic doctrines is commendable. Not the least of her accomplishments is a more realistic appraisal of the Republicans, revealing their agricultural bias and their distrust of monopoly and hierarchy. Richardson manages fairly well to combine the two aspects of the Republicans that historians have always uncomfortably kept separate: the egalitarianism of their racial program and the inequality that seemingly marked their economic agenda. She demonstrates how egalitarianism can be found in both areas.

Nevertheless, the book has shortcomings. At times, Richardson's discussion of economic principles is insightful and perceptive; at other times the discussion is shallow and requires more refinement. For example, her chapter on protectionism is weak, and her discussion on economic ideas and slavery, while at times profound, is confused. She argues that the principles of Henry Charles Carey (protectionist) and Francis Wayland (free trader) complemented each other, although they actually clashed. Richardson maintains that the important division in Republican ranks was geographical (East versus West). That claim might be true, but there are no tables or roll-call votes to demonstrate it. Moreover, I suspect that she should have given more attention to another vital division: the previous political affiliations of Civil War Republicans. Being an ex-Democrat, ex-Whig, ex-Know Nothing, or ex-Free Soiler may have been as crucial to stands on policy questions as geographical locale.

My greatest reservation about this work has to do with its central message, and on that score Richardson is entirely excused from my obvious biases. Two scholarly camps have formed about the Civil War. One sees the war as the turning point in American history, the decisive transformation of American life; the other sees the war as vital and important but unable to alter the essential processes of the country. I belong to the latter group. Nothing in this book alters my assessment that the Civil War belonged to the processes created by the Revolution: the Civil War reflected the past and did not at all anticipate the future, and that judgment includes the legislation of Civil War Republicans.

JAMES L. HUSTON  
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EARL J. HESS. *The Union Soldier in Battle: Enduring the Ordeal of Combat*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1997. Pp. xii, 244. \$29.95.

JAMES M. MCPHERSON. *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1997. Pp. xviii, 237. \$25.00.

Earl J. Hess and James M. McPherson have produced two volumes that, taken together, provide an outstanding picture of why Civil War soldiers fought and what they endured as a result of their decisions. Hess's work focuses on Union soldiers, while McPherson includes soldiers from both sides, but the world of the battlefield that Hess describes was experienced by rebels as well as Yankees. Both books answer a challenge provided by Bell I. Wiley, Peter Maslowski, and especially Gerald F. Linderman. These three scholars have argued that initial enthusiasm for the war, expressed in terms of commitment to patriotic ideals, was ground down battle after battle until, toward the end, men were fighting not for "the Cause" but for their comrades-in-arms.

McPherson concentrates his attention on proving Wiley, Maslowski, and Linderman wrong. Basing his analysis on a carefully chosen sample of 647 Union soldiers and 429 Confederates, divided according to the participation of their states in the war, McPherson uses the letters and diaries of the soldiers themselves to demonstrate the validity of his title. Men fought for both cause and comrades; to be specific, sixty-six percent of his 429 rebels and sixty-eight percent of his Yankees expressed their love of and commitment to their particular country's ideals. "Ideological motifs," he writes, "almost leap from many pages of these [letters and diaries]" (p. 91).

McPherson also suggests (but does not elaborate on the idea) that cause and comrades were not alternate reasons to fight. These men came from communities where politics and political ideals were constantly under debate, and they read avidly the newspapers of the day. They even formed debating societies in camp to discuss political issues. I would like to have seen more analysis of the fact that both armies were created from neighborhoods and small communities. Soldiers and citizens based their political understanding on seeing the nation as a union of states and their communities as places where the self-government they admired was practiced every day. In his recognition of the importance of the idea of "law and order" in motivating the soldiers to fight, McPherson suggests this linkage but does not explore it.

But this book focuses not on analysis of motives but rather on what the soldiers of the war era said motivated them. McPherson is careful to limit his inquiry to letters and diaries contemporary with the war itself. He intentionally omits postwar memoirs, seeking visions of the war unmarred by later rationalizations and revisions. He does, however, use analyses of modern combat insightfully to explain Civil War responses and to contrast modern and nineteenth-century soldiers. Civil War soldiers gain by the comparison. McPherson quotes a modern combat officer who studied what happened on the Antietam battle-

field and remarked "You couldn't get American soldiers today to make an attack like that" (p. 5).

McPherson explores many motives: leadership of officers, religious faith (Civil War armies may have been the most religious in American history, he notes); love of liberty; defense of the order of the nation and the rule of law; inspiration from letter writers at home; and vengeance. He notes the modern irony of rebel soldiers fighting for liberty: "We are fighting for our liberty," a Kentucky Confederate wrote, "against the tyrants of the North . . . who are determined to destroy slavery" (p. 106). McPherson contrasts northern concepts of duty and conscience with southern ideas of honor, but he acknowledges that neither section had a monopoly on any of these motives. He notes that southern defenses of slavery did not mean that Union soldiers fought to free slaves; only gradually did Union soldiers agree that freeing slaves was a legitimate reason to fight. But he is insistent that Civil War soldiers did fight, and die, and face mutilation and disease and separation from home in the name of their countries and the ideals to which they were devoted. "Patriotism was not the last refuge of the scoundrel," he writes, "it was the credo of the fighting soldier" (p. 103).

Although he adds important insights to the discussion of why men fought, Hess focuses more directly on what their decision to fight meant. In a superb book, the finest to date on the ordeal of combat, Hess describes most memorably the sounds and smells and feel of combat (a minié ball makes a grating sound when it hits a bone, a heavy thud when it strikes flesh); the randomness of death; the psychology of the battle line; changing definitions of courage; the Christian soldiers' struggle with the sinfulness of killing.

Relying on postwar memoirs and contemporary letters, Hess also brings to light the ways that soldiers dealt with the horrific deadliness of the battlefield, where even human body parts became projectiles. They domesticated it in their descriptions, turning this terrifying "incommunicable experience of war" (in Oliver Wendell Holmes's words) into something they could make sense of. Bullets became bees buzzing; combat became a man's "job." At times, soldiers made death romantic, "gilded" it; at other times they joked about it. Most importantly, soldiers met the terrors of the battlefield by fighting together, seeing battle as a test of groups of men—of men as comrades, not just frightened and brave individuals—engaged not so much in man-to-man conflict as in clashes of regiments. Soldiers disliked the thought of killing individuals; they usually were uncomfortable with sharpshooters and avoided hand-to-hand combat. They fought and thought in terms of regimental cohesion, of "the line" of men, which one soldier likened to "an invisible line stretching two thousand miles . . . all in touch, elbow to elbow, as it were, although hundreds of miles intervened" (p. 114). "Men fight in masses," a Union officer explained. "To be brave they must be inspired by the feeling of fellowship. Shoulder must touch

shoulder." Hess expands the significance of "the line" of men by noting, "If it were possible to pinpoint one factor as most important in enabling the soldier to endure battle, it would be the security of comradeship" (p. 117).

Among his many revelations, Hess also adds significantly to our understanding of the significance of the rifle in Civil War combat. Previous historians have noted that rifles could kill at 400–500 yards and argued that they transformed the battlefield. But Hess argues that most battles saw firing begin about 100 yards, and from that fact he concludes that "the rifle musket did not significantly alter the tactical picture" (p. 56). More important in affecting the outcome of battles were trained officers. Some, like Philip Sheridan, could inspire men to fight and change the tide of battle. Too many, Hess suggests, even from West Point, did not know how to coordinate or support the war's massive attacks, and so battles were lost, thousands died, and the war went on for four years.

Hess also provides a thoughtful chapter on sources that McPherson avoids. He is interested in how men remembered the war, what they said about it in the memoirs that began to appear in significant numbers in the 1880s. He finds a range of perspectives. Some men wrote to glorify and justify their cause; others, like Ambrose Bierce, rejected any cause; men like Holmes said little about the causes of the 1860s but found new "fighting faiths"; and some memoirs read like campfire stories of interesting and amusing wartime experiences. The diversity of these perspectives benefits from Hess's subtlety in explaining the impact of the battlefield on Union soldiers, a subtlety reflected in his recognition that the Civil War cannot be adequately judged from the perspective of modern disillusionment over the causes and consequences of war. Despite some modern characteristics, most of them technological, "The northern soldier fought a traditional war in all respects, but particularly in his mind" (p. 198). It was a mind that believed in the loyalty of comrades facing death and mutilation for a cause larger than themselves.

While both Hess and McPherson describe the cowards and the shirkers, the picture of Civil War soldiers that emerges from their books adds to an already large sense of admiration for what they endured. Hess quotes John DeForest: "The man who does not dread to die or to be mutilated is a lunatic. The man who, dreading these things, still faces them for the sake of duty and honor is a hero" (p. 73). About 3,000,000 young Americans fought in the Civil War; over 620,000 died, approximately 220,000 of them in combat. Although about nine percent deserted, the vast majority stayed and faced the slaughterhouse of combat, both for the cause and for their comrades. McPherson's and Hess's superb books allow us to see just what that meant.

PHILLIP SHAW PALUDAN  
University of Kansas

EDWARD A. MILLER, JR. *Lincoln's Abolitionist General: The Biography of David Hunter*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. x, 293. \$29.95.

Although Union General David Hunter was one of the Civil War's more controversial figures, until now he has lacked a biographer. Edward A. Miller, Jr., who has previously written a biography of the African-American Civil War hero Robert Smalls, has met that need. Miller has produced a carefully researched, thoughtful, and balanced study of Hunter, whose life, including forty-three years in the army, spanned most of the nineteenth century. Hunter graduated from West Point in 1822, served for fourteen years as a company officer, briefly left the army, and then returned as a paymaster. A fifty-nine-year-old major when the Civil War began, he was rapidly appointed brigadier and then major general of volunteers. Hunter's rapid rise was largely due to his friendship with President Abraham Lincoln, an association that he maintained throughout the war; later he was among the officers who escorted Lincoln's body to Illinois and served on the military commission that tried Lincoln's assassination conspirators.

Hunter's wartime performance was relatively undistinguished; he was wounded at Bull Run in 1861 and did not receive another field command until his campaign in the Shenandoah in 1864. Nonetheless, he became involved in two important controversies that established his claim to historical significance. The first began on May 9, 1862, when Hunter, who was then in command of the Department of the South, issued an order freeing the slaves in his jurisdiction; at the same time, he began to recruit the freedmen into military service. Both actions were unauthorized, and Lincoln quickly rescinded the emancipation edict. Hunter's actions, however, helped keep the emancipation and arming of blacks in public view, and the administration eventually adopted both policies. Although Miller identifies Hunter as an abolitionist prior to the Civil War and an advocate of civil and political equality for blacks later, he provides no convincing explanation for the genesis of the general's views on slavery and race. He does question the contention of some historians that Hunter took these positions in order to ingratiate himself with Radical Republicans.

Certain of Hunter's statements suggest that he believed in the existence of a "slave power" conspiracy to disrupt the Union and that this conviction led him to call for a harsh, even vindictive, war against the South. These views, which he expressed early in the war, once again put Hunter in advance of the administration and of most Union Army officers, and they led to the second controversy in his Civil War career. This one concerned the conduct of his Shenandoah Valley campaign in the summer of 1864. Hunter's assignment was to destroy railroads and supply depots serving Robert E. Lee's army, which was then facing Ulysses S. Grant's forces in the trenches at Petersburg. At first, Hunter's campaign went well, but after running short



of ammunition, he decided to withdraw rather than risk battle with Jubal Early's army at Lynchburg. Unfortunately, Hunter's retreat took him into West Virginia, leaving the Shenandoah open to Early, who soon used it to move north into Maryland and Pennsylvania and to threaten Washington. Despite Hunter's subsequent efforts, he was never able to locate Early and bring him to battle. He spent the rest of the war trying to explain his course, and Miller, while hesitant to criticize Hunter, does not defend him either.

Hunter had a notably short temper, and during his operations in Virginia, he and his troops became increasingly angry at guerrilla attacks against his communications. His men seized supplies from civilians and torched what they could not use. Hunter himself issued orders calling for the destruction of civilian property near sites of guerrilla activities. He also ordered homes belonging to prominent Confederate sympathizers destroyed, a policy that he continued even after his troops entered West Virginia; these actions later led Early to retaliate by destroying property in Pennsylvania. After Hunter's men moved into Lexington, Virginia, they burned the buildings of Virginia Military Institute and also the home of the current governor. Such conduct left Hunter with the reputation of being cruel and heartless. While acknowledging that many of Hunter's actions "were certainly beyond normal military practice" (p. 224), Miller argues that such practices were similar to those undertaken by other Union generals who were farther from the North and from Washington and hence escaped the scrutiny that Hunter received. Miller also contends that William T. Sherman "took warfare to degrees of severity and efficient execution exceeding Hunter's limits" (p. 266). One wonders, however, if Hunter's "limits" were set more by the size of his command than by any compunction he had concerning the proper conduct of military campaigns. Although Miller might have exercised a little more critical judgment in evaluating Hunter's career, he has produced a thorough and valuable biography.

RICHARD H. ABBOTT  
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WILLIAM C. DAVIS. *The Cause Lost: Myths and Realities of the Confederacy*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1996. Pp. xi, 224. \$24.95.

This book contains a series of essays written over a period of twenty years that reflect William C. Davis's thinking on topics such as "Jefferson Davis and His Generals," "Forgotten Wars," "Excuses, Turning Points, and Defeats," and "The Confederacy in Myth and Posterity." Three essays discuss each topic.

The strongest essays include the three concerning Jefferson Davis. The author believes, for example, that "nothing so reveals some of the bedrock weaknesses of the Southern move for independence as the problems Davis had with some of his generals and they with him" (p. ix), a judgment few will deny. That the Confederate

president was an enigma is a myth, Davis contends, but he was indecisive, a poor judge of character, and provides "a consistent portrait of insecurity as people of the twentieth century define that term" (p. 13). Davis's indecisiveness and poor judgment are illustrated by his constant friction with generals such as P. G. T. Beauregard and Joseph E. Johnston. Davis's only real general was Robert E. Lee, who learned the basic lessons for getting along with the president: be loyal, subordinate pride, and provide emotional support. Indeed, Lee seems to me to have become Davis's private security blanket.

The Confederacy's "forgotten wars" include the siege of Charleston, the war in the West, and the fighting in the trans-Mississippi West. Charleston was never captured by sea because Union vessels could not throw enough shells and the rubble of Fort Sumter actually improved its defensive capabilities. Davis believes that the war west of the mountains was decisive. There the two sides fielded armies that were more rustic, less tolerant of discipline, more innovative, and more savage than their eastern counterparts. The trans-Mississippi war was marked by shortages, lack of enthusiasm, poor leadership, and quarrelsome generals.

Why did the Confederacy lose? Davis looks at both excuses and turning points. The latter occurred in 1863 and included Gettysburg, Brandy Station, Vicksburg, and Stone's River. These battles caused Union desertion rates to decline, while Confederate enlistments dropped and desertions mounted as inflation and starvation at home caused soldiers to think first of the needs of their families. Davis rejects the myth that the Union election of 1864 was a decisive turning point. Although Confederates surely wished to capitalize on northern disaffection, their military operations were not aimed at political effect. Even if McClellan had won the presidency, he was as determined as Lincoln that the Union should win.

After the war, the Confederacy itself entered the realm of myth, which Civil War historians know remains a very tender issue. Davis is at his most thoughtful when he delves into the current impact of Confederate myth. Fact is the basis of myth, he notes, and the losers are more likely than winners to resort to myth because they have more to explain. Thus the descendants of Confederates have resorted to myths "exonerating the South from any responsibility in bringing on the conflict and helping Southerners then and later cope with defeat" (p. 177). Davis feels compelled to support this statement with a footnote acknowledging his interest in Confederate history, his southern background, and his four ancestors in the Confederate army, information intended to convince footnote readers, at least, that Davis is not attacking the South (p. 218, n. 4). It is a sad commentary that this note should be necessary, but it is. "To attack Confederate myths," Davis notes from experience, "is somehow seen as an attack on the South itself" (p. 177). Thus he contends (for example) that slavery, not states' rights, was the

cause of the war and that the war was started when southern states seized federal installations, not when the Union forced the issue at Sumter. Davis fears that myth has been "allowed to blind us to realities" (p. 190).

As in any collection of essays, some are stronger than others. One weak point is Davis's discussion of morale and will. To say that "willpower is the *creature* of events and only secondarily—and subsequently—their creator" (p. 125) is to ignore the will with which Confederates entered the war, before military events could affect morale. The relation between events and will is reciprocal, and it is sometimes difficult to say whether the chicken or the egg was most important. This is a good collection of essays, although I suspect most readers will find some of them not quite up to the superb standard of Davis's *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour* (1991) and "*A Government of Our Own*": *The Making of the Confederacy* (1994).

RICHARD E. BERINGER  
University of North Dakota

WARREN F. SPENCER. *Raphael Semmes: The Philosophical Mariner*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1997. Pp. x, 250. \$37.95.

Confederate naval hero Raphael Semmes (1809–1877) is famous for his command of two commerce destroyers during the War Between the States: the *CSS Sumter* and more particularly the *CSS Alabama*. This book covers these exploits but what makes it different from eight or nine previous biographies is that Warren F. Spencer devotes approximately half his study to Semmes's service in the U.S. Navy prior to 1861. Spencer also attempts to probe Semmes the man, especially his considerable intellectual qualities; hence the book's subtitle.

Admiral Semmes left biographers much original source material. He kept three journals that survive, and many of his other papers are maintained as the Semmes Papers by the Alabama State Department of Archives and History in Montgomery. He also converted two of his journals into books. His Mexican War journal was published in 1851 as *Memoirs of Service Afloat and Ashore during the Mexican War*. Semmes had participated in several raids on Mexican coastal cities, manned a gun in the siege of Vera Cruz, and was detached to the army and accompanied it (along the route of Hernando Cortez) up the Valley of Mexico to Mexico City. His account of these exploits became a bestseller because Semmes was critical of General Winfield Scott, with whom he had served from Vera Cruz to Mexico City, and Democrats used the book as campaign literature against Scott in the 1852 presidential election. Students of the Mexican War still find Semmes's account useful.

Semmes's other book, *Memoirs of Service Afloat during the War Between the States* (1869) did not reach bestseller status but is considered by historians so important as an original source that it was reprinted in

1987, and most university libraries contain copies of the work. Spencer condenses into some six pages Semmes's six chapters on the coming of the War Between the States. Semmes believed that the right of peaceful secession was a higher right than the right of revolution, and he was careful to note the difference. In his view, if a republic used force to maintain itself as a political entity, it then of necessity ceased to be a republic. Semmes also used the puritan-cavalier and tariff arguments. He did not deny slavery as a factor in the coming of the war, but he ignored its moral ramifications. Semmes's two or three domestic slaves, according to Spencer, did not make him as a slaveholder, as he could have converted their subsistence into weekly wages. Spencer does declare his subject a racist, because Semmes believed in Anglo-Saxon superiority.

Spencer praises Semmes's writings. The admiral was an astute observer with a finely tuned mind. Self taught and well read in many fields, Semmes often included history along with descriptive narrative in his writings, all delivered with a Victorian flair. He had strong religious (Catholic) and moral convictions, read history and philosophy, natural science, and biographies of great seafarers such as Christopher Columbus and great leaders such as Genghis Khan and Julius Caesar. Semmes knew the works of William Shakespeare, eighteenth-century rationalism, and early nineteenth-century romanticism. One of his greatest heroes was fellow officer and renowned oceanographer Matthew Fontaine Maury, from whom he learned much. Semmes referred to himself as an apostle of this "scientist of the seas."

Naval officers were not needed for long stretches during peacetime, and leave on reduced pay often lasted for years, so they needed other sources of income. Between assignments, Semmes practiced law in his adoptive city of Mobile, Alabama (he was a native of Maryland), specializing in maritime law. This later served him well as a Confederate sea raider, because it was easy for him to identify ownership, value, intended use, and destination of the cargo in any U.S. merchant ship he captured.

Spencer also notes that Semmes's success as a raider resulted from his knowledge of the prevailing winds and currents that created the crossroads of the seas used by merchantmen carrying goods between markets. The raider realized that his safety from searching Union warships, on the other hand, depended on his calculation of time and distance. Semmes's decision to fight the *USS Kearsarge*, although resulting in the loss of the *Alabama*, was nonetheless the proper one, writes Spencer, because the battle gave Semmes a chance to break out of port; if he had waited, he would have been hopelessly blockaded by converging Union warships.

Spencer holds a high opinion of Semmes's intelligence. For example, Semmes maintained that the Czar of Russia, as head of an absolute government, warmly supported the Union president against "revolutionar-

ies." Spencer concludes that such insight into the diplomacy of the war has escaped the notice of historians, but it obviously has not escaped the historian Spencer, who in this thoughtful and readable book demonstrates that the intellectual Semmes is worthy of study.

ROYCE SHINGLETON  
Darton College

CRAIG L. SYMONDS. *Stonewall of the West: Patrick Cleburne and the Civil War*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1997. Pp. xi, 322. \$34.95.

PHILLIP THOMAS TUCKER. *The Forgotten "Stonewall of the West": Major General John Stevens Bowen*. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press. 1997. Pp. 379. \$32.95.

When Jefferson Davis mentioned, in *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (1881), that General Patrick R. Cleburne inspired his men with confidence in their leader equal to Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson, historians named Cleburne the "Stonewall of the West." Craig L. Symonds's book, the first critical biography of Cleburne by a professional historian, leads the reader to question whether Cleburne deserved the title; and Phillip Thomas Tucker's biography of General John S. Bowen, the first book on the subject, nominates Bowen for the honor.

Cleburne, an Irish immigrant and lawyer in Helena, Arkansas, when the war began, rose to the rank of major general in command of a division in the Army of Tennessee. He was killed leading a frontal assault in the battle of Franklin on November 30, 1864. Symonds sheds new light on the dilemma of why, if Cleburne was so able, he was never appointed to permanent corps command. Symonds analyzes the traditional view that Cleburne was passed over because he was foreign-born, lacked West Point training, proposed arming the slaves, and participated in the cabal to replace army commander Braxton Bragg. These factors were involved, but Symonds concludes that, even though Cleburne was a great division commander, he lacked the imagination to initiate new plans of action and had reached the level of his competence. A romantic and true believer in the Confederacy, "Old Pat" was motivated more by desire for a Confederate victory than by personal ambition. Just before leading the charge in which he was killed he declared: "I will take the enemy's works or fall in the attempt" (p. 255). Symonds's book is well organized and beautifully written in a clear and concise style with battle narratives that move swiftly and several lively and interesting anecdotes.

Bowen, from Savannah, Georgia, was a West Point graduate and St. Louis architect before the war. His war career was remarkably similar to Cleburne's. Both emphasized drill and both conducted masterful delaying and rear-guard actions against greater enemy forces in losing campaigns: Bowen at Vicksburg and

Cleburne in Atlanta. Tucker conducted valuable research in manuscripts, newspapers, and other primary sources, and his book reveals many new and interesting details. He postulates that Bowen's six frontal assaults—from Shiloh to Champion Hill—and successful defense of Grand Gulf south of Vicksburg represent a string of unmatched total successes; since Bowen fought mostly against Ulysses S. Grant, the best enemy general, he made a greater contribution to the Confederate war effort than Cleburne. Tucker describes Bowen as a true patriot who, in one attack, "acted almost as if he possessed a death wish" (p. 241). Bowen died of dysentery on July 13, 1863.

Tucker's book has several misspellings and proof-reading mistakes, and some information is repeated unnecessarily. Tucker weakens his case with exaggerations, claiming, for example, that Bowen's tactics were "unmatched in skill even by Stonewall Jackson" (p. 2) and that during the delaying action at Port Gibson on May 1, 1863, "the war's outcome was being determined" (p. 237). Both books describe unselfish and patriotic young officers who displayed dogged determination and led reckless frontal assaults, and both therefore support Gary W. Gallagher's thesis in *The Confederate War* (1997) that such men inspired nationalistic feelings in the Confederacy.

JAMES A. RAMAGE  
Northern Kentucky University

GORDON C. RHEA. *The Battles for Spotsylvania Court House and the Road to Yellow Tavern, May 7–12, 1864*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 483. \$34.95.

This volume is the second in a projected series of detailed combat histories of the 1864 campaign between the Army of the Potomac under Generals Ulysses S. Grant and George Gordon Meade and the Army of Northern Virginia under General Robert E. Lee. The book picks up where Gordon C. Rhea's excellent earlier study, *The Battle of the Wilderness, May 5–6, 1864* (1994), left off, covering Grant's move southward out of the Wilderness toward Spotsylvania, and the emergence of trench warfare around the Bloody Angle in "the Muleshoe." That Rhea intends to continue the series is evident in the last line of the book, which foreshadows the next meeting of the two armies at the crossing of the North Anna River.

Rhea devotes 327 pages of text to only six days of combat. This is not to suggest that the book is pedantic, for he effectively combines impressive archival research with colorful and evocative language to construct a narrative that is as gripping as it is detailed. Rhea has an eye for poignant quotations, which he selects from hundreds of soldier's diaries and memoirs. To one Marylander, "the drone of bullets blended into a throbbing wail, like that of a sonorous telegraph wire pulsing in a strong wind" (p. 56). Horace Porter recalled the pile of bodies near the Bloody Angle after the fight where "the convulsive twitch of limbs and the

writhing of bodies showed that there were wounded men still alive and struggling to extricate themselves from the horrid entombment" (p. 311). An infinite number of such pointillist vignettes give depth and human voices to Rhea's mosaic. That, plus thirty excellent maps by George Skoch, make the complicated maneuvers of both armies relatively easy to follow.

Rhea's account is more detailed than William D. Matter's *If It Takes All Summer: The Battle of Spotsylvania* (1988), and Rhea also differs with Matter in some of his judgments about the principal commanders. Whereas Matter asserts that Lee was hamstrung by the inexperience of two of his corps commanders (R. H. Anderson, who replaced the wounded James Longstreet, and Jubal Early, who replaced the ill A. P. Hill), Rhea concludes that both stand-ins performed well, and he asserts that "Anderson's march to Spotsylvania had saved the Confederate army" (p. 322).

More controversial, perhaps, will be Rhea's negative assessment of Grant. While giving full credit to the importance of Grant's bulldog-like determination, Rhea concludes that Grant's "haphazard planning" (p. 314) was a major factor in Federal disappointment. His greatest error, according to Rhea, was his almost offhand decision to allow Philip Sheridan to take his cavalry division off on the raid that culminated in the Battle of Yellow Tavern. That battle cost the Confederacy the services of Jeb Stuart, but it cost Grant the ability to keep track of Lee's position and movements. Rhea ranks Grant's decision to indulge Sheridan as his "greatest misjudgment of the campaign" (p. 314).

Thus deprived of his cavalry, Grant resorted to ordering his corps commanders to hurl themselves at the enemy lines based on his guesses about where Lee's strength might be. Governor Warren's Fifth Corps was ordered to attack Laurel Hill three times, despite Warren's impassioned protest that the position was impregnable. Rhea concludes that "Grant persisted in demanding assaults on the basis of his blind faith that attacking across Lee's lines was bound to find a weak point somewhere" (p. 289). Even when one of these assaults achieved a breakthrough (as Emory Upton did on May 10 and Winfield Scott Hancock on May 12), Grant failed to have reserves in place to exploit the breach. According to Rhea, the men in the ranks paid the price for Grant's poor planning and dogmatism.

Lee comes off much better. If Shea's Grant is the butcher of tradition, Shea's Lee is the courteous warrior of southern legend. He was often in the forefront of the fighting, encouraging his men, and in spite of numerical inferiority, he constantly looked for ways to go on the offensive. His one serious error—removing the artillery from the Muleshoe the night before Hancock's attack—was a product of his eagerness to regain the initiative. By all rights, Grant's army of 110,000 ought to have steamrolled Lee's force of about half that number. Instead, Lee inflicted significantly more casualties on his foe than he received

himself, although (as Rhea points out) when expressed as a percentage of forces engaged, southern losses still surpassed Union losses, thirty-three percent to twenty-eight percent.

Like his book on the Battle of the Wilderness, Rhea's account of the fighting for Spotsylvania is now the definitive history on that battle. When completed, his series of volumes of the 1864 campaign will constitute a major contribution to Civil War history.

CRAIG L. SYMONDS  
U. S. Naval Academy

LOU FALKNER WILLIAMS. *The Great South Carolina Ku Klux Klan Trials, 1871-1872*. (Studies in the Legal History of the South.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 197. \$35.00.

By arresting hundreds of Ku Klux Klansmen in the South Carolina Piedmont in the fall of 1871, the federal government mounted its largest counteroffensive against violent resistance to Reconstruction. Yet the trials that ensued have been little studied until Lou Falkner Williams's interesting and important new book. Perhaps the reason for this neglect is the quite modest results of these well-documented and dramatic courtroom proceedings. But such a feeble outcome makes the trials even more worthy of examination, not less. How could such a burst of governmental activity and power fizzle out so quietly?

In four chapters describing the trials, Williams shows us what happened. The reason for the disappointment outcome was not that the prosecution was poorly handled or that the juries, often with a sizable number of African-Americans empaneled, were unwilling to convict. Nor was it even the imposing defense mounted by two of the most respected lawyers in the country—former attorneys general Reverdy Johnson and Henry Stanbery—that carried the day for the Klansmen. The main problem was that the Reconstruction amendments and the recently passed Enforcement Acts were as much on trial as the arrested Klansmen. The government's ability to secure convictions for "ordinary crimes" of murder and assault rested on the ability of the prosecution lawyers—the U. S. attorney, David T. Corbin, and a future governor of South Carolina, Daniel H. Chamberlain—to establish a broad, national interpretation of the scope and authority of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. The defense, on the other hand, sought to undermine federal jurisdiction in civil rights cases and also to secure a divided opinion from the two-man panel of judges, thereby sending the issue to the Supreme Court.

After weeks of pretrial argument in which Judge Hugh L. Bond of Maryland took a less forthright stand than expected in order to obtain concurrence from George S. Bryan, his fellow panelist from South Carolina, the prosecution embarked on the trials armed only with "general conspiracy" as the grounds for trying the cases. Since this determination precluded



severe punishment for the perpetrators of Klan crimes and outrages and since those tried were rarely significant activists (because the leaders had already fled to evade arrest), the government decided, after a few lengthy and inconclusive trials, to end its involvement. So the legal proceedings sputtered to a halt by 1872.

Williams handles the complex procedural and jurisdictional issues in these trials with authority and subtlety. Less convincing, however, are the book's opening chapters, which explain the Klan's emergence as an inevitable response, endorsed almost universally, to the provocations of Reconstruction. More extensive treatment of the extraordinary burst of federal activism in providing the political and military means for suppressing the Klan and then quickly translating them into action in the South might have been useful, because it was such a contrast to the surprisingly disappointing result. For the operation to round up the violent criminals in the Klan was remarkably successful, compared to the federal government's usual record in the South and certainly compared to the devastating loss of vigor and credibility once the courts became involved.

In her final chapter, Williams points out that the trials marked a critical moment in the judicial history of civil rights enforcement in the postwar era. Thereafter, the narrow interpretation first propounded by Johnson and Stanbery in the Klan trials began to take hold, leading to *U. S. v. Cruikshank* (1876) and the *Civil Rights Cases* (1883). No doubt, racial attitudes and laissez-faire views contributed significantly to the outcome, but the reader of Williams's revealing study cannot help concluding that, ultimately, the federal system and the courts were institutional roadblocks that contributed very significantly to the collapse of Reconstruction.

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FRIEDA KNOBLOCH. *The Culture of Wilderness: Agriculture as Colonization in the American West*. (Studies in Rural Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 204. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$14.95.

As Euro-Americans moved westward, they transformed wilderness through agricultural colonization. Frieda Knobloch's book interprets this transformation from the beginning of the Civil War to World War II. Her subject is the "whole system of domestication—that is, the transformation and improvement of nature"; this book is "as much about structuring social and political life as it is about raising cattle or wheat" (p. 3).

Knobloch has organized her narrative under the categories of Trees, Plows, Grass, and Weeds. "Trees" addresses the methods and consequences of transforming these plants into agricultural objects managed as crops. In "Plows," she explores the consequences of

the adoption of the moldboard plow. "Grass" examines the changes wrought by the introduction of grazing. "Weeds" lays out the results of the propagation of unwanted plants.

Knobloch addresses problems of social and political equality at least as much the degradation of ecosystems. In her view, cultural imperialism is the principal failing of Euro-American cultivation of the American West. However well a system might promote economic well-being for most people, if it does not promote equality, it is defective, even pernicious. For example, Knobloch recognizes that diligent applications of the programs initiated by Arthur Sampson and James Jardine have restored range land. From an anti-imperialist perspective, however, she criticizes the reduction of Navajo herds during the 1930s and offers similar critiques of crop agriculture and forestry.

Knobloch privileges the views of scholars critical of capitalistic expansion. She relies heavily on Donald Worster's work, for example, while she fails to cite Paul Bonnifield's *The Dust Bowl: Men, Dirt, and Depression* (1979), and she passes fleetingly over the work of Douglas Hurt on the Dust Bowl, of James C. Malin on the Great Plains, and of Donald J. Pisani on irrigation.

Knobloch is also critical—and rightly so—of the introduction of plants that have damaged ecosystems. She points out that a weed is not genetically so and that we consider many plants—such as Johnson grass and quackgrass—as weeds because they grow in unwanted places. From her anti-imperialist perspective, Knobloch uses the discussion of weeds as a launching pad for a critique of agricultural societies. "An agricultural society," she writes, "is founded not just on its difference from other societies but on the exclusion and extirpation of other societies. As it pushes out over its territory with its projects of colonization, occupation, and the formation of the advanced state, whatever pushes back—plants, insects, Native Americans, unwanted immigrants—looks to the colonizers like themselves. Weeds become a horrifying doppelgänger, bearing an uncanny resemblance to the colonists who exclude them, if only because the colonists are so ill-equipped to understand weeds in any other way" (pp. 143–44). For Knobloch, the preferred alternative to colonialism seems to be a "system of community regulation." She cites approvingly Törrbel, Switzerland, which has thrived as a grazing community for nearly 800 years, and "indigenous Plains societies before the 1870s" (p. 111).

In assessing this point of view, I will not try to defend anti-egalitarian imperialism. I find Knobloch's narrative deficient not so much in its criticism of imperialism as in the unexamined utopianism she offers as an alternative. Why would most people in relatively open communities want to organize on the model of Törrbel, where access to resources comes only through birth and inheritance? Or, why would the model of a nomadic subsistence community without

modern technology appeal to most twentieth-century Americans?

More to the point, we should understand that community regulation does not guarantee either equality or a healthy ecosystem. As scholars such as Charles Peterson, Dan Flores, and I have shown, in spite of their community ideals and a salutary land ethic, the nineteenth-century Mormons wrought unimaginable damage on Utah's grazing lands. Moreover, as authors such as William Rowley, Donald Worster, and I have pointed out, a degree of restoration of western rangelands has come about under the Forest Service, which relied ultimately on the coercive power of law in the face of extensive resistance even in communities of relatively poor ranchers.

I recommend this book highly, as it offers an insightful perspective on the formulation, adoption, and transformation into truth of the tropes generated by Western civilization in its colonization of nature. Nevertheless, it should be read skeptically, since its alternative prescriptions often rest on a poorly examined utopian critique of the culture of the American West.

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CLARE V. MCKANNA, JR., *Homicide, Race, and Justice in the American West, 1880–1920*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 206. \$40.00.

Clare V. McKanna, Jr. explores two important questions that have been studied, but not answered definitively, by previous research. Was the West more violent than other areas of the country? Were minority defendants in the West accused of homicide treated unfairly? His answer to both questions is a confident "yes." In reaching these conclusions, McKanna examines homicide indictments and their dispositions in three different settings: Douglas County, Nebraska (including Omaha); Las Animas County, Colorado; and Gila County, Arizona.

To answer the first question, McKanna combines information from local criminal justice system archives with census data to construct homicide rates per 100,000 population. The evidence reveals that homicide rates in the three western settings were higher, sometimes very much higher, than those in major urban areas of the East, such as Philadelphia, Boston, or New York. McKanna supplements the statistical evidence with interesting case studies that provide a fuller context for the discussion. He is rightly critical of previous research that failed to "standardize" by population size when comparing the frequency of homicides across areas. Given the well-known relationships among violent crime, age, and gender and our knowledge of the age and sex compositions of the western locales, however, I wonder how much McKanna's regional comparisons of homicide rates would be affected by controlling for those demographic factors.

McKanna's affirmative answer to the second question is based on rates of homicide indictments, conviction

and even plea bargains for members of racial and ethnic minority groups in the three western counties. Blacks in Omaha, Nebraska and Apaches in Gila County, Arizona clearly were treated unfairly by the local criminal justice system; there was greater equality in the treatment of defendants in Las Animas County, Colorado, where the racial and ethnic mix was more diverse. McKanna's evidence of unequal judicial treatment is certainly not surprising, given the large literature describing high levels of prejudice, discrimination, and violence endured by racial and ethnic minorities historically throughout the United States. But his rich description of ethnic relations within the three western settings and his ability to link the nature of those relations to differential treatment by the criminal justice system are valuable additions to that literature.

McKanna is somewhat less convincing when he moves from description to explanation of the homicide patterns in the three western settings. He is probably correct when he argues that rapid population growth and social change contributed to the high levels of violence by destabilizing the western communities, and also when he concludes that "More than any other issue, it is the rapid convergence of diverse cultures, industrialization, and differing social systems that best accounts for the high lethal-violence in the American west" (p. 155). The evidence marshaled in favor of these explanations is largely anecdotal, however, or based on the general agreement between trends in violence and population size or composition. I am less certain that McKanna is correct when he concludes that the high level of violence among blacks in Omaha was due to a "subculture of violence" brought to the city by black migrants from the South. This is an interesting hypothesis that blends elements from two different literatures. Criminologists have long debated the existence of a "southern subculture of violence," and sociologists have blamed black southern migrants for a number of social ills that emerged in northern cities during the post-World War I era. Before embracing McKanna's hypothesis, however, I would like to see it tested more systematically than is done in this book. Other social and economic forces that might have contributed to the racial difference in homicide rates in Omaha need to be considered. It should be possible to uncover evidence of the transplantation of a southern subculture of violence among black populations in other settings. In McKanna's defense, however, his objective in writing this book was clearly tilted more heavily in favor of description than hypothesis testing. He is certainly successful in the former, and his compelling descriptions raise interesting questions that will surely motivate more quantitatively oriented social historians to fire up their computers.

Despite my criticisms, McKanna has written an impressive book that will pique the interest of scholars in a variety of disciplines. Criminologists will welcome the additional historical evidence on homicide and the comparative approach used in the book. Historians will appreciate McKanna's engaging portraits of these

three western settings during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Sociologists will find much of interest in his description of ethnic relations in the American West. All of us will surely appreciate the modern relevance of McKanna's observation about violent crime a century ago: "The data verify that the mixing of handguns, petty grievances, and alcohol often proved lethal" (p. 153).

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ELIZABETH JAMESON and SUSAN ARMITAGE, editors. *Writing the Range: Race, Class, and Culture in the Women's West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 656. \$45.00.

In 1983, when Suzan Shown Harjo, a member of the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes, spoke at the first national meeting on the history of women in the American West, she chided her listeners for assuming that *they* represented western women's history, when not a single member of the audience was black or Asian and very few came from Hispanic or Native American backgrounds. She challenged "the women of the West . . . to avoid the mistakes and biases of the men of the West . . . [and] to create new definitions . . . of the frontier period, for example, and who is included in it" (p. 307). A rallying cry for women in the field, Harjo's remarks appeared as the concluding essay in Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson's edited collection, *The Women's West* (1987).

Now Jameson and Armitage are back with another set of essays, one that draws on the scholarship of the last decade to show how western history has been enriched by the perspectives that Harjo and others found lacking. Since fifteen of the earlier volume's twenty-one essays focused on mainstream white women, that group receives little attention in this work. Rather, the focus shifts to the West's women of color, referred to as "racial ethnic women."

The groups with the longest histories in the region appear in the largest number of chapters. Eight of the book's twenty-nine chapters look at Native American women and eight others at Latinas. Asian-American women feature in five essays; four focus on African-American women. At the end of the volume, the thirty-page "Selected Bibliographies" reflect a similar apportionment.

Nevertheless, the volume does not segregate the experiences of the members of each group. Rather, the book opens with a trio of theoretical essays and then proceeds chronologically through such topics as "Frontiers," "Resisting Conquest," "Newcomers," "Seeking Empowerment," "Cultures and Identities," and "Urban Frontiers." Thought-provoking statements by the editors set the book as a whole, as well as every section and essay, in a historical and historiographical context.

Among the theoretical pieces, one written by Peggy

Pascoe in the early 1990s stands out. Using laws and court cases involving interracial marriages, she explores the interconnections among race, gender, and the competition for resources. Of special interest is a 1921 case in which the Oregon Supreme Court invalidated the thirty-year-long marriage between a recently deceased white man and his Native American wife and awarded control of the white man's estate to his brother. Pascoe argues that western states routinely allowed white men, who so wished, to marry Native American women and Latinas. The state imposed its miscegenation law in this case only at the urging of another white man and because property was at stake.

From there Pascoe branches out to consider a wide range of related subjects. She ponders the reasons why individuals crossed racial boundaries in marriage, regrets the lack of a term for "race" that signals a social construction as opposed to a biological classification, and muses over the proximity between Utah's lifting of a ban on interracial marriage in 1963 and its placing of a ban on same-sex marriage in 1977. By the end of the essay, Pascoe has launched an attack on the cultural critics' rigid approach to social hierarchies and defended the efforts of social historians to find meaning in the actions of marginalized peoples.

Most of the remaining essays are far more tightly focused than Pascoe's, but each takes on greater significance when read in conjunction with the book's other chapters. Two essays that play off well against each other are those by Genaro Padilla and Wendy Wall. Padilla looks at Spanish Mexican women who, with the help of the nineteenth-century historian H. H. Bancroft's interviewers, left oral records of their lives in California before and after the U. S. takeover. Padilla's essay helps these characters emerge from the shadows of history. They show pride in their own accomplishments, regret over certain aspects of the patriarchy they grew up in, and anger toward the government that forced them to live as strangers in the land of their birth. Wall's essay is also set in California, at the Round Hill Indian Reservation at the turn of the century. Although the author has to rely on white sources for her story, the facts of the case—repeated instances of arson at the reservation's boarding school—broadcast the Indians' resistance to the federal government's assaults on the most personal aspects of their lives.

Both Padilla and Wall celebrate their subjects' refusal to yield their sense of their own identity, but both recognize the immensity of the changes that had affected each group. They, and nearly every author in this volume, strike a balance between their subjects' ability to influence their fates and the degree to which their options were circumscribed. Yet, as Albert Hurtado reminds us in another chapter, the outcome of these stories depended far less on the strength of character of those being oppressed than it did on the whim of the oppressors. A small part of the life of the Shoshone woman Sacagawea, who was caught, enslaved, and sold to the fur trader Toussaint Charbon-

neau, has become the stuff of legends. On the other hand, as Hurtado explains, Sacagawea's kinswoman, the "flying beauty," who showed great courage by thrice fleeing her captors, wound up with her head impaled on a stick.

Although some of the volume's interpretive debates will appeal mainly to scholars, many of the articles will interest general readers. Some will be fascinated by Alicia I. Rodríguez-Estrada's dual biography of two ethnic movie stars of the 1920s and 1930s. Both came from Mexico; both were limited to roles that cast them as outsiders. But whereas Dolores Del Río often played the cultivated European, Lupe Velez was limited to roles as "half-castes" and "exotic" characters. Drawing on such sources as *Photoplay*, *RKO Gals*, and *La Opinión*, the author argues that Del Río and Velez each worked with the studios in consciously crafting her own image.

Other readers will be intrigued by an essay whose subjects, far from appearing on the big screen, tried to hide themselves from public scrutiny. In "Drag's a Life: Women, Gender and Cross-Dressing in the Nineteenth-Century West," Evelyn A. Schatter uncovers evidence that some women tried to live their lives disguised as men. Schatter speculates that motives such as the desire for freedom of movement and economic independence often spurred such behavior. But she also found that some crossdressers were involved in intimate relationships with other women, or with men, or both.

A Japanese-American "Dear Abby," a S'Klallam woman on trial for the murder of her abusive husband, three African-American Seminole women carrying on the traditions of a community descended from U. S. Army scouts: these examples speak to the enormous variety of subject matter in this volume. Every reader cannot be expected to admire every essay, but all are of a high standard. They go a long way toward helping us see the value in history that is collaborative and inclusive and opens us to multiple perspectives.

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POLLY WELTS KAUFMAN, *National Parks and the Women's Voice: A History*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 305. \$42.50.

For more than 150 years, women have played a prominent role in America's environmental and conservation movements, but only in the last two decades have their contributions come to light through the publication of a small but steady stream of articles and books documenting their achievements. Polly Welts Kaufman's work is a splendid addition to this literature. Her ten years of research, travels, interviews, and bibliographic readings have produced a fascinating, comprehensive, "must read" book so full of women, dates, events, and accomplishments that all scholars interested in women's history and environmental history will want to add it to their libraries.

While the book's major focus is on women connected to the National Park Service (NPS), just as valuable to the reader are those sections dealing with individuals and groups that have worked outside of the NPS. No attempts to salvage the nation's natural heritage, regardless of size or obscurity, have been overlooked. Starting with pioneering, mid-nineteenth-century women who trekked, mountaineered, botanized, painted, and lived in Yosemite, Yellowstone, Grand Canyon, Rocky Mountain, Appalachia, and other pre-park areas, Kaufman moves on to discuss the women after 1900 who used group pressure applied through formal organizations—the Garden Clubs of America, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Daughters of the American Revolution—to save the Everglades, redwood forests, bird habitats, deserts, historic battlefields, and Native American sites.

In the summer of 1919, three years after its establishment, the NPS hired its first female employee as a seasonal educational interpreter at Yellowstone. Although a handful of women continued to work at other national parks during the 1920s, budget cuts in the 1930s—combined with the Park Service's male-dominated, militaristic ethos—meant that virtually no women were employed again until the 1960s. Kaufman shows, however, that during the intervening decades, scores of women naturalists and scientists, working outside the NPS, continued to play a role in preserving the natural environment. These women wrote best-selling field and nature guides, classified flora and fauna, developed museum exhibits, published scientific articles and books, identified and worked at archaeological sites, and were employed as teachers and interpreters by state parks, local agencies, and private organizations.

Despite such impressive accomplishments, it was well known that the only viable way for a woman to get into the NPS "was to marry a Ranger" (p. 87), and it was as wives that women first began to make an impression on the service. They greeted visitors, served as information conduits, typed and filed reports, offered first aid, and served as lookouts on fire towers. Their presence, along with that of their children, had a softening effect on the traditionally overweening, macho culture of the NPS, making it more accessible to average Americans and bringing to it new perspectives.

During the 1960s, the NPS began to employ women again, most as historian-interpreters. This came about because male rangers disdained such work as too effeminate for rugged outdoorsmen such as themselves. Appropriately, it took an outsider to point out to the service that women were fulfilling just such jobs quite admirably at the United Nations, Rockefeller Center, and Colonial Williamsburg. Still, the NPS took a cautious, wait-and-see attitude, viewing the hiring of women as a temporary experiment subject to continual reevaluation.

Life within the NPS was no bed of roses for the new female employees. So alien was their employment to most men in the service that they were not allowed to



wear standard ranger uniforms with the instantly recognizable Smokey Bear hat. Instead, women were made to wear modified airline stewardess-type uniforms that included a tiny version of the official park badge and a ridiculous and detested pillbox hat. The women dubbed the hated hats "buffalo chips" (p. 140). For years, visitors to parks mistook these women as Girl Scout leaders. When women did get the right to wear the badge, the stetson, and the standard uniform, the public's perception of them (and their self-perception) changed. They became regular rangers with the concomitant prestige and authority associated with the job.

Eventually, women skirmished their way to the top positions within the NPS. By 1980, the number of women field superintendents was twenty-three; by 1995, it was forty-three. The first female regional director was appointed in 1979.

Kaufman's book concludes by looking at modern women, inside and outside the NPS, who continue to work to save America's natural heritage. One major goal was achieved in 1985 with the opening of the Women's Rights National Historical Park in Seneca Falls, New York. There are sixteen pages of historical photographs, forty-eight pages of notes, a bibliographical essay, and a comprehensive and easy-to-use index in this highly recommended work.

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NICOLA BEISEL. *Imperiled Innocents: Anthony Comstock and Family Reproduction in Victorian America*. (Princeton Studies in American Politics.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 275. \$35.00.

The time has come for another look at Anthony Comstock. Despite the profusion of research on the history of moral reform and sexuality, Heywood Broun and Margaret Leech's *Anthony Comstock: Roundsmen of the Lord* (1927) remains the major biography of the influential founder of post-Civil War anti-vice movement. Nicola Beisel's book attempts to fill that scholarly gap.

Comstock embodied moral reform politics in Victorian America. For Beisel, the New York and New England anti-vice societies were powerful organizations because they mobilized privileged Americans "into a campaign to ensure the reproduction of the families and social world of the upper and middle classes" (p. 49). She argues that growing immigrant populations in cities like New York and Boston generated parental fears about child safety. Anti-vice advocates exploited elite apprehensions of immigrant political power, which translated into support for crusades against obscenity and gambling. The failure of moral reform in cities like Philadelphia was attributable to the limited influence of immigrants. Ultimately, Beisel argues, "vice" and obscenity "raised the specter of the permeability of class boundaries," the

possibility of downward mobility in the Victorian class system (p. 57).

Beisel provides new details showing that anti-vice societies were slow to include women reformers, especially temperance advocates. She presents a now-humorous debate over Comstock's association of obscenity with obsessive and potentially fatal masturbation. New sources like the Josiah Leeds papers in Philadelphia are exploited for the first time. And her coverage of the Herman Knodler arrest in 1887 and the ensuing debate over the meaning of "art" is among the most detailed on the event.

Yet, this study is disappointing in several areas. First, Beisel's argument of elite family reproduction is a version of status anxiety. Whereas earlier generations of historians applied this interpretation to rural agrarians and small-town, native-born groups, Beisel attaches it to an insecure urban elite. Second, she treats Comstock's anti-vice movement in isolation from other contemporary evangelical, moral reform movements. Most troubling is her characterization of moral reform. Relying almost entirely on Joseph Gusfield's *Symbolic Crusade* (1963) and Pierre Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1984), Beisel contends that "the lower middle class forms the bulwark of moral crusades" (p. 51). Few historians now accept such a view of moral reform. In the past four decades, historians such as Clifford Griffen, Edward Pessen, Frederic Cople Jaher, Paul Johnson, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, and Nancy Hewitt have found that the leaders of nineteenth-century benevolent and reform societies were recruited largely from the upper reaches of society. In Comstock's time, moral reform movements like the Salvation Army, the Youth Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the Sunday School, and Dwight Moody's crusade enjoyed varying levels of upper-class support. William Leach's *Land of Desire* (1993) recently outlined the close relationship between Moody and department store magnate John Wanamaker. Most importantly, Paul S. Boyer, Mary P. Ryan, and Stuart M. Blumin have shown that participation in moral reform associations was a crucial factor in the self-definition and class consciousness of the American bourgeoisie. Beisel effectively ignores nearly forty years of historical writing on these subjects.

Beisel never takes the story past 1900. Yet, Comstock's paradoxical values were best illustrated in the controversy over George Bernard Shaw's *Mrs. Warren's Profession* in 1905, when Comstock attacked representations of prostitution on a New York stage while turning a blind eye to real prostitutes streetwalking on the sidewalks immediately outside the theater. By the twentieth century, Comstock had come into conflict with other middle-class reformers. Dr. Prince Morrow on venereal disease, the National Education Association on sex education, and Margaret Sanger on birth control wanted public discussions of sexuality. Indeed, one wonders what happened to Comstock's defense of family reproduction when Jane Addams "publicized" the dangers of prostitution in *A New Conscience and an*

*Ancient Evil* (1911). These reformers viewed sexual issues as the product of modern civilization, "social pathologies" that needed to be studied, examined, discussed, and controlled. If elite support of "Comstockery" and repression rested on the fear of immigrants, why did those same elites suddenly support reformers advocating the use of reason to control sexuality after 1900? The high levels of immigration and rising nativism point to different conclusions than Beisel offers here.

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ERIC H. MONKKONEN. *The Local State: Public Money and American Cities*. (Stanford Studies in the New Political History.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1995. Pp. x. 191. \$39.50.

Recent theorizing about the American state underplays developments at the subnational level. To Eric H. Monkkenon, local fiscal politics reveal the rich and aggressive state building taking place at this level between 1850 and the Great Depression. Monkkenon argues that an examination of the assumption, constraint, and repudiation of local debt depicts a widespread activism and involvement of local government in economic development.

The puzzle at the heart of Monkkenon's study is the widespread movement to limit local debt in the second half of the nineteenth century. Rejecting arguments that states imposed controls on localities to frustrate their developmental plans or that the restriction of debt was a functionalist adaptation to changing economic circumstances, Monkkenon suggests that localities supported these restrictions, employed them to offset the power of private capital, and strategically engaged in debt default. To address the possibility that periodic, widespread weakening of the economy, not strategic state building, was the key to default, Monkkenon performs an interrupted time series analysis on the number of defaults per thousand cities and towns in the United States from 1857 to 1936. Finding that only the Great Depression was a significant economic force in causing defaults creates the analytical opening to explore strategic debt politics.

Monkkenon statistically analyzes the adoption of the 1870 Illinois Constitution and its debt-limiting provisions, reviews Illinois-related court cases that dealt with contested municipal debt, and conducts case studies of "spectacular defaults" in four midwestern and southern cities. Constitutional debt-limitation provisions received voter approval in nearly every Illinois county. Support for debt limitation increased as county wealth increased; support diminished as county debt levels increased. In the court cases, Monkkenon finds municipalities successfully and strategically wriggling free from debt incurred in failed development projects by arguing that this debt violated constitutional debt limitations. "Spectacular defaults" show political crises or conflicts leading to municipal default on debts.

States, far from restricting localities, assisted them by authorizing cities to reorganize into new legal entities to escape debt obligations.

This book is a well-crafted study combining insights from history and political science and fusing quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Nonetheless, the book could be strengthened in a few respects. Although Monkkenon successfully makes the case that localities must be brought into our consideration of the American state, he is less successful at integrating municipalities into the broader state-building story. Monkkenon discusses federal-local linkages, particularly in the concluding chapter and for the years after the Great Depression, but one does not take from the book an integrated theory of the state in the manner, for example, of Stephen Skowronek's analysis of the construction and restructuring of the "state of courts and parties" (*Building a New American State* [1982]). Whether Republican delegates to the Illinois constitutional convention supported local debt limitations to preserve the integrity of a nationalist development program, and whether high-debt localities opposed limits on local debt because they realized that *other* municipalities needed to grow if local investments were to spur long-term growth, are more specific theoretical gaps deserving additional comment.

There are also gaps in the book's methods. The interrupted time series analysis on which Monkkenon relies is a complex tool that can be flexibly configured. Monkkenon's results would probably hold up under alternative model formulations, but more detail should be provided concerning his implementation of this methodology to strengthen the reader's confidence in the results. Discussion of the ratification vote of the 1870 Illinois Constitution provides another example of a methodological omission: although surmising that debt limitation was opposed where taxes were low and debt was high, Monkkenon never performs the readily available interactive analysis of these variables that would allow a direct test of this proposition. The book also contains one table (C2) that seems directly contrary to the analysis provided in the text (p. 167, n. 8).

This fine book illuminates an area important to the historical and social science literatures. Bringing localities into discussions of the American state is both necessary and theoretically significant, and Monkkenon advances our understanding with this volume.

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THOMAS R. HEINRICH. *Ships for the Seven Seas: Philadelphia Shipbuilding in the Age of Industrial Capitalism*. (Studies in Industry and Society, number 12.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1997. Pp. x. 290. \$39.95.

Almost forty-five years ago, this reviewer listened with fascination as his college instructor announced his

intention to undertake a study of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century shipbuilding. The result was David Budlong Tyler's *The American Clyde: A History of Iron and Steel Shipbuilding on the Delaware from 1840 to World War I* (1958). This notable work, the authority for so many years on the river that built more iron and steel ships than anywhere else in America, has now been expanded on impressively by Thomas R. Heinrich.

What makes Heinrich's work effective is his ability to place the subject in its regional and national context. Students of urban history, for example, will applaud it as a capable geopolitical, technological, business, and labor history of Philadelphia. Philadelphia's industrial success in nautical steam propulsion and iron and steel ship construction was a product of the city's proximity to Pennsylvania's great coal and iron industries, its linkage to the state's extensive railroad system, and the presence of an imposing array of skilled laborers and small and medium-sized custom producers. How such companies as New York Ship, Maryland Steel, Neafie & Levy, and, above all, the various enterprises fathered by Charles Cramp, used these factors to their advantage is a main theme of Heinrich's work.

Readers will also appreciate Heinrich's sensitivity to important national events bearing on Philadelphia's nautical industries. The first chapter, for example, is a capable review of the decline of the U.S. merchant marine in the late nineteenth century; the decline's impact on Philadelphia shipbuilding; and the introduction of new technologies to counter the decline, including iron and steel construction and steam-screw propulsion, the importance of which Philadelphia grasped in advance of its competitors, most notably New York. These developments, attended by an increasing demand for deep-water steamships suitable for the nation's growing imperial trade, enabled Philadelphia to stay competitive during the 1870s and 1880s.

Even so, Philadelphia's shipyards were often hard pressed to make ends meet. The chronic instability of the late nineteenth-century economy, coupled with the rise of organized labor (against which the city's shipbuilders reacted with extreme hostility), caused severe stress along the river's waterfront. To ensure a continuity of work, Philadelphia's shipyards became increasingly linked to the interests of the U.S. Navy. While most Philadelphia shipbuilders preferred to build for the commercial trades, considering naval contracts, as Cramp put it, "not a reliable basis for permanent prosperity" (p. 121), ships for the navy became a mainstay of the river's shipbuilding enterprises. Building for the navy, indeed, had a stimulative effect on the modernization of the industry, including the application of electrical power and the restructuring of the yards to enable the building of larger merchant steamers and capital ships. On the eve of World War I, Philadelphia had the highest concentration of skilled shipyard workers nationwide, and, with one exception, was unrivaled in its construction capac-

ity. Such resources enabled the city to make, above all other shipbuilding centers, the greatest contribution to the nation's wartime shipping needs and to its continued modernization, especially in fabrication. As Heinrich points out, however, World War I only exacerbated the basic problems: the absence of an adequate demand for commercial ships and Philadelphia's continued dependence on government contracts. "Big Navy" building during the 1930s, World War II, and the Cold War kept the city's ship construction industries alive for another sixty years, but with the collapse of the Soviet Union and subsequent presidential cutbacks in naval construction, the demise of Philadelphia shipbuilding became inevitable. When the Philadelphia Navy Yard closed in 1996, the last chapter had been written in the history of the "American Clyde."

Students of theory will find much of interest in Heinrich's effort to relate his study to recent interpretations, including the dynamics of technological change, the new labor history, and current views of the American system of manufacturing. Some readers will lament Heinrich's failure to draw fuller comparisons with the activities of competitor ports, while others might question the author's grasp of naval shipbuilding strategy during World War I. Notwithstanding, Heinrich has made a significant contribution to U. S. economic history.

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ROBERT E. WEIR. *Beyond Labor's Veil: The Culture of the Knights of Labor*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1996. Pp. xx, 343. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$22.50.

The "meteoric" rise of the Knights of Labor (KOL) in the mid-1880s and the order's equally swift demise as an effective organization have long been staples of labor history. In this study, Robert E. Weir approaches the Knights from a new angle. Examining the KOL from its origins in the late 1860s through the century's end, he focuses less on its institutional history than on its evolving culture, which included rituals, attitudes toward established religious institutions, music, poetry, short stories, sports, and parades. In the Knights' ideological and social heterogeneity, Weir finds a "rich, flexible culture" (p. 325) attractive to Gilded Age workers.

The KOL's culture was not only diverse but evolving. Weir posits several distinct if overlapping phases of development. From the KOL's origins in 1869 to 1882, labor fraternalism, elaborate ritual, and secrecy characterized the order's internal orientation, providing members with a sense of belonging and organizational coherence that would later prove difficult to maintain. From 1878 to 1884, the Knights debated and eventually abandoned secrecy and fraternalism; from 1882 to roughly 1889, its members "forged a public, literary culture with universalist pretensions in the hope that solidarity would effect social transforma-

tion" (p. xviii). The years of the KOL's decline, from 1887 through 1895, witnessed the revival of local cultures and the ultimate triumph of commercialized mass culture. The post-1895 era saw a battered organization return to the secrecy and fraternalism of its early years as it limped through the economic depression of the 1890s and into the new century as a shadow of its former self.

Weir concentrates on the first three periods. His most original and important contribution lies in his emphasis on the KOL's early fraternalism and ritual. The KOL's pre-1881 rituals, like those of fraternal orders generally, served to educate prospective members about the Knights' values of brotherhood, manhood, collectivism, and unity and to bind them into the order's particular "psychic community" (p. 26). For Weir, the KOL's "identity was shaped in the mind as much as the workplace," and ritual was the key to the formation of that identity (p. 30). Weir sees the KOL's abandonment of secrecy, and especially the decline of ritual, by the early 1880s as weakening its fraternalism and contributing to ideological fragmentation and factionalism. "[O]nce mystical ties to Knighthood were severed," Weir writes provocatively, if not wholly convincingly, "members were left with an expectation of material payoffs that the KOL was unable to deliver" (p. 64).

In the mid-1880s, the culture of the Knights flourished in song, fiction, and prose; in the proliferation of a vigorous labor press; in the impressive marches and holiday celebrations; and even on the baseball field. KOL lodges and the order's theology even functioned "as a working-class alternative to Gilded Age churches" (p. 99), identifying the Knights as proponents of "True Christianity" and organized religion as corrupt, greedy, and hypocritical (p. 68). Throughout his book, Weir poses an inherent tension between the Knights' distinctive culture and the broader, dominant culture. He sees the order as embracing too much of the dominant culture as it shed its secrecy for a more public orientation in the 1880s; workers apparently preferred to pursue fun and commercialized leisure activities to attending educational lectures, for instance, and Knights poets and short story writers reproduced too much Victorian sentimentalism. Indeed, Weir takes sides in the KOL's factional battles; his desire to see culture as a class weapon leads him to sympathize more with those who opposed Gilded Age capitalist society than with those within the KOL "whose vision of society" was ostensibly "tainted by bourgeois Victorian sentiment" (p. 216).

Weir is more successful in analyzing the official cultures of the KOL leadership than he is in assessing their impact on rank-and-file members who read the fiction and poetry, marched in parades, and sang the KOL's songs. Weir never successfully penetrates the Knights' local worlds nor explores how individual members' regional or racial perspectives might have influenced their reception and interpretation of the order's cultural products. Weir also attributes attitudes

to specific groups without empirical foundation. Knights routinely identified more with the Order than with their churches" (p. 79), he argues without elaboration; similarly, he asserts that African-American Knights were "drawn to the ritual" (p. 21) of the order simply on the basis of the importance of ritual fraternalism to the southern black experience, not on the basis of what black Knights themselves said. Despite these weaknesses, Weir's book has much to offer as a study of the multiple currents within the leadership and activist ranks of the Knights of Labor.

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ARNOLD LEWIS. *An Early Encounter with Tomorrow: Europeans, Chicago's Loop, and the World's Columbian Exposition*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 353. \$34.95.

At quick glance, this book appears to be about European reactions to Chicago and the 1893 World's Fair. It is, however, far more than that. It is about Chicago and its phenomenal rise from a pokey pioneering town in the early nineteenth century to the sixth largest city in the world with an international reputation as a materialistic wonder city by the 1890s; it is about Europeans (mainly British, French, and German) and their attitudes toward, expectations of, assumptions about, and disappointments in America, especially Chicago; it is about the lifestyle, pace, and metabolism of cities and how they differ; it is about women and their domain discrete from that of men in Chicago in the latter part of the century; it is about the World's Fair, and how it marked the end of Chicago's meteoric rise to international fame. It is also about Chicago's pivotal role in the development of modern architecture, shifting architectural values, and the challenge that Chicago architecture—mainly the stark, skeletal-framed, high-rise office block—presented to traditional notions of building design. It is an excellent, enormously rich book.

Arnold Lewis has combed through countless magazines, journals, newspapers, and books, foreign as well as American, for European impressions of Chicago published between 1860 and 1900. The first part of the book he devotes to Chicago itself and its rise in international fame, as seen mainly through European eyes. Here he describes with remarkable insight and perceptivity major differences between Europeans and Americans (mainly Chicagoans): different attitudes, for example, toward time and its use; the value of the present; the meaning of history and tradition; speed; change (embraced eagerly by Chicagoans, feared and resisted by Europeans); rules and regulations; civic order; visual arts; and the life of the mind. Lewis records European observations about differences in rhythms; in levels of tolerance for filth, discomfort, and inconvenience; and in levels of appreciation for poetry, the arts, theater, and well-designed architecture that



pleased the eye. Here are the roots of some persistent European stereotypes about Americans as business-oriented, culturally illiterate, ruthless go-getters.

In the second part of the book, Lewis explores in greater depth themes such as the fierce architectural debates sparked by the rise of the Chicago skyscraper, which, although admired for its efficiency, undermined some of the profession's most sacred beliefs concerning the primacy of visual beauty over function and the role of the architect as solitary artist and creative genius. Speaking of the Loop, Chicago's new commercial zone devoted solely to the pursuit of profit, Europeans compared its relentless drive and intensity and its fast pace, noise, and fluctuating rhythms to their own seemingly more measured, evenly paced lives. He tells of their impressions of residential suburbs housing, detached, single-family dwellings of all sizes, ranging from the most humble cottage to the loftiest mansion. These were typically made of wood, a material most Europeans viewed with contempt as cheap, flimsy in appearance, and impermanent. Finally, Lewis describes foreign views of the Columbian Exposition, the largest of the great nineteenth-century world's fairs; the surprising confusion, given Chicago's reputation for lightning-speed decisiveness, over the choice of a site; and its wholly unexpected historicizing architecture, which some saw as a magnificent sign that America was finally coming of age culturally and others saw as proof that Chicagoans had lost their progressive, forward-looking stance and were no longer immune to the temptations of historicism and the lure of European fashion.

Carefully researched, well-documented, clearly organized, and beautifully written, Lewis's book should be required reading for anyone in the fields of American history, cultural studies, and women's studies as well as architectural history. It is cultural history at its best.

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SUZANNE M. MARILLEY. *Woman Suffrage and the Origins of Liberal Feminism in the United States, 1820–1920*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 281. \$39.95.

When the woman's movement was reborn in the 1960s, the history of the century-long struggle for the vote, waged primarily by elite white women, was a favorite topic of historians. Eleanor Flexner (*Century of Struggle* [1959]), Aileen S. Kraditor (*The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement* [1965]), and William L. O'Neill (*Everyone Was Brave: A History of Feminism in America* [1969]), among others, provided us with straightforward accounts and substantial analysis of the period. More recently, the historiography of the movement has shifted toward an examination of broader social issues, especially those involving minority and working-class women.

Suzanne M. Marilley's study is a welcome and timely

reconsideration of the suffrage struggle that employs methodologies and arrives at conclusions markedly different from those of the earlier accounts. In addition to the usual primary sources, she has also employed a cross-disciplinary approach, using concepts drawn from political science, sociology, and psychology to explain why the suffragists adopted certain tactics and how they won key state victories en route to full enfranchisement in 1920. For example, in explaining the suffragists' 1893 victory in Colorado, Marilley rejects Alan Grimes's claim (*The Puritan Ethic and Woman Suffrage* [1967]) that it was "the result of nativist efforts to promote prohibition and immigration restriction" and points instead to major changes in the suffrage "policy streams," which prepared both elite and public opinion for the reform and coupled it with other issues important to voters; these ideas are based on a model created by political scientist John Kingdon (p. 124).

Marilley also takes issue with historians, especially O'Neill and Kraditor, who have been critical of the arguments and methods employed by the suffragists and have denigrated the significance of the Nineteenth Amendment. She seeks to prove "that although native-born, white American suffragists were limited agents of radical reform because they were white, they nevertheless encouraged liberal and egalitarian change, developed shrewd strategies to achieve it, and usually made strides as they corrected their mistakes" (p. 2). Like the more perceptive of her predecessors, she admits that the white elite reformers, northern as well as southern, were often guilty of elitism, racism, and ethnocentric prejudices in the arguments they made for the ballot and in the alliances they attempted to form with their male counterparts. But whereas others have condemned these actions, Marilley attempts to explain and understand them. She notes that the reformers made "gains only when powerful men"—from antislavery to nativist, from progressive to white supremacist—"perceived coincidences between woman suffrage and their interests" (p. 10). Woman suffragists tried to exploit all opportunities to advance their cause, even if they were sometimes racist and undemocratic. Marilley might have added that on some occasions, such as in Kentucky at the turn of the century, white women sought limited suffrage with an educational qualification only after the right for all women to vote had been repealed by the legislature.

Marilley defends the suffragists for largely departing from an argument for the vote on the grounds of justice to an expediency argument: that women's votes could help white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant males achieve everything from white supremacy and nativism to temperance and the goals of progressivism. She claims that most suffragists, like Carrie Chapman Catt, had moved away from their racist and nativist arguments of the 1890s and accepted an inclusive political equality for all women by 1920. In any case, both justice and expediency "mattered and sometimes lead-

ers made difficult trade-offs between them . . . [S]uccessful political reform often requires that" (p. 220).

Marilley also departs from the historical mainstream in defending the Nineteenth Amendment against those who claim that it led to little or no political change. She admits that elite women felt compelled to put the franchise ahead of winning social reforms, but adds that this should not be allowed to obscure other "important strides, such as the development of women's political confidence, the formulation of alternative conceptions of citizenship, and most importantly, women's victory over the tyrannical majority opinion" (p. 219). In defending this last point, she contends that the early suffrage organizations were quite small, never attaining the size of Francis Willard's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and even at the end failing to win the favor of a majority of the male electorate. Quite correctly, she notes that state legislatures, not popular referendums, made national suffrage possible in 1920.

There is little to criticize and much to admire in this well-researched volume. The impact of World War I on the movement is slighted, however. Women's service in the war effort and President Woodrow Wilson's commitment to a "world safe for democracy" gave the suffragists an unprecedented opportunity, which Catt recognized and exploited to the fullest. Some readers, more importantly, will find Marilley's arguments difficult to follow. Her conclusions are sound, but her use of models and jargon from the social sciences slows the flow of her account.

On balance, however, the merits of this study outweigh its faults. Individuals sometimes ignored in other histories are celebrated. Willard, frequently dismissed as a misguided prohibitionist in general texts, is discussed fully and praised for awakening women to the need for suffrage and other reforms as well as temperance. And Marilley is on target in her overall conclusions. American suffragists should be judged in light of their own times and situations. They deserve praise for winning a long, unequal battle for simple justice, and they left their daughters and sons a noble vision that we have yet to fulfill.

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SARA HUNTER GRAHAM. *Woman Suffrage and the New Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. xviii, 234. \$27.50.

While awaiting the page proofs for this book, Sara Hunter Graham succumbed to a long illness. With her death, women's history lost a promising scholar. Graham's book is a wonderful, in-depth analysis of the strategies and tactics that took the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) through the final stages of the struggle for the vote. The narrative is very lively, full of both firey and humorous quotations and anecdotes.

Graham's goal was to illustrate how the NAWSA

purposely developed a strategy to become "one of the most effective single-issue pressure groups in American history" (p. xi). To reach it, she analyzed leaders' personalities and styles, organizing techniques such as direct action campaigns, lobbying efforts, fund-raising, and recruitment of the wealthy for money and Congressional influence and of the working class for sheer numbers. As Graham suggested, pressure groups usually employ an "insider-outsider" strategy. Insider strategy relies on politicians and political information; outsider depends on expanding the organization's membership to be or at least appear to be massive.

Graham divided her study into two parts. Part one examines the formation of the NAWSA into a pressure group between 1890 and 1915. Part two describes the operations of this "suffrage machine" and its effects on the organization from 1916 through 1920. One of the most important and interesting aspects of the first part is Graham's discussion of the anti-suffragists. Besides analyzing their traditionalist argument that women belonged in the home, not at the polling place, Graham also discussed what she termed their "tory" philosophy: that U.S. society included class divisions that could best be handled by "favored rule by a paternalistic elite" (p. 16). The tory element utilized class and race differences to blaspheme against women's suffrage and to put the activists of the NAWSA on the defensive.

Despite such opposition, the NAWSA grew by leaps and bounds, especially in the 1910s, when younger, "new" women became guiding forces in the effort. These women included Alice Paul, Lucy Burns, and others who became the motivators behind the Congressional Union. Graham did an excellent job in discussing the creation of the Union, its break from the NAWSA, and the two groups' opposing, often antagonistic positions and tactics.

Part two is devoted to the NAWSA's actions as a super-efficient political machine under the leadership of Carrie Chapman Catt. Catt's successful strategy attracted many wealthy women to the cause. With money and the rich on its side, the NAWSA was freer to expand its campaigns. After 1916, lobbying increased, as did direct action demonstrations, such as that year's march of six thousand suffragists through the pouring rain to the Republican National Convention. Another major change was the organization's decision to support only a federal amendment, giving up on individual state resolution campaigns. Lobbying Congress, cozying up to the rich, supporting World War I work, and controlling media coverage of suffrage activism were all important aspects of the highly efficient suffrage machine. As Graham convincingly proved, the result of the tight organizational structure and controlling leadership meant the end of democracy within the NAWSA, even though its cause was the expansion of democracy for the women of the nation. This philosophical/activist contradiction was necessary for victory of the cause, but it weakened the feminist precepts of the movement.

The only weakness in this most important book is its treatment of suffragist response to World War I. In an otherwise accurate portrayal of Catt's dilemmas over the NAWSA's position vis à vis the war, Graham neglected to include a discussion of the Woman's Peace Party (WPP), which Catt had a small role in creating with Jane Addams. Catt's initial enthusiasm for a women's peace organization quickly waned, however, as numerous members of the Congressional Union took an active role in planning its inaugural meeting. The WPP became, in effect, the pacifist wing of the suffrage movement. When Catt backed President Woodrow Wilson's decision to enter the war, she was ostracized by her local WPP branch and subsequently resigned from the peace movement altogether. She did not return to pacifism until 1924, when she created and led the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War. Inclusion of the Woman's Peace Party in any discussion of the suffrage movement is necessary to give suffrage history a completeness it has not yet attained.

Graham wrote a book that will certainly become a permanent part of the suffrage canon. It breathes with the spirit, humor, and passion of the activists about whom she wrote and is a fitting legacy for her own obvious love for the field of women's history.

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LOIS PALKEN RUDNICK. *Utopian Vistas: The Mabel Dodge Luhan House and the American Counterculture*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 401.

This book is best read after Lois Palken Rudnick's earlier biography, *Mabel Dodge Luhan: New Woman, New Worlds* (1984), which provides an essential foundation for understanding the woman and her created worlds. Indeed, without such prior reading, Rudnick's new account is incomplete, glossing over important insights that may only be gleaned from her earlier work.

Mabel Ganson was born in 1879 into a wealthy and stultifying Victorian household in Buffalo, New York. She was packed off to Paris by her family in 1904 to escape the scandal surrounding an affair with her physician after the death of her first husband, Karl Evans, in a hunting accident. There she met and married Edwin Dodge. They moved to Florence, where she reconstructed a Renaissance villa (the Villa Curonia) and established herself as the *grand-dame* of a salon that attracted such artists and intellectuals as Gertrude and Leo Stein, André Gide, Bernard Berenson, and Arthur Rubenstein. It was the Steins who introduced Mabel to the revolutionary spirit of the post-impressionists. In 1912, she moved back to New York, where she established a second salon. Separating from Dodge, she had a torrid affair with the soon-to-be-Communist journalist John Reed, which ended in 1914, when he took off to report on the brutal

Colorado coal miners' strike. She took Maurice Sterne as her lover in 1915, married him in 1917, and promptly sent him off alone on a honeymoon out West. That act was eventful. Sterne was enthralled by New Mexico and wrote to his wife that if she wanted an object in life, she should join him and work to preserve and disseminate knowledge of Native American art and culture. She moved to Taos, and with the help of the man who was to become her fourth husband, the Tiwa Antonio Luhan (who conveniently kept his earlier wife in the Pueblo), she built the twenty-two-room Big House (Los Gallos), five guest houses, and a twelve-hundred-foot gatehouse on twelve acres adjacent to the Taos Pueblo. It was the first Anglo construction in the Pueblo and the first structure in the Pueblo (or Spanish revival) style of architecture in the region.

Mabel sought to make the Big House "the center of a 'new world plan' that would regenerate Anglo civilization from its urban-industrial bias, its individualist and materialist credo, and its Eurocentric vision of culture" and serve "as a bridge between cultures" that "would attract the nation's great writers, artists and activists to discover the social and cultural benefits to be gained from native communities whose religious, aesthetic, and work values were organically integrated with their physical environment" (p. 7). Rudnick records the emergence of "transcendental modernism" as the guiding philosophy at Los Gallos: a coming together of theosophy, Eastern religions, and transcendentalism in which environmental and traditional cultural preservation loomed large and in which there was a vision of a new egalitarian, cooperative moral order. The Southwest was established as a focus not only for the arts but also as a center for the radical counterculture and its multiplicity of New Age communes.

Mabel viewed Taos as a pristine utopia. After her death in 1962, her granddaughter sold the Big House to moviemaker Dennis Hopper, who had other ideas. The Hippie invasion of Taos was already well under way, and the Big House became Hopper's "Mud Palace," a center for activist artists and other visitors who kept it "humming with wife and lover swapping, and sometimes orgies of sex, drugs, and drink" (p. 250) that resulted in bitter conflicts with the Taos community. In 1977, the house was purchased by Kitty and George Ortero, who reconstructed the facility and converted it into a home for Las Palomas de Taos, a center for intercultural Deweyan progressivist education and school improvement that was a different kind of outgrowth of the communitarian New Age legacies of the 1960s. Las Palomas lasted until 1995, which is when Rudnick's story ends. The Orteros left as their principal legacy the activist role of Taos Pueblo in the preservation of environmental quality in northern New Mexico.

Rudnick's book shows that its subject was instrumental in transplanting New York's nascent New Age community of artists and radicals to the southwestern periphery, where they could live and work in a com-

munity whose values were antithetical to those of urban-industrial society. Much of the book is devoted to vignettes concerning how Mabel's visitors viewed their southwestern experience; the list includes Willa Cather, Aldous Huxley, D.H. Lawrence, Ansel Adams, Georgia O'Keeffe, Leopold Stokowski, Martha Graham, Dane Rudhyar, and Carl Jung. Fifty pages each are devoted to Hopper and to the Oteros.

There are, to be sure, a few niggling faults, but they are not fatal, merely distractions. The unfortunate publication style places "foot" notes containing abbreviated citations at the end of the text, followed by a bibliography containing the full citations, making the simultaneous reading of text, notes, and citations a disconcerting exercise in manual dexterity. The reader who begins this book without having read Rudnick's biography will be frustrated at critical junctures. And although Rudnick is a gifted biographer, she is less effective in placing her subjects within the broader historical sweep of utopian and countercultural development. That being said, this book provides a fascinating account of a woman whose life encapsulated the passage from Victorianism to the New Age and whose salons helped to facilitate the same transition in the artistic counterculture.

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JAMES P. KRAFT. *Stage to Studio: Musicians and the Sound Revolution, 1890-1950*. (Studies in Industry and Society, number 9.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. Pp. x, 255. \$35.00.

The process of technological innovation has always attracted historians, because it offers so many opportunities to chart the consequences of change. In many cases, the workers whose lives are disrupted in this process receive short shrift from both those exploiting the new technology and those who study it later. Here, however, is a detailed study of how one group of workers fared during a period of rapid and highly disruptive innovation. Professional musicians might not be typical of nineteenth-century workers, as James P. Kraft admits, but they were a large group and their experience offers a significant case study of the impact of technological change. The threat came from several new applications of the versatile vacuum tube. Electronic recording, radio, and synchronized sound for motion pictures brought "a sound revolution" to the world of music.

Kraft approaches this subject as a labor historian, not as a historian of technology. Very little is said about the machines themselves and how they changed the work of musicians. Regrettably, the reader is not taken into the studio and shown how things work but is instead shown how the workers responded to the changes. As a prelude to the technological revolution, Kraft provides an informative overview of what musicians did before machines threatened their jobs. In

addition to dances, parades, and concerts, they also played at funerals, political meetings, and banquets. Traveling medicine shows and circuses provided many jobs. The last years of the nineteenth century marked the rise of professionalization, as many part-time and amateur players turned to music for full-time employment. Like many other groups of skilled workers, musicians formed unions: the National League of Musicians (1886) and the American Federation of Musicians (AFM), which was formed in 1896 and had a broader membership and a stronger link to the American Federation of Labor. The AFM was part of the general movement toward national unions catering to all types of workers, but Kraft reveals that African Americans and women—two important constituencies of musicians—were left out.

Unlike many skilled workers in the United States, musicians benefited from the great economic and social forces that created a new urban America with a little more time on its hands. Kraft concludes that the demand for skilled musicians outstripped the supply at the turn of the century. The new order of planned entertainment provided many jobs for musicians, and not the least of them was playing in motion picture theaters. Silent pictures were never enjoyed in silence, and the job of accompanying them could employ anything from a single pianist to a large orchestra. The businessmen who introduced synchronized sound to the movies intended to replace these players with machines, and they did so with a frightening rapidity and effectiveness. Kraft estimates that talking pictures cost professional musicians 20,000 jobs, about a quarter of their number.

Worse was to come. Network radio centralized the production of music to a few media centers, and electronic recording provided the means to produce millions of affordable copies of the best musicianship available. Thus the livelihood of professional musicians had been seriously undermined even before the Great Depression. The bulk of Kraft's account is a balanced and detailed narrative of the AFM's struggle to recover jobs lost to the new sound technologies. He follows the tortuous negotiations between representatives of the AFM and the great media empires that ruled the airwaves, and analyzes the weapons used by the musicians: strikes, boycotts, threats of boycotts, public relations campaigns, propaganda, and the famous recording ban from 1942 to 1944. In addition to examining the strategies of musicians and their employers, the author also considers government attitudes toward the AFM, which underwent a major change as the New Deal gave way to the Cold War.

As Kraft points out, professional musicians could not and did not attempt to stem the tide of new technology; their goal was to direct it along less damaging and more equitable paths. Their major accomplishment was the Record and Transcription Fund, which extracted a royalty payment from the record companies for each recording played and placed it in a fund to provide income for displaced



musicians. This established an important precedent in labor relations; yet ever advancing technology—FM radio and television—undermined the gains made after the recording ban and cost the musicians more jobs.

When the narrative comes to a sudden halt around 1950, the AFM is depicted in retreat rather than in defeat. Kraft describes a union high in profile and increasingly popular with its members but lacking a strategy to face new and menacing combinations of technology and business. The future was bleak, and the author was wise to stop in 1950, before rock'n'roll and the rise of the untrained guitar strummer showed that social change could be even more disruptive than new machinery to the livelihoods of professional musicians.

Kraft labors unsuccessfully to conclude with some lessons that might be relevant to today: technology might cost many their jobs, but in the case of modern sound technology, it gave a select few in the big media centers tremendously lucrative employment; the union might be able to channel one technology to its benefit, but the gains are always at stake when another comes along. The only lesson might be that machines cannot be stopped. One can feel the desperation in AFM President James Petrillo's conclusion that the public would always prefer recorded music over live performance because the tricks of sound recording made "a second-class band sound like a first-class one" (p. 161).

Despite several more revolutions in sound recording, live performance has survived, and dire predictions of the end of American musicianship have not come true. Historians might not have the answers to the questions of technology displacing and deskilling workers, but they can lay out the facts and be sympathetic to the victims. This Kraft has done. He writes clearly and without bias. He has an understanding of his subjects that comes from his own background as a musician, and, best of all, he often weaves in interviews to let musicians tell the story in their own words.

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BETH S. WENGER. *New York Jews and the Great Depression: Uncertain Promise*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 269. \$25.00.

Drawing on oral histories and memoirs as well as contemporary popular and scholarly publications, surveys, newspapers, primary documents, and an array of secondary monographs, Beth S. Wenger has written a first-rate history of the Jews of New York during the era of the Great Depression. This is a welcome addition to the historical literature. It is not only the first book-length study of the Jewish community in the throes of the economic and social crises of the 1930s, but it is also a sophisticated look at how New York Jews, during their bleakest and most desolate years in the United States, continued to construct a Jewish-

American identity by tailoring Jewish ethnicity to American norms.

Wenger makes a good case for the importance of this era and its struggles in shaping a Jewish American identity and in reconstructing Jewish-American communal and religious institutions. Historians have usually viewed the trials and tribulations of Jewish Americans during the Depression as a temporary aberration, a brief pause in the larger story of Jewish mobility, success and acculturation. But Wenger argues persuasively that more was involved and that the period left an indelible imprint on Jewish-American institutions, values, behavior, and identity. "The children of Jewish immigrants," she writes, "reached adulthood at a time when America's future seemed in doubt and the situation in Europe was even more ominous. Confronting bleak job prospects, facing unemployment, discrimination, and university quotas, encountering the growth of anti-Semitism at home, and watching the rise of fascism abroad, this generation of native-born Jews came of age in an increasingly insecure world" (p. 55).

To Jews who had been through the rigors of immigration, had seen a slow but fairly steady improvement in their material condition in the 1920s, and had come to believe that their children would achieve even more, the Depression came as a shock and instilled doubts about future Jewish prospects in the United States—especially in the face of the stunning rise of anti-Semitism in America. But, as Wenger deftly and thoroughly demonstrates, Jewish-Americans never gave up on America, even as their faith was shaken and very small but articulate minorities were attracted to Communism and to Palestine.

Instead, Jewish-Americans continued to meet new challenges in innovative ways, and in the process they reinforced and transformed patterns for survival and acculturation that would endure. Jewish families became even more economically interdependent, with women playing extraordinarily creative and supportive roles inside and outside the home. Jewish women's ingenious domestic management and their participation in the work force, although taken on as a "temporary expedient," powerfully changed gender expectations. Jews also began to marry later, have fewer children, stay in school longer, and move from blue-collar work into business and the professions. And they did all this with greater speed and intensity than the general population. (Here, while I think Wenger is essentially correct, the argument would benefit from more detailed comparisons with other groups.)

In the realm of politics, Wenger confirms the view—articulated by Deborah Dash Moore in *At Home in America: Second Generation Jews in New York* (1981)—that Jews, with their focus on urban and labor welfare, civil rights, and internationalism, reflected a distinctive American faith that was equated with the New Deal and ultimately with the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. This was, however, no mere "Americanization"; Jews connected this faith to Jewish traditions of com-

munal responsibility and social justice, and they held it so tenaciously that liberalism, by the mid-1930s and thereafter, could be seen as the political ideology of Jewish-American ethnicity.

All of this is very important, but it may not completely sustain Wenger's claim that the Great Depression forever reshaped the basic institutions of American Jewish life" (p. 4). As the author herself admits throughout, the Depression was not a watershed in American Jewish history, and the "new" behavior patterns, though more obvious during the Depression, were already evident earlier. This occasional ambivalence in emphasis, however, is less important than the fact that Wenger's book deeply enriches our understanding of how "the creative ferment of Depression era Jewry" sometimes intensified and sometimes reformulated on-going trends in the development of Jewish-American identity.

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MELVIN I. UROFSKY. *Division and Discord: The Supreme Court under Stone and Vinson, 1941–1953*. (Chief Justiceships of the United States Supreme Court.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 298. \$39.95.

Employing the surname of a particular chief justice as a means of delineating epochs in the annals of the Supreme Court is a common practice and one that, at times, extends beyond a simple means of classification to provide real description. To speak, for example, of the Marshall Court is to speak volumes; John Marshall defined and shaped the Supreme Court of his era through both his personal leadership and his understanding of court and Constitution. To a somewhat lesser degree, the same can be said for Earl Warren, and the "Warren Court" is an illuminating designation for the Supreme Court of that era. This is not, however, true for all those who served as chief justice. To furnish the social and intellectual leadership required to measure up to a Marshall, a Hughes, or a Warren is a charge that few can realistically hope to meet. Melvin I. Urofsky's current volume on the Stone and Vinson Courts testifies to this fact; neither Harlan Fiske Stone nor Fred M. Vinson could realistically be said to have exerted leadership during their respective stints as chief justice. Indeed, aside from the fact that this book appears in a series on the chief justiceships, its subtitle would more realistically have been "The Supreme Court under Hugo Black, 1941–1953."

That the court during this period was led by undistinguished chief justices does not, of course, imply that it was an insignificant era in the history of the Supreme Court. Urofsky depicts the Stone and Vinson Courts as occupying a transitional point between the old order's emphasis on property rights and dual federalism and the modern Supreme Court's stress on individual rights and the nationalization of American politics.

One can take this a step further: the Supreme Court of the 1940s and 1950s reflected the intellectual and legal turmoil generated as modern judicial liberalism migrated from an emphasis on judicial restraint as the cornerstone of progressive politics to a faith in judicial activism as a viable means of furthering the reform of America's political, legal, and social institutions. Thus, the acrimony that marked the personal relations among the justices under both Stone and Vinson—which Urofsky appropriately emphasizes in this volume—emerges less as simply personality differences and more as the rage and frustration of men who proudly proclaimed themselves "liberals" but differed in profound ways over what that meant.

Although Urofsky describes the transitional nature of the Vinson and Stone Courts, he expends relatively little effort discussing its implications. In large measure, this failure is a product of the nature of the volume, which is obviously intended as an accessible survey of both constitutional law and the Supreme Court. Urofsky spends little time theorizing and a great deal of time describing the personalities of the relevant justices and surveying the significant decisions of the era. Making excellent use of the justices' private papers, he does a masterful job of merging basic case description with portraits of the extraordinary characters who sat on the Supreme Court during this era. The student who is familiar with the decisions as well as the scholarly literature concerning the modern Supreme Court will, however, find little if anything new here. The Stone and Vinson Courts do stand at a transition point in the evolution of Supreme Court jurisprudence, and a penetrating study of this era would be a welcome addition to the literature on the court. This volume does not provide such an analysis, but criticizing an author for not writing the book the reviewer hoped to read is most unfair. If one is looking for a general survey of the Supreme Court at mid-century, Urofsky's book is an excellent choice.

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JOHN D. CHAPPELL. *Before the Bomb: How America Approached the End of the Pacific War*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1997. Pp. 246. \$24.95.

John D. Chappell's book treats important historical questions. After VE Day, what was the state of public opinion in the United States on the difficult questions surrounding the final defeat of Japan? Would the morale of the American people stand a prolonged campaign in the Japanese homeland with the accompanying possibility of high casualties? Put another way, after ten years of Depression and four years of war, would the American people become impatient with a prolonged campaign to defeat Japan? These concerns relate directly to all the major political and military issues bearing on the final defeat of Japan: blockade and bombing vs. invasion, unconditional surrender, and the use of atomic bombs.

Chappell found little historical literature on the attitudes, opinions, and perceptions of Americans on the home front. The purpose of his book, therefore, is to examine public opinion and the dilemmas it posed for political and military leaders. For example, how deep was the public's support of unconditional surrender, and to what degree did public opinion influence the decisions and policies of government?

Among Chappell's chief sources are editorials, syndicated columns, and the opinions of citizens. He frankly admits that such tasks as evaluating "the attitudes of U.S. citizens and their leaders and the policies those leaders pursued defy simple explanation" (p. 4) and that conclusions about public opinion are at best only gross assessments. Chappell evaluates whether the leaders' consideration for public concerns influenced the conduct of the Pacific war in its final stages. He properly notes, too, that some major decisions, such as the decision to invade Japan and the decision to use the atomic bombs, were highly secret and therefore could only be analyzed in the public press after the fact.

This book has a number of strengths. Chappell finds that, after VE Day, the American public was of two minds. Fierce hatred for the Japanese persisted after the defeat of Germany. Yet, at the same time, the public worried about a prolonged war and the high American casualties that might result from an assault on the home islands. Clearly, the American people wanted to defeat Japan quickly—a difficult task if the military ruled out an invasion. Chappell also finds that many Americans would have accepted less than unconditional surrender if it would shorten the war and save American lives. Perhaps the policy of unconditional surrender need not have been so intimidating for American leaders as it proved to be. One of the most important findings in this book is the deep desire of Americans to resume their lives and to enjoy a prosperity that they had been denied by the Depression and World War II. Although Chappell hesitates to draw bold conclusions, he seems to say that this desire overrode hatred for the Japanese, desire for unconditional surrender, or any other considerations that might have prolonged the war. The implication is that America's leaders were less flexible about ending the war than its people.

Although the subjects in this book are important and provocative, the author had a difficult task in maintaining a properly balanced coverage of issues like unconditional surrender, invasion vs. blockade, possible use of poison gas, and casualties while pursuing his main purpose of assessing public opinion. Chappell seems frequently to forget that his goal is to write about public opinion, not to write yet another book on the problem of ending the Pacific War. He lines up the data and hands it to the reader. Almost never does the reader learn the author's personal assessments. The book would be improved by better organization and more forthright conclusions.

Clearly, however, Chappell has done a thorough job

of research. Endnotes, many explanatory, run to fifty-eight pages, and the bibliography adds another twenty-two pages.

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CAROLLE J. CARTER. *Mission to Yen-an: American Liaison with the Chinese Communists, 1944–1947*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1997. PP. xiii, 278. \$37.95.

Too often, American studies of foreign relations are self-absorbed. In Carolle J. Carter's study of Americans in Yen-an, China, the surrounding Chinese seem mute. That said, aficionados of American political and diplomatic history may be pleasantly surprised at the riches in this book. Carter manages to reveal much about the government's objectives, during the Roosevelt and McCarthy eras, with regard to the creation, staffing, and final closure of this small-scale American weather and observation post. Beginning—rather late in World War II—in 1944, a succession of mid-level American military officers and State Department officials were stationed in Yen-an near the Chinese Communist (CCP) headquarters.

Although readers with questions about the Chinese side of the story may be frustrated by the book's failure to deliver new insights, at least the many interviews and photos of Yen-an gathered from American survivors are invaluable. Like T. Christopher Jespersen (*American Images of China: 1931–1949* [1996]), Carter implies that deficient American foresight prevented the Roosevelt administration from shifting support quickly from the Kuomintang (KMT) government to the CCP rebels during the war with Japan. This American mistake allegedly impeded the Chinese from fighting the Japanese more wholeheartedly and sped rival factions into civil war after 1945. To Carter, this American failure made the Dixie Mission "a critical episode in World War II" (p. 14). Such a conclusion exemplifies the author's assumption that the U.S. decides world affairs, especially Chinese affairs. With better policies, presumably, the U.S. could remake China.

Carter deserves praise for illuminating a wide spectrum of official American wartime opinion about the Chinese Communists and the American experience at Yen-an. Her analysis tends to follow the tried and true American paradigm of the good guys versus the bad, however: the CCP is generally depicted as sincerely striving to cooperate with Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government, while the KMT bad guys foiled attempts at a joint stand against the Japanese invaders. One reads, for example, that back in 1927, Chiang himself "wrecked the KMT-CCP partnership" and remained unreasonably hostile (p. 4). Most of the Americans depicted at Yen-an admired the apparently more egalitarian CCP rebels (hence the station's nickname of Dixie). The plain-living CCP frontiersmen

continually reminded Americans that Chiang ran a “one-party dictatorship” (p. 11). KMT security expert Dai Li is characterized as an “old time thug” with an “evil” agenda, a Chinese “Himmler” with “ruthless secret police” (pp. 8, 9).

That *both* the CCP and KMT rejected an open, multiple-party political system never emerges from the dense detail of Carter’s book. The Americans at Yen’an, restricted to contact with lower-level CCP cadres, apparently knew nothing of the bitter CCP internal struggle that preceded the Dixie Mission—nor does Carter. They did not know that writers like Ding Ling had been forced to obey Mao Zedong’s will, nor that CCP founders like Chang Kuo-t’ao had fled for their lives to avoid Mao’s wrath. According to Carter, Chiang alone “ruled in strongman style while continuing to pay lip service to Sun Yat-sen’s Three Principles” (p. 3)—meaning American-style democracy.

If only books supposedly dealing with Sino-American topics were co-authored by scholars with access to Chinese primary sources, we might come a bit closer to the elusive truth. Carter only briefly mentions the onset, in 1946, of a CCP anti-American propaganda campaign that embarrassed some among the Yen’an Observer Group. Could this have been a harbinger of what emerged in the Korean War only a few years later? In Chen Jian’s *China’s Road to the Korean War: The Making of the Sino-American Confrontation* (1994), evidence abounds that Mao, like Chiang, followed his own agenda. Perhaps Mao’s friendly approach to the Americans at Yen’an was but a temporary strategy intended to weaken Chiang’s alliance with Washington. In *China and the Origins of the Pacific War 1931–1941* (1993), Youli Sun cites evidence that Chiang may have set the wartime collaboration with the CCP in motion to draw the U.S. into fighting Japan. China, more often than not, finds its own way despite American or Russian diplomacy: witness Beijing today.

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JOSEPH G. MORGAN. *The Vietnam Lobby: The American Friends of Vietnam, 1955–1975*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. xviii, 229. \$39.95.

Joseph G. Morgan’s book is an excellent taxonomical account of the structure, leadership, function, financial resources, and policies of the Vietnam Lobby. He concludes that the Lobby was an ineffectual force that at best had a “marginal” (p.153) effect on mobilizing American support for the South Vietnamese government and at worst was “superfluous” (p. 45).

Morgan’s research is meticulous and prodigious. He provides detailed biographies about the leaders of the Vietnam Lobby: Joseph Buttinger, Leo Cherne, Harold L. Oram, General John W. O’Daniel, Wesley R. Fishel, Gilbert Jonas, Frank Trager, and Wolf Ladejinsky among many others. The book even offers a rare

description of the hostile relationship between President Ngo Dinh Diem and his ambassador to America, Tran Van Chuong. The book is based on a comprehensive reading of the minutes of meetings; correspondence between the Lobby leaders and its members and with government officials; and reports on trips, public and private meetings, and Lobby publications. The attention to detail is extraordinary. Morgan wants to put to rest once and for all charges that the Lobby was financed by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). He also denies that members of the Lobby were a major force in the selection of Diem as president of South Vietnam. He claims that the Lobby’s finances, and thus its outreach, were limited until 1960, when it received a tax-deductible status from the Internal Revenue Service.

This brief monograph is too short to relate the Lobby to important historical issues. Although the book claims to address the problems of organizing and managing a foreign affairs lobby, Morgan fails to spend adequate time analyzing the successful and dismal history of American attempts to lobby for other countries. By keeping so close to his magnificent archive, moreover, Morgan does not succeed in placing the Lobby and its members in the full context of the Vietnam War. He does not pursue the close relationship of the Lobby with the Military Assistance and Advisory Group (MAAG). Morgan limits the scope of the narrative by disregarding the pervasive role of the Agency for International Development (AID) and the CIA in many aspects of the war at home and abroad. He avoids the effect of the Vietnam Lobby on the discipline of Asian Studies. The withdrawal of non-profit status from the Institute of Pacific Relations, the earliest (1920s) non-profit tax exempt organization of Asian experts, silenced many researchers and organizations. The Association for Asian Studies never took a public stand on the Vietnam War for fear of losing its own tax exemption. The only other group of Asian experts, the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, was hounded by the FBI and the CIA, and its members were blacklisted for anti-war writings and activities. This was the context in which the Lobby was able to maximize its “legitimacy” in speaking for the war and against allegedly unpatriotic academics.

Failure to develop the full context of an issue can have the effect of blurring or even erasing history, no matter how many details are chronicled. An egregious example is Morgan’s description of Wesley Fishel’s activities. We are told that he “collaborated closely with the Eisenhower administration in establishing the Michigan State University program that aided the Diem regime” (p. 125). Although the text notes that Fishel was a founding member of the Lobby in 1956 and chairman from 1964 to 1966, it does not reveal that his secretly government-funded program at Michigan State was highly controversial. It received funding for training Diem’s police and internal security forces. No unauthorized person was permitted in its Saigon offices, which became the U.S. Military Command



Headquarters. Fishel's secretive role in this program became the focus for much anti-war protest from both students and faculty. Later, after he resigned from the Lobby in 1967, Fishel became director of the AID-funded Vietnam Center at the University of Illinois in Carbondale. His policies there contributed to student and faculty protest that culminated in occupation of the campus by the National Guard in May 1970.

Morgan's book does add to our knowledge of how one group defended the war in Vietnam. But it does not add to our ability to analyze why such a small and peculiar group of self-proclaimed anticommunists got so much support from the U.S. government. What does this tell us about our government, and what should we learn from it?

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#### CANADA

MARK LEIER. *Red Flags and Red Tape: The Making of a Labour Bureaucracy*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1995. Pp. x, 245. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$17.95.

Mark Leier's study of the leadership of the Vancouver Trades and Labour Council (VTLC) between 1889 and 1910 begins with a questionable generalization: "Although the labour bureaucracy has long been a subject of interest to sociologists and industrial-relations specialists, it has rarely been examined by labour historians" (pp. 7–8). Yet the book's first chapter, a clear and thoughtful historiographic essay on theories of labor bureaucracy, mentions several of the many historians who have written about the subject. This contradiction appears representative of Leier's efforts to claim broader significance for a narrowly conceived study of a relatively small cohort of local labor leaders.

Leier seeks to use his study of the VTLC to defend four theoretical propositions. The first is that labor bureaucracy cannot be associated with a particular ideology or political position. The second is that labor leadership is not necessarily democratic, despite the necessity to "continually seek support and loyalty" from members. Third, "bureaucracy cannot be defined solely as the agent for incorporating unions into capitalism and diluting working-class protest." Sometimes leaders resist incorporation while rank-and-file workers embrace it. Finally, while labor bureaucracy is not defined by ideology or policy, it is defined by power, or "the ability to make others do what they would not have done otherwise" (pp. 33–34).

What follows is an exegesis of the words of VTLC leaders drawn almost entirely from council minutes and articles in the local labor press (controlled, for the most part, by the same people who sat in the council). These sources allow Leier to demonstrate convincingly that the VTLC leadership fits his first proposition. During its earliest years, moderate to conservative delegates—Leier categorizes them as "labourists"—

dominated the council, but after the turn of the century, socialists gradually took control. VTLC policies, however, did not change. Socialist and "labourist" leadership practices were virtually identical.

However, the limits of his sources and methodology do not allow the author to address his other three theoretical propositions effectively. We hear no voices except those of labor bureaucrats, and we follow them through council debates and editorials without ever seeing how their ideas shaped the development of actual events. For example, while strikes, boycotts, and electoral campaigns are mentioned frequently in passing, the reader will not find a detailed analysis of the relationship between the conduct of the VTLC leadership and the unfolding or outcome of particular struggles. Nor do we hear what rank-and-file workers thought of their VTLC delegates. Did they criticize the VTLC as undemocratic, laud it as their savior, or ignore it as irrelevant to their lives? We cannot tell. We do not see how the alleged power of VTLC officials limited (or enhanced) the life chances or options of working people, nor do we learn much about the milieu in which the story takes place. Did the structure and history of the local economy shape the nature of labor bureaucracy? How did changes in state policy at the local, provincial, or national levels alter the arena in which the labor movement operated?

My own reading and study of labor history lead me to support Leier's four propositions, and his theoretical introduction impressed me. I read the rest of the volume sympathetic to the author's point of view. But his treatment focused too narrowly on the bureaucrats themselves instead of examining their relationships to other working people and to the rest of the world, and the result disappointed me.

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#### LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

MARK T. BERGER. *Under North American Eyes: Latin American Studies and U.S. Hegemony in the Americas, 1898–1990*. Foreword by JACK W. HOPKINS. (Caribbean and Latin American Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 570. \$35.00.

When, over a decade and a half ago, I suggested to an audience of Soviet and U.S. Latin Americanists that Latin American studies—like area studies in general—had developed in response to geopolitical imperatives rather than the muses of free intellect, I was challenged vigorously by American and Soviet colleagues alike. In the bad old days of the Cold War, scholars on neither side of the ideological divide seemed able to consider the possibility that their respective intellectual commitments responded to anything other than the loftiest of freely elected purposes. In the language of Mark T. Berger, I had violated the professional discourses of the contemporary academy.

Berger now advances essentially the same argument

but manages to avoid violating the prevailing academic discourses by making scholarly discourse itself the focus of his scrutiny. Drawing on the literary deconstructionism of Michel Foucault and Edward Said, he examines Latin American studies as interrelated "languages of professional expertise," which at once derive their rationality and plausibility from shared assumptions outside themselves while creating the object about which they speak. (Like "Africa," "Asia," the "Middle East" or, more elusively still, the "Third World," "Latin America" exists only in the abstract as a geopolitical construct divorced from "objective" reality.) These professional discourses, as Berger defines them, are much more than exclusionary academic jargons by which the scholarly disciplines distinguish themselves. In practice, he writes, they "demarcate what can be said, at the same time as they provide the metaphors, analogies, concepts, and models with which practitioners can make new assertions" (p. 10).

In Berger's view, these vocabularies and grammar of professional expertise differ, too, from "ideology" as defined by historical materialism. Distorting through oversimplification Marx's concept of ideology ("institutional superstructure"), Berger fashions an analytical straw man that weakens his overall treatment of the topic at hand. Marxists and "radicals," he writes, use the term ideology to denote "the distortion of knowledge" in defense of ruling class interests. But history and the social sciences "cannot be understood at the level of intention," a statement which Marx would not have disputed.

At the same time, Berger adds, history and the social sciences "are discourses and practices which actively work to construct the institutions and apparatuses that . . . help constitute, manage and contain the object of [their] study." In the United States, they "facilitate the creation and maintenance of the national and international organizations, institutions, inter-state relations and politico-economic structures that sustain and extend US hegemony in Latin America and around the world." Moreover, he concludes, history and the social science disciplines "derive their power and authority from their linkages to these organizations, institutions and political structures" (p. 10).

Berger has written this book in an attempt "to clarify the connection between Latin American studies in North America and US hegemony in Latin America, with particular focus on the Central American crisis of the 1980s." It is not a book about Latin America but rather one "about the way in which professional discourses on Latin America have contributed throughout the twentieth century to US efforts to control and manage events in the Americas" (p. xi). What Berger achieves in 232 pages of text plus 134 pages of notes is an ambitious but flawed history of U. S. scholarship on Latin America, which includes passing, essentially anecdotal references to how that scholarship has been shaped by hemispheric relations or how individual policy makers have reflected particular

currents of thought within the Latin Americanist profession.

This is a competently, if not elegantly, written volume that suffers stylistically from the author's excessive reliance on the *mot* "discourse"—one of those semantic contrivances that does not bear frequent repetition. (The editors allowed a modest number of typos to slip by, which is not the author's fault but further mars his work.) Berger approaches his topic from a social science perspective and is understandably concerned with the intellectual determinants of policy issues. He virtually ignores, however, the humanities component of Latin American studies and in so doing fails to define adequately both the object and terms of his analysis. And while he offers an impressive historical account of Latin American studies as a field, there remain significant lacunae that have escaped his notice—for instance, Stanford University's now long-defunct Hispanic American and Luso-Brazilian Studies program, a prime example of violated discourses and institutional coercion from which emerged some of the dependency scholars whom Berger cites.

Berger knows Mexico and Guatemala well but appears to have no in-country knowledge of the United States. He nonetheless makes a major contribution with this volume to the historiography of U.S. Latin Americanist scholarship. His "down-under" perspective is enlightening and should stimulate others more intimately familiar with the field to refine our own understanding of how we ourselves have been influenced by the geopolitical imperatives of the present century. As a further aid in that endeavor, Berger appends a 187-page bibliography to his impressive tome, comprising 1,486 book titles and 1,737 articles. Its flaws notwithstanding, this volume enters the literature as an essential reference work.

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PATRICK L. BAKER. *Centering the Periphery: Chaos, Order, and the Ethnohistory of Dominica*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies. 1994. Pp. xx, 251. \$15.00.

Notwithstanding my grandmother's advice regarding love at first sight, I fell for Patrick L. Baker's book instantly; or, rather, I fell in love with its title, which suggested the possibilities of applying postmodern theories and concepts to the study of Caribbean history and historiography. In the book's preliminary chapter, Baker discusses the theoretical questions that guide his incursions into Dominican history. First, he introduces what he considers to be the main "approaches in Caribbean social analysis," as well as a more general discussion on the "problem of order," regarded by Baker as the "pivotal question of classical sociological theory" (p. 6). Dependency and world-system theories, Marxist approaches, and functionalist sociology and

anthropology are equally criticized for paying too much attention to explaining order and being barely attentive to "disorder" and to social change. Second, Baker proposes an alternative theoretical framework for interpreting Dominican history—and Caribbean history at large—based on chaos theory, a scientific paradigm centered not in order but in concepts of disorder. Third, Baker adds to his framework the notions of "center-periphery," understood by him in terms of the efforts put forth by individuals and social entities "to control the flow of energy and information" (p. 11). Thus used by Baker, "centering and peripheralizing" differ from Immanuel Wallerstein's notions. Baker's concepts "go beyond capitalism and its . . . world impact"; "they entail energetic and information components involved in a dynamic of exchanges"; and, finally, "they include connotations of the cultural dimensions of a 'social construction of reality'" (p. 12). In centering their worlds, social entities lose some energy that "cannot be recaptured and used" (p. 13). Baker calls this "entropy," a phenomenon that impairs the "possibilities of ordering."

Like the book's title, this first chapter strongly suggests that the author's aim is to produce a theoretical interpretation, one in which the island's history is systematically reconstructed following these postmodern paradigms, or even one that analyzes previous works on Dominica's history and society according to some deconstructivist methodology. As I read the book my initial enrapture faded away, however. The theories explicated at the beginning are not fully developed throughout the book, and its theoretical and empirical dimensions are not integrated adequately. Aside from the first theoretical chapter, the rest of the book is a conventionally historical, sociological, and anthropological narrative. At most, Baker concludes each chapter by fundamentally restating his initial theories. Thus, Dominica's colonization by European powers—first by France and later by England—increased "the entropy and disorder produced by the nature of the order established on the islands" (p. 77). The plantation system, for example, generated "chronic disorder" that "fed back into the metropolitan system and resulted in abolition and emancipation" (p. 107). Slaves, maroons, ex-slaves, Amerindians, and peasants sought, by contrast, to "center" their respective worlds according to low entropic strategies. My hunch is that such wording, no matter how trendy, will offer the knowledgeable reader few new insights on Caribbean history and society.

To sum up, the worth of Baker's book rests not on theories but rather on factual content. This book is a good introductory study on the island of Dominica. I found chapters four through eight, in which Baker traces the economic and social transformations undergone by Dominica from colonial times to the twentieth century, particularly informative and well developed. If one is looking for a history of Dominica, this is a fine one; for more sound theoretical approaches to Caribbean societies, it is preferable to look elsewhere.

Unfortunately, the book's title might mislead potential readers. As for love at first sight, it seems that my grandmother wasn't that mistaken after all.

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PEDRO L. SAN MIGUEL. *Los campesinos del Cibao: Economía de mercado y transformación agraria en la República Dominicana, 1880–1960*. San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico. Decanato de Estudios Graduados e Investigación. 1997. Pp. xix, 374. \$12.95.

Although this book is a revised version of Pedro L. San Miguel's doctoral dissertation, it reads like the product of the experienced researcher and deeply knowledgeable historian that San Miguel is. Centering on Santiago, the capital of the rich agricultural belt in the Dominican Republic's center-north region known as the Cibao, the book constitutes an agrarian history of the eastern half of Española, the island Dominicans share with Haiti. San Miguel examines specifically the relationship between the peasantry—in all its complexity—on the one hand, and commercial capitalism and the state on the other. In firm command of the theoretical literature on peasant societies and resolutely situated within Dominican historiography, San Miguel delves into important issues related to the persistence of peasant "ways." He demonstrates that peasants survived, even succeeded, by accommodating to market and state demands, thus modulating the monolithic picture of Caribbean economies dominated by the plantation complex.

San Miguel's thesis is that *cibaeño* peasants have historically adjusted to incursions on their territory in such resourceful ways that, rather than find their positions undermined, they have affirmed their hold on the land. In the nineteenth century, as the rest of the country was invaded by sugar and cattle, tobacco planters in the Cibao managed to retain control of their lands and even took advantage of new transportation networks to grow coffee and cacao to sell to merchant exporters. This timely diversification, and the temporary and intermittent work performed for large landowners evidenced in certain areas, were successful strategies to confront the growth of commercial capital and state control. San Miguel asserts that the move to privatize landholdings in the early twentieth century contributed to the strengthening of access to land for some small landholders rather than to the inevitable proletarianization of the majority of farmers. By using the aggressors' own weapons to defend themselves against the oppression of capital and state, however, Dominican peasants may inadvertently have closed off some options for the future.

San Miguel's book should soon take its rightful place among peasant studies as a work that addresses in a new context questions that A. V. Chayanov, Samuel Popkin, Robert Redfield, James C. Scott, and Eric

Wolf have posed in the past. Its intensive exploration of the peasant-merchant relationship can only be described as microhistory. San Miguel has combed available sources—not an easy task in the Dominican Republic—to put together a rich and intimate picture of peasant life. He makes use of government statistics, notarial records, police reports, judicial proceedings, and municipal council minutes to establish that Dominican peasants did not necessarily organize “little communities” but were an internally stratified sector of the rural population, variously “closed” and “open” to the “world system,” performing wage work and holding on to their lands, self-sufficient and market-oriented—in short, complex and changing.

This book is steeped in Dominican sources and has been warmly embraced by the island’s academic community as a “native” product. Especially welcome in this respect is San Miguel’s discussion of the *terrenos comuneros* (communal lands), a particularly Dominican phenomenon that persisted into the early twentieth century. Unlike the Mexican *ejidos*, the *terrenos comuneros* were indefinite extensions of land owned jointly by a group of people, who held *pesos de acción* or “shares” on the value of the property and not claims to a fixed amount of land. San Miguel explains that the privatization of *terrenos comuneros* did not originate with the desire for state control, which resulted in surveys of vast expanses and segregation of tracts, but with the commodification of land, which made outright possession of this increasingly scarce and valuable resource imperative.

This book is a first-rate contribution to Dominican history generally and to peasant studies in particular. It is carefully researched, well written, and elegantly presented, and for these reasons it will have lasting impact on Caribbean and Latin American historiography.

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JAY KINSBRUNER. *Not of Pure Blood: The Free People of Color and Racial Prejudice in Nineteenth-Century Puerto Rico*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1996. Pp. xiv, 176. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$15.95.

This is a book on an important topic that has only recently gained attention: racial prejudice against people of African descent in slave societies in which free people of color outnumbered slaves.

Focusing on urban Puerto Rico from the late eighteenth century to the 1860s—before the abolition of slavery in 1873—Jay Kinsbruner proposes to demonstrate that racial prejudice, both legal and social, continued its centuries-long insinuation into Puerto Rican society, producing cumulative disadvantage among people of color. Puerto Rico’s racial system, he argues, was one of “clear lines of demarcation between whites and non-whites, as . . . between the colored subcastes” (p. 32), not a black-white continuum, as others have posited.

After a discussion of Puerto Ricans’ tendency to play down the issue of race in the making of their society, the book turns to a general presentation of the Spanish caste system. It describes how the stigmas of illegitimacy and slavery affected free people of African descent, excluding them from higher education and the professions and prohibiting them from holding positions in the state and the church. Still, free people of color in Puerto Rico enjoyed a considerable degree of freedom and legal protection. Several avenues of upward social mobility were open to them, particularly in the crafts. In addition, Puerto Rico was a market economy, in which business activities functioned on the basis of free contracts not restricted by color.

In the next three chapters, Kinsbruner discusses the role of race in residential patterns and dwelling ownership, gender and age, legal marriage, birth and death, and the structure of households and family in the capital city of San Juan. He concludes that “racial prejudice played a heavy hand” in the limited economic performance of the free population of color. The last chapter of the book compares the performances of whites and free “coloreds” in education, the military, the crafts, and commerce. Rather than the promise of capitalism, the author claims, nineteenth-century Puerto Rican society showed the inevitable heritage of centuries of racial prejudice.

To substantiate his argument, Kinsbruner relies on sources located in Puerto Rico: statistical sources on San Juan, the capital’s notary records, occupational data in Ponce, and legal cases involving purity of blood. The result is a book with fascinating and challenging information about urban society in Puerto Rico and free people of color in the age of racial slavery.

Kinsbruner should be commended for his ability to gather a wealth of statistical data, although his reliance on census sources to tackle a problem in which culture played a major role is limiting, especially when, quite likely, agents of the state and the church decided how to record the socio-racial information. Also, the book assumes without demonstration the centuries-long existence of prejudice on the island, leaving H. Hoetink’s thesis on the Hispanic Caribbean socio-racial continuum unchallenged (“Race and Color in the Caribbean,” in Sidney W. Mintz and Sally Price, eds., *Caribbean Contours* [1985]).

Kinsbruner is driven by his purpose of showing Puerto Rican racial prejudice. He is most successful in the book’s last chapter, which succinctly reveals the virtual exclusion of free people of color from commercial activities, their difficulty in advancing in the military, and their overrepresentation in the crafts and unskilled occupations. Here, racial prejudice seems to be fully at work, and more research—in Spain’s colonial archives, in particular—would further illuminate this process.

Unfortunately, such a goal sometimes prevents Kinsbruner from thoroughly analyzing the subtle nuances or the absence of prejudice. Why do some of the



residential and demographic data fail to show sharp differences along color lines? In all streets and in many houses of San Juan, whites and people of all colors resided side by side, and the city's notary records were colorblind. How to reconcile this reality with the racial differences exhibited in the occupational sector? Did white Puerto Ricans share the same kind of racial prejudice as their Spanish colonial and church authorities?

Similarly, Kinsbruner's finding that Puerto Rican marriages were predominantly endogamous, even among the "colored" subcastes, is significant and confirms his thesis of a society in which color mattered. Yet it should be handled with care, because most Puerto Rican unions were consensual, for which the male partner and his color were not recorded. In fact, the author himself shows that about two-thirds of the "colored" families and almost one-half of the white families were headed by females. In pursuit of his goal, however, he overlooks white female-headed families to focus on the "extraordinary degree of single female family and household leadership among the free people of color" (p. 109) and to search for an explanation of this phenomenon in statistics and comments on African-American female-headed families in the United States at the end of the twentieth century. He boldly concludes: "Except for the comment about welfare . . . essentially the same was true for nineteenth-century Puerto Rico, where limited economic opportunity and racial prejudice undermined the basic structure of the free colored family" (pp. 113–14).

These criticisms notwithstanding, Kinsbruner's book is a welcome addition to the history of race relations. It is an engaging examination of racial prejudice in a society that has claimed to be colorblind. It also shows that the study of discreet forms of racism is a colossal exercise.

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MARÍA DEL PILAR MARTÍNEZ LÓPEZ-CANO. *El crédito a largo plazo en el siglo xvi: Ciudad de México (1550–1620)*. (Serie Historia Novohispana, number 53.) Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. 1995. Pp. 208.

Several works have focused on Spanish-American colonial credit and particularly on the Mexican case. Credit was basic to the functioning of colonial economies, due to chronic shortages of currency caused by massive exportation of bullion required by Spanish trading and mercantilistic policies. The church played an important role in the supply and management of colonial credit instruments. For these reasons, economic historians have tried to clarify the role of this version of premodern credit. One school of thought, inspired by the Mexican nineteenth-century liberal critique of the church, has concluded that colonial credit linkages between the church and the agricultural

sector mainly hindered economic development because it burdened agrarian properties with unproductive debt. Another group of economic historians argue the opposite: that cheap, long-term credit supplied by ecclesiastical institutions contributed to the local agrarian economy. Inevitably, this discussion has centered on the economic consequences of church finances, especially in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

María del Pilar Martínez López-Cano contributes in a crucial way to this debate in a book based on careful research on credit instruments in the fairly unexplored sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in the city of Mexico. Martínez's study helps to map more clearly the evolution of colonial credit mechanisms and, therefore, to qualify the sweeping assertions of those studies that have used evidence from the late colonial period. She has mined out precious statistical and qualitative information during many years of painstaking research in Mexican and Spanish archives. Instead of using limited sources of information of single or grouped ecclesiastical institutions, Martínez centers her analysis on evidence from notary records (*protocolos notariales*), which include different types of credit transactions, among other legal instruments. As she points out, the notary records, however, reflect much less on or disguise illegal (usurious) loans and provide little information on the uses of borrowed amounts in productive units.

Martínez's findings are revealing. Credit was not regulated by the church (although it had an important moral influence on matters of usury), nor did ecclesiastical institutions supply the majority of credit in the sixteenth century. The *censo consignativo*, the closest version to a long-term mortgage loan, constituted only a small portion of the total number and value of loans at the time. Short-term credit instruments and individual lay lenders were more abundant and supplied more credit than long-term credit instruments and ecclesiastical lenders. Also, loan interest rates were higher in the sixteenth century than later in the colonial period. These discoveries point to an initial phase of accumulation by ecclesiastical institutions as well as to the initial phases in the development of agrarian properties. It was in the seventeenth century that the connection between ecclesiastical institutions and *haciendas* evolved into the traits observed in the eighteenth century.

Several observations are prompted by Martínez's magisterial work. In the first place, the reader cannot find an alternative structural explanation to that of those who have placed the church at the center of the colonial credit system. Analysis of connections between ecclesiastical creditors and other creditors is scant, and there is little discussion of the efficiency of institutional credit supply compared to that of multiple individual lay transactions. In this sense several questions are suggested but only partially answered: what was the main purpose of the early colonial credit system? To facilitate consumption, the acquisition of

landed properties, or productive investment by the credit demand sector? To secure modest rents or reinvestment of financial gains by credit suppliers?

Martínez's work is a state-of-the-art update of earlier debates on colonial credit to which Asunción Lavrin, Arnold Bauer, Gisela von Wobeser, and others have contributed. Her discussion of the main characteristics of the most important credit instruments of the time is authoritative and legally and historically informed. Her view of the interaction between religious beliefs and economic and credit activities of the time, something missing in many recent analyses, is a model. Contributions such as this move the study of Spanish-American colonial credit beyond conceptual definitions. Martínez's detailed research aptly informs about the complex nature of colonial credit and its contributions and hindrances in the economic evolution of Spanish-American colonial societies.

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PEDRO SANTONI. *Mexicans at Arms: Puro Federalists and the Politics of War, 1845–1848*. Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 323. \$29.50.

The subtitle of this book by Pedro Santoni describes its subject. It is primarily a study of the national political scene in Mexico at the time of the United States–Mexican war. The war itself remains a backdrop that is barely mentioned. Front and center is the ongoing rivalry of the two major factions into which the liberal federalist tendency among Mexican politicians had divided: the radical liberals (known as *puros*) led by Valentín Gómez Farías, and the moderate liberals (known as *moderados*) led by Manuel Gómez Pedraza. The third major tendency, the conservatives led by Lucas Alamán, was out of power in this period and plays little role in the book. A fourth group, difficult to identify precisely by ideology or objectives, consisted of the *santanistas*, supporters of Antonio López de Santa Anna, the major figure in Mexican politics during this period, and they were decidedly important players.

In the third decade of independence, Mexican politics had already sunk to its most complex and confusing level, and it requires great precision to distinguish the many tangled linkages. Santoni provides a careful narrative of this convoluted story, one that concentrates on explaining the factions' conspiracies and alliances but not their theoretical views. Yet, Santoni admits that it is not really possible to explain, outside of personal rivalries, why the *puros* and *moderados*, as well as Gómez Farías and Gómez Pedraza personally, so hated each other. They would ally themselves with Santa Anna when convenient, but not until 1854, in the great struggle with conservatism known as the *Reforma*, did the two branches of liberalism reunite, and then only rather tenuously. We are left to wonder why the significant trauma of invasion by the United States

and loss of half the republic's national territory in 1846–1847 did not compel Mexican liberals to join forces earlier.

Power changed hands so many times in this brief period, exacerbated by government bankruptcy and military coups, that no author has chronicled it fully before. Using archival documents, newspapers, pamphlets, personal letters, and secondary sources, Santoni traces the many arrivals in and departures from the presidential office. One has the strongest sense, however, that it mattered very little who occupied the National Palace and that brief sojourns in office should not be called "regimes," as Santoni terms them. It is not clear if any president could get his orders obeyed beyond the outer patio of the palace. No party or leader held power longer than a few months, none was able to implement a program, and Gómez Farías's reforms were always nullified. The two great issues were the possible restoration of the federalist constitution of 1824 and the reestablishment of the local civic militias upon which state and regional autonomy depended. The wartime collapse of the state sparked the return of federalism and the civic militias, but it also encouraged the strengthening of the conservative movement that began openly to advocate creation of a monarchy. Political power was too equally divided; no single tendency was strong enough to overcome the others. There was no political hegemony and no national identity, even amid the greatest foreign threat Mexico faced in its national history.

In regard to the Texas question and the war with the United States, the radical federalists strongly favored reconquest of Texas and war with the Americans; their motto in these years was "Federation and Texas." The other hallmarks of their program were their aim to limit the power of the church and the army and to enhance the political autonomy of the states. The moderate federalists and conservatives favored accommodation with the United States. The Santa Anna forces, impelled by their leader's record as the foremost defender in earlier foreign invasions but hampered by their need to form alliances with other groups in pursuit of power, played both sides. As in 1833–1835, however, Santa Anna seems more the prey than the predator, and the measure of Mexico's political tragedy in the era is that all sides courted him while he was loyal to none. What still needs to be explained is how Santa Anna achieved such a unique pinnacle that radicals, moderates, and conservatives could all find in him a natural ally.

The specialist will appreciate the way Santoni has sorted out the confusing political alliances of the period. One wishes, however, that he had taken a slightly wider view, especially because the narrative seems to suggest that the historical explanation of the era does not lie in a study of the national government alone. One longs for an interpretation that can give meaning to the otherwise unaccountable self-destructiveness of Mexican political elites in the mid nineteenth century. Not only did they fiddle while Rome

burned, but the more it burned the faster they fiddled.

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WARD S. ALBRO. *To Die on Your Feet: The Life, Times, and Writings of Práxedes G. Guerrero*. Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 198. \$25.00.

Altogether, there is a bare handful of studies of the life and thought of Práxedes G. Guerrero (1882–1910), the Mexican anarchist and master of agitation and propaganda attached to Ricardo Flores Magón's Mexican Liberal Party. Rather than his contribution to anarchist theory, what makes Guerrero's writings worth studying is his role as the main activist trying to bring on the revolution. If anybody deserves the honor, Guerrero was the "Che Guevara" of the Mexican Revolution, the first in the Magónist leadership to organize a military expedition against the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz. He died in battle.

As examples of his mastery of the inflammatory word, consider these: "It is better to die on your feet than to live on your knees" (mistakenly attributed to Emiliano Zapata); "Sow a little seed of rebellion and you will determine a harvest of freedoms"; "To live in order to be free, or to die in order to stop being slaves"; "The features of the tyrant represent a description of the people who obey him" (pp. ix, 135).

In this intellectual biography, which includes a final selection of Guerrero's writings, Ward S. Albro devotes a chapter to the history of modern anarchism and its relevance to Mexico. He only superficially links it with his central character, however. The two exceptions are the Spaniard Tarrida de Mármol and the Italian Enrico Malatesta, credited by Albro with trying to reconcile the diverse and often contradictory anarchist currents. Albro also takes for granted that anarchism means, first and foremost, a struggle against authority and its maximal expression as the state, in opposition to the Marxist program of a workers' political movement aimed at the overthrow of bourgeois supremacy and the abolition of capitalist exploitation (p. 97). In rereading Guerrero's writings from 1908 to 1910, one sees that Guerrero gave precedence to the first rather than to the second person in Flores Magón's sinister trinity of "capital, authority, clergy."

Paradoxically, in a work devoted to a major figure in the Magónist leadership, Albro makes no reference to the communist component of its ideology. Although he acknowledges Flores Magón's strategy of duplicity, he does not attribute it to Guerrero. "Only the anarchists will know we are anarchists, and we will advise them that they don't call us anarchists" (p. 107). Such was the lesson Flores Magón had learned from Malatesta, a Machiavellian stratagem important to Mexican anarchism. It was a lesson that cut two ways. It accounts for the original liberal program of the Magónist party from 1906 to 1911, and it later induced a split in party ranks when, under the influence of the Bolshevik

Revolution, Magónists began infiltrating the Mexican Communist Party.

Although Albro's study throws new light on Guerrero's anarchism, the unsuspecting reader is likely to be misled by the author's failure to target capitalist exploitation as Guerrero's and the Magónist party's fundamental enemy and to credit the Marxist legacy that gave a distinctive character to Mexican anarchism.

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JÜRGEN BUCHENAU. *In the Shadow of the Giant: The Making of Mexico's Central America Policy, 1876–1930*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1996. Pp. xviii, 287. \$32.95.

Scholars of U.S. policy toward Mexico have presumed that Mexico's foreign policy represents little more than a defensive and xenophobic reaction to U. S. intervention in Mexico's internal affairs or, more generally, to U. S. policy in Latin America. Jürgen Buchenau sets out to correct that image with this detailed, thoroughly researched account of Mexico's relations with Central America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

During the *Porfiriato* (1876–1911), when Porfirio Díaz ruled Mexico, the Mexican economy became more thoroughly integrated with that of the United States and Mexican relations with its northern neighbor showed a marked improvement. Yet, as Buchenau shows, Mexico's policy toward Central America had already begun to display features that subtly challenged U. S. pretensions in the isthmus and in the Caribbean. After Theodore Roosevelt's actions in Panama in November, 1903, Díaz became convinced that the United States would use military force to impose its will in Central America. As criticism of his regime's acquiescence to U. S. penetration of the Mexican economy mounted, Díaz became more outspoken about U. S. policy in a region as critical to Mexico as it was to the United States. Yet the subtleties of Mexico's approach were often not apparent. In 1906–1907, Mexico joined the United States in sponsoring the Central American peace treaties. When the U. S. government abruptly violated the spirit of these accords by its hounding of Nicaraguan president, José Santos Zelaya, Mexican policy shifted again as Díaz tried to shore up his faltering image at home by distancing himself from U. S. policy in Central America.

Such defiance was not enough to save the old dictator from the revolution that brought him down, but none of the succession of Mexican leaders from Francisco Madero to Venustiano Carranza matched Díaz in defying U. S. pretensions in Central America. Madero's political sway was too precarious to risk confrontation with Washington by condemning the massive U. S. intervention in Nicaragua in 1912. Carranza proved more defiant. When Woodrow Wilson called on the governments of Latin America to join

the United States in a Pan-American solidarity pact in 1915, Carranza proposed a Latin American league to resist U. S. domination of hemispheric affairs. Mexican opposition to U. S. involvement in Central America might have escalated, but heightened tensions along the border and the resulting Pershing Punitive Expedition into northern Mexico in 1916 prompted Carranza to shift his attention to the Mexican northern frontier.

Mexican-United States relations deteriorated in the postrevolutionary years, initially over the activities of U. S. oil companies in Mexico and then over the rapidly escalating U. S. involvement in another Nicaraguan political conflict and civil war in 1926–1927. Washington's stated position in the Nicaraguan crisis was to restore constitutional government by cutting a deal with Nicaragua's Liberal opposition, holding an election, and pacifying the countryside. One of the Liberal rebels, Augusto C. Sandino, repudiated the arrangement and launched a rebellion, declaring that only Nicaraguans had the right to self-determination in their political affairs. Such defiance of U. S. power resonated well among Mexico's leaders. Mexico refused to recognize the new Nicaraguan president (José Moncada), and when Sandino visited Mexico in 1930, Mexican president Emilio Portes Gil offered the Nicaraguan asylum.

The motive was not support for Sandino's cause, however; Portes Gil simply wanted to induce U. S. military withdrawal from Central America. The ploy did not work, and Mexico's involvement in isthmian affairs noticeably diminished until the late 1970s, when Mexican president José López Portillo (imitating Porfirio Díaz) began to articulate a more distinctive Mexican policy toward Central America. During the early 1980s, Mexico generally opposed U. S. policy in the region, yet, as in the 1920s, the nation's growing economic and political difficulties severely limited its ability to challenge U. S. power.

The abrupt shift in U. S. policy toward Central America in the late 1980s was thus less attributable to Mexican opposition than to other factors, notably the determination of Central Americans themselves to regain control of their own political futures. But the historic Mexican role in Central American affairs cannot be casually dismissed as inconsequential or even marginal. Even as its economy has become more tightly entwined with that of the United States, Mexico retains a certain degree of independence in its relations with Central America, demonstrating, as Buchenau writes, "That the presence of a great power is a vital not an all-encompassing concern" (p. 209).

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ROBERT H. JACKSON. *Regional Markets and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia: Cochabamba, 1539–1960*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1994. Pp. x, 283. \$29.95.

The uneasy relationship between political and economic freedom was discussed in 1830 by an anonymous Bolivian villager. How can political freedom be exercised, asked this Altiplanic Cato, if a country is economically unfree? (Ana María Lema *et al.*, eds., *Bosquejo del estado en que se halla la viqueza nacional de Bolivia . . . per un Aldeano hijo de ella: Año de 1830* [1994]). How, it was added in the twentieth century as the tin-mining barons created their super-state, can either freedom be achieved if import-export models are imposed by global business interests that also determine fiscal revenue?

These issues hit home early in Cochabamba, the Andean granary since Inca times, as white Chilean flour began to appear from Altiplanic marketplaces in the 1860s. In the 1880s, after the disastrous Pacific War with Chile, export mining replaced agriculture and the mint as the basis of government income. This book by Robert H. Jackson shows how these fertile and commercially active valleys experienced isolation and emigration during the republic, as faultlines multiplied over the Andean internal market under pressure from new national frontiers and "free" trade.

The same issue can be approached in another way. On the eve of the 1952 Bolivian Revolution, Cochabamba's countryside was dominated not by Indian communities or great estates but by peasant smallholders unionized since the 1930s. In 1953, these smallholders forced ratification of a new agrarian reform designed to consolidate smallholdings and dissolve the remaining estates. How did this exceptional but politically decisive degree of land fragmentation arise?

Jackson frames his answer against a parallel study by Brooke Larson (*Colonialism and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia: Cochabamba 1550–1900* [1988]). Fragmentation reflected the implementation of an earlier Agrarian Reform Law (1874), which aimed to abolish surviving Indian communities, consolidate smallholdings, and create a land market. Larson situates the cause earlier, in the maze of legal forms that, in the late eighteenth century, mediated access to decreasing areas of land, in the context of the long-term contraction of Potosí's mining market and a fall in regional grain prices. Jackson's position is that neither prices nor production fell; rather, Cochabamba's production was redirected toward La Paz and South Peru. His argument is convincing, although Larson's contribution still helps explain why the 1874 law, highly conflictive elsewhere, went through so easily in Cochabamba.

In Bolivia as elsewhere, World War I marked a watershed. Interrupted supply lines reminded Liberal Party ministers of the disadvantages of favoring cheaper food imports over home supplies, and in 1919, Finance Minister José Luis Tejada even urged import-substitution policies. Jackson tells how the maize boom of 1918 was encouraged by a government alcohol monopoly, until smuggling led to suspension of the monopoly in 1925, and a fall in maize prices sent land prices tumbling as mortgage banks foreclosed. The



crisis, specific to Cochabamba, deepened prewar tendencies toward fragmentation.

Farmers also protested against land taxes based on pre-slump valuations and against higher freight costs on the Cochabamba-Altiplano railway than on the cheaper track from Argentina. Pressures to equalize freight charges were resisted, as the La Paz government needed cheap grain for the Altiplanic mining cities in order to keep wages down (many mineworkers were Cochabamba migrants). Mill construction in the valleys only began in 1929. But imported machinery required imported materials, including grain types, and Bolivia's dependence on imported flour continues today, aggravated by "donations" from wheat-producing countries like the United States.

Jackson's univocal idea of modernization is disappointing: "The goals of Cochabamba farmers conflicted with the objectives of the modernizing liberal state" (p. 123). There are several routes to modernity, even liberal modernity, and a Hamiltonian version current in Bolivia and elsewhere during the 1830s and 1840s sought national production for protected internal markets and export of surpluses to other economies. We need a fuller analysis of the institutional constraints on price formation in early republican marketplaces.

Jackson analyzes in depth the partition of specific estates before 1953, but his title promises coverage of 420 years. The first 250 are given short shrift. His understanding of pre-Hispanic land rights, particularly complex in Cochabamba, is confused: the later agrarian structure is said to reflect colonial determinants only. Indian labor services to Charcas *encomenderos* are mistakenly said to disappear in 1550. Amalgamation of silver with mercury, Potosí's main refining method after the 1570s, is wrongly described as "a common technique used in Europe" (p. 40). Oruro's population in 1670 is given as 70–80,000, although Ann Zulawski's census-based estimate gives only 2743 Indian males in 1683 ("Forasteros y yanaconas: la mano de obra en un centro minero en el siglo XVII," in Olivia Harris, Brooke Larson, and Enrique Tandeter, eds., *La participación indígena en los mercados surandinos* [1987]). Larson is said to use Indian migration to Cochabamba (*forasteros*) as evidence for money rather than labor rents, when her table shows competition for labor between Cochabamba estate owners and Potosí miners (p. 36, n.55; cf. Larson, pp. 100–101). Such errors vitiate the early pages of this rather ungainly book, whose impact is weakened through trying to straddle too much.

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RAFAEL VARÓN GABAI. *Francisco Pizarro and His Brothers: The Illusion of Power in Sixteenth-Century Peru*. Translated by JAVIER FLORES ESPINOZA. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 352. \$34.95.

This carefully researched book presents a detailed picture of the political and economic "empire" forged by Francisco Pizarro and his kinsmen following their invasion of the Inca Empire in 1532. Rafael Varón Gabai joins a growing list of scholars wishing to dispel the myth of the conquistadors as ruthless soldier-adventurers intent only on plunder and glory. Instead, he has culled archival data from Europe, Peru, and Bolivia indicating that the Pizarros intended the conquest largely as a family political and business enterprise. As a result of their hard-headed realism and entrepreneurial acumen, the Pizarros amassed a huge complex of indigenous labor and tax resources, estates, mines, and commercial enterprises that dwarfed even the impressive holdings of Fernando Cortés, the leader of the earlier expedition to conquer Mexico. Moreover, in chronicling the rise and fall of the conquistador elite, Varón has made an important contribution to what he calls "future research on Hispanic and Indian Peru" that manages "to assemble both worlds, native and foreign" (p. 296).

In the first section of the book, Varón outlines the business and entrepreneurial dimension of the Spanish invasion of the Andean world. He contends that the main goal of the "company" founded by the Pizarros and Diego de Almagro was to establish permanent settlements and to exploit the fabled resources of the Inca Empire. As a result, following the division of the spoils gained after capturing the Inca ruler at Cajamarca, the invaders began utilizing the empire's system of communication, tax collection, and storage to plunder and control Andean resources. They also forged political and kinship ties with dissident Andean ethnic groups that provided pivotal support in the ultimately successful campaign to overthrow the Inca state. Then, the Pizarros used their political power to alienate lands, to gain control over indigenous taxes and labor, and to exploit highland silver and gold mines. The ensuing civil wars among the conquistadors largely revolved around disputes over access to political power and to Andean economic resources. In the end, the death of Francisco Pizarro, ongoing strife among the Spaniards, the outbreak of dangerous Andean resistance movements, and the assertion of royal power in the Andes undermined and ultimately destroyed the political and economic power of the Pizarro family in Peru.

In the second section of the study, Varón provides a painstaking reconstruction of the Pizarro's economic empire. Francisco, Hernando, Juan, and Gonzalo Pizarro—and their extended network of allies from Extremadura—managed a vast network of business holdings. Initially, the *encomienda* (a grant issued to a Spaniard, giving him the right to collect taxes and often labor from a given number of indigenous polities) formed the center of these enterprises. Indeed, Francisco Pizarro alone controlled grants that encompassed over 30,000 Andean charges. Building on the labor and taxes provided by these indigenous groups, the Pizarros also accumulated rich mines, particularly

in Porco, and large estates producing wheat, maize, and coca. The Pizarros reinforced their political and economic power in Peru by cultivating powerful patrons at court, such as the wealthy and influential Gaspar de Espinosa. Despite the chaos that enveloped Peru after the assassination of Francisco Pizarro in 1541, Hernando managed to consolidate most of the family's holdings by marrying his elder brother's *mes-tiza* daughter and principal heir, Francisca. The downfall of the Pizarros was assured, however, with the rebellion of Gonzalo against the royally appointed viceroy, Blasco Núñez Vela, in 1544. This defiance of the royal prerogative destroyed the family's political power at court and in Peru, leading ultimately to the eclipse of their vast business empire during the vice-regency of Francisco de Toledo (1569–1581).

Varón has presented a vivid and compelling vision of how the Pizarro family created and then lost the tremendous political power and economic wealth that it had gained by force of arms and entrepreneurial skill after overthrowing the Inca Empire. Like all good books, this study also raises important questions for future research. How, for example, did the rise and

decline of the Pizarro empire in Peru parallel the fortunes of other conquistadors in the heartland of the former Inca Empire and in more peripheral zones, such as Quito or Charcas? Moreover, how did the rise of royal power both undermine the conquistador elite and also empower a new class of merchants, bureaucrats, clergymen, and landowners? Finally, how did the various indigenous groups (both allies and enemies) respond to the rise and fall of the political and economic fortunes of the Pizarros? In fairness, these are all issues touched upon to some degree in this book. In so doing, Varón has provided a key building block for future attempts to write studies of the period that encompass the reciprocal contributions of both Spaniards and Andeans to the formation of the new colonial society that emerged atop the ruins of the Inca Empire. This is a fine study in its own right, however, which should also appeal to students of Latin America, early modern business and economic historians, and specialists in European colonization.

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## Film Reviews

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O QUATRILHO. Produced by Luiz Carlos Barreto; directed by Fábio Barreto; screenplay by José Clemente Pozenato and Leopoldo Serran from the novel by Clemente Pozenato. Brazil, 1995; color; 120 minutes. Portuguese. Distributor: Palace Films (Australia/New Zealand).

FOUR DAYS IN SEPTEMBER [*O que é isso companheiro?*]. Produced by Lucy Barreto; directed by Bruno Barreto; screenplay by Fernando Gabeira and Leopoldo Serran, based on the novel by Gabeira. Brazil, 1997; color; 113 minutes. Distributor: Miramax.

FOREIGN LAND [*Terra estrangeira*]. Produced by Flávio Tambellini and Antônio da Cunha Telles; directed by Walter Salles, Jr., and Daniela Thomas; screenplay by Marcos Bernstein, Salles, and Thomas. Brazil, 1995; black and white; 110 minutes. Portuguese.

Prior to World War II, far more people emigrated to Latin America than left the region for Europe or the United States. Only after 1960 did a significant number of Latin Americans seek new economic opportunities and in some cases escape political and social persecution by leaving their countries. Brazil is no exception to this trend. As in the United States, immigration has helped shape its national mythology and in some regions has played an important role in shaping local identities. It is therefore not surprising that the themes of migration, expatriation, and exile inform many of the Brazilian films appearing in the last few years.

Brazilian film production has recently received a boost after having undergone a period of decline under the government of Fernando Collor de Mello (1980–1992), which abolished Embrafil, the federal agency that supported film production. In 1994, new legislative incentives and a more favorable economy improved conditions for filmmakers. Since 1994, three critically acclaimed Brazilian films have examined various aspects of the push-pull factors that define migration patterns, detailing the lives of Brazilians either inside or outside Brazil at important stages in the country's political history. *O Quatrilho*, a feature film directed by Fábio Barreto in 1995 and nominated for the Academy Award for best foreign film in 1996, relates the story of the assimilation and integration of Italian immigrants to the southern province of Rio

Grande do Sul at the end of the nineteenth century. *Terra estrangeira*, created by newcomers Walter Salles, Jr., and Daniela Thomas in 1995, breaks new ground as the first feature film to explore the lives of Brazilians abroad (in Lisbon) during the early 1990s. Finally, Bruno Barreto's latest film, *Four Days in September*, nominated this year for the Oscar for best foreign film and based on the testimony of Brazilian writer Fernando Gabeira, is a powerful political drama that re-creates life under the military dictatorship of the late 1960s. This period also produced a diverse Brazilian diaspora as the Brazilian government forced many into exile.

Based on a novel by José Clemente Pozenato, *O Quatrilho* centers on the struggles and triumphs of two Italian couples who settle in the state of Rio Grande do Sul at the turn of the century. Passion and the temptation of infidelity provide the major tensions throughout the first part of the film, until one wife (Teresa) elopes with the other's husband (Máximo), bringing to life the title of the movie—a four-handed Brazilian card game in which players are able to change partners. Circumstances that might first appear tragic for the individuals left behind prove to be a blessing in disguise when the newly paired couple (Pierina and Angelo) find out that they are perfectly suited for one another.

This well-crafted, beautifully filmed story is also a clever romantic reconstruction of turn-of-the-century Brazil. Brazil had begun to receive thousands of European immigrants in the early nineteenth century, but after the abolition of slavery in 1888 these numbers skyrocketed. According to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Economics, between 1904 and 1913 Brazil received 384,672 Portuguese, 224,672 Spanish, 196,521 Italians, 33,859 Germans, and 42,117 Turkish immigrants, most of them headed for the temperate regions of the southernmost states. Like many immigrants to Brazil, the main protagonists quickly find opportunities for advancement despite the odd, conservative values and complacency of the communities in which they live, and in the process they incorporate themselves into the capitalist economy.

Barreto's vision is undeniably romantic, focusing on the integration and social mobility of two Italian families rather than the social tensions of the time.

The film makes the not-always-true argument that immigrants who work hard reap their rewards in this land of opportunity. Only passing references are made to the problems of capitalism and other dominant political ideologies. One of the main characters, for example, is branded a "capitalist" for his ruthless entrepreneurial machinations, and an anarchist criticizing capitalism appears drunk in a bar. Historians have already shown, however, that the Brazilian state was hungry for European immigrants, partly to distance itself from slavery and slave labor and to whiten the population, partly to bring in skilled labor for a rapidly expanding economy. Indeed, conditions were so horrific in some cases that many governments warned their citizens against migrating to Brazil. (Switzerland, Prussia, and other German-speaking jurisdictions, for example, banned Brazilian efforts to recruit immigrants.) Still, for many, Brazil was a land of opportunity, and this is the theme that Barreto has chosen to present.

Barreto's focus on the integration of two Italian immigrant families into a Brazilian locale over time parallels general historical developments in Brazil. Both families move away from rural, provincial towns to vibrant, bustling cities governed by the spirit of progress. As the families grow and change (becoming more Brazilian), so does Brazil. By 1930, the immigrant's contribution to the country's development was difficult to ignore and, in part, fueled the anti-immigrant sentiments of Brazilian nationalism, which emerged during the government of President Getulio Vargas (1930–1944).

In 1937, the popular Vargas established Brazil's first dictatorship, which was largely supported by the military, intellectuals, and the middle classes. The Brazilian military, which supported Vargas in the 1930s, established its own dictatorship in 1964. Although initially endorsed by the middle classes, the military government grew increasingly unpopular. Brazil saw unprecedented restrictions on civil liberties and an escalation in violations of human rights. Censorship and corruption were rampant as the government orchestrated an official Brazilian patriotism. Meanwhile, the list of intellectuals, artists, and political dissidents jailed or invited to leave the country grew. Bruno Barreto's 1997 film *Four Days in September* creates a window onto this tumultuous period in Brazilian history.

Based on the testimony of Fernando Gabeira in his 1979 book, this film reconstructs the events of four days in September 1969, when a group of urban guerrillas (The 8th of October Revolutionary Movement, or MR-8) decided to kidnap the American ambassador to Brazil, Charles Burke Elbrick (Alan Arkin), in hopes of forcing the military dictatorship to cease its censorship and to release a limited number of political prisoners. While remaining true to the spirit of Gabeira's testimony, Barreto and screenwriter Leopoldo Serran have taken several poetic liberties to adapt his work to the silver screen. The film version accentuates the relationships among the people in-

involved in the kidnapping and tries to understand the personal motivations of those who chose to take up arms.

Barreto, who released his most celebrated film, *Dona Flor and Her Two Husbands* (adapted from the Jorge Amado novel) exactly two decades ago, has opted to tell this story employing techniques from the political thriller, a move that not only makes the story accessible to American audiences but also uncannily recalls the tensions within a population that was heavily censored and controlled. Barreto renders a thoroughly engrossing historical reproduction while allowing the viewers to examine notions of individual responsibility and the relationship between the state and the individual. Many of the members of MR-8 were middle-class "revolutionaries" untrained in guerrilla tactics and guided only by a naïve or vague sense of revolutionary struggle. Yet they never doubted the moral legitimacy of their battle against an illegitimate, torturing military regime.

Barreto's film also offers several important comparisons between civil society in the United States and Brazil during the 1960s. The captive ambassador narrates his letters to his wife, in which he comments on the Brazilian reality and describes his captors. One of them, whom he calls "the intellectual" (Fernando Gabeira), manages to engage the ambassador on U.S. political questions such as the demands of the Black Panthers movement and American involvement in Vietnam. Interestingly, it is through this dialogue that we glean an understanding of the relationship between the state and the individual. The ambassador, an official representative of the United States, carefully distinguishes his personal opinions from his discussions of U.S. policy on issues such as Vietnam and the U.S. government relationship to Latin American dictatorships. Gabeira, on the other hand, has decided to change his identity and join the armed movement precisely because his personal views were out of step with the Brazilian military dictatorship.

Complete with historical legends illustrating important dates and places, and black-and-white footage from the time period, *Four Days in September* offers students of history insight into the complexities of life under dictatorship. The film attempts to explain how and why the main protagonists have become revolutionaries, but it also shows how dictatorship survives with the help of ordinary people who report anything that seems suspicious or out of order, creating an atmosphere of repression.

By filming a local soccer match at the Maracana stadium, a huge structure with a capacity for 200,000 spectators, Barreto recalls that this historical era was also a time of growing Brazilian patriotism and popular class celebration. Brazil had become a dominant force in world soccer, having won the World Cup in 1958 and 1962. It was therefore fitting that the rebels chose to release the ambassador outside the Maracana stadium. The filming of the match with all its revelry provides a marked contrast to the silence and repres-



sion outside. During the 1960s and 1970s, then, official patriotism encouraged cultural and popular celebration but did not tolerate political challenges. Government officials routinely tortured dissidents and forced many into exile—as one of the last images of the film indicates. The film is economical and prudent in its construction of scenes of torture without downplaying the horror. Moreover, Barreto is careful not to create heroes and villains; rather, he recalls the multiplicity of emotions and responses to Brazilian dictatorship.

Overwhelming protest by students, workers, and the middle classes, coupled with a failing economy, eventually forced Brazil into a period known as *abertura*, or political opening, which led to the selection of a civilian president in 1985. Five years later, Brazil's popularly elected president, Fernando Collor de Mello, began a new era in Brazilian democracy amid national feelings of optimism and hope. The euphoria was short-lived, however. Collor inherited an ailing economy and fragile political institutions plagued by corruption, and he did nothing to change them. Moreover, his economic, political, and social policies exacerbated the problems of the country's middle class and the working poor. Collor, who was forced to step down as president on charges of corruption in 1992, stifled cultural production by cutting back subsidies and closing many cultural institutions while lining his own pockets with bribes.

*Foreign Land*, a poignant *film noiresque* production set in the 1990s, re-creates the mood of this period in Brazilian history. The first part of the film vacillates between two separate realities and two separate spaces. On the one hand, the film focuses on the challenges faced by two Brazilians (Miguel and Alex) who have left the chaos of Brazil to live in Portugal and the difficulties they face in that "foreign land." At the same time, the film underscores the fact that many living in Brazil under Collor's government had become somewhat disillusioned, regarding Brazil itself as "a foreign land" that deprived them of their dreams and ambitions.

The main plot in Brazil revolves around the Spanish-born seamstress Manuela and her son Paco who live in São Paulo. The shock of Collor's economic policies kills Manuela, who had been saving money to take her son to visit her native land. After his mother's death, Paco begins the journey that she intended for him, but before he arrives in Spain finds himself in the Portuguese capital. Unknowingly, Paco enters a world of crime and drugs, and in his attempt to escape finds companionship with another Brazilian (Alex) who has also been swept away by historical circumstances. *Foreign Land* relies on several classic detective motifs to propel the story forward, and at times the melodrama can be overbearing, particularly the chase scenes, which borrow elements from American gangster movies, and the ending, which is reminiscent of the American road movie with the stars riding off into the sunset.

The film nonetheless communicates the frustrations

of Brazilians living in Brazil and especially in Portugal during the early 1990s. The directors take us through Lisbon's enchanting streets, small stores, and immigrant enclaves. Brazilians attempt to find refuge in the ancient colonial metropolis, but they are disappointed. The fact that thousands of Portuguese and other immigrants had successfully crossed the Atlantic to make Brazil their home is not lost on the filmmakers. Despite the shared language, history, and common cultural practices, Lisbon is a foreign place where Brazilians meet with other immigrants, including Angolans, Mozambicans, and Cape Verdians, who joke that they can't believe Portugal was ever a formidable empire. These would-be immigrants do not assimilate or integrate into Portuguese society, as Europeans did in Brazil almost a century before. Nor have they been "forced" to travel abroad like the political exiles of the 1960s. These are new times, times of democracy, but also of economic and political uncertainty. All the while, a Brazilian diaspora continues to grow in a number of European and North American cities.

These three films chart the vast economic, social, and cultural changes that Brazil has experienced in the twentieth century. *O Quatrilho* and *Foreign Land* provide opposing images of the Brazilian reality. The former, romantic and upbeat, represents a patriotic vision of Brazil at the turn of the last century and attests to the popular slogan "Brazil Is the Place to Live!"; the latter, decidedly downbeat, attempts to explain why Brazilians at the end of this century must flee their homeland. Based on specific historical events under military dictatorships in 1969, *Four Days in September* is neither romantic nor overly critical of Brazil. This was an era when another popular slogan reigned: "Brazil, Love It or Leave It!" The differing cinematic visions are not merely reflective of middle-class perceptions of three distinct eras in Brazilian history, they are emblematic of the diversity among Brazilian film productions since 1994.

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**TITANIC.** Produced by James Cameron and Jon Landau; written and directed by James Cameron. 1997; color; 210 minutes. Distributor: Twentieth Century Fox.

Like it or not, James Cameron's *Titanic* will be the cultural reference point through which a generation will approach issues of turn-of-the-century gender, class, and technology. To ignore *Titanic* is to set aside a valuable entrance into issues of historical representation and myth making, but to engage it is to venture onto a well-churned battleground of pedants: witness the controversy over which version of "Nearer My God to Thee" was actually played by the ship's band. Rather than repeat the catalog of elisions that mark our world apart from an "authentic" 1912, it is more interesting to view the film as a source for the preoccupations and values of 1997.

Cameron's film interweaves three key elements: a framing story of a treasure hunt, during which a salvage team must learn the "true" human meanings of the epic event from a survivor, Rose (Gloria Stuart); the love story of how, as a first-class passenger, young Rose (Kate Winslet) escapes her wicked fiancé, Cal (Billy Zane) through the love of a steerage passenger, Jack (Leonardo DiCaprio); and the mesmerizing re-creation of the ship through lavish sets and special effects. The combination is beguiling. Not since a monochrome Dorothy looked out onto a Technicolor Munchkinland has there been a transition to match the magical melting of the wreck of 1997 into the liner of 1912. Unfortunately, this transition carries the seductive claim that objective truth travels with the camera into the reconstruction. An awareness of the present-day contingencies of Cameron's version melts along with the barnacles and the seaweed.

Class and gender distinctions are as clearly drawn on Cameron's *Titanic* as on the original ship. The difference between steerage and first class there and here also is the difference between life and death. During the sinking, to be first class and female is to live. Cameron implies, however, that this first-class life was too superficial to be worth bothering with: the "real party" raged below decks. The class lines are manifest in structures (the decks); manners, prejudice (when told that "half the people on this ship are going to die," Cal replies: "Not the better half"), and violence (Cal's sinister manservant, Spicer Lovejoy [David Warner] polices the class divide with a handgun and dies, symbolically, at the very moment and place that the ship breaks in two). These class divisions are given an ethnic tinge by the presence of assorted Irish, Italians, and Eastern Europeans below decks. This disparate group is welded into a coherent mass by the uniform strains of Celtic music and much merry dancing. In keeping with this celticization, Rose finally escapes her evil fiancé in New York by "passing" as a steerage passenger beneath a tartan shawl.

The gender politics also display racial constructions. As the *Titanic* steams to its doom, Rose navigates a passage from the strictures of nineteenth-century life to liberated twentieth-century womanhood. In old age, she compares her position as a society bride in 1912 to slavery: "for me *Titanic* was a slave ship, taking me back to America in chains." As Rose grabs her bedpost to be laced into her corset, she is told by her mother to marry money: "of course it's unfair—we're women." Few could miss the visual quotation from *Gone with the Wind* (1939), also reflected in Cameron's fixation on the *Titanic*'s main staircase. But can the Scarlett O'Hara of 1997 really be a slave? Cameron's claim requires the historical absence of black people from the ship, and he chooses to ignore all working-class women from steerage, who might have had a marginally better title to such kinship.

Many elements in the fiction would be as familiar to *Titanic* passengers as the authentic china in the dining room. Zane's villain and the hero chained in a flooding

room would both have been instantly recognizable. The gender values of 1912 are also disturbingly well preserved. Rose escapes one male authority figure but only because she obeys the orders of another man.

In *Terminator* (1984), Cameron imagined a future in which humans battle soulless robots. *Titanic* is no less of a duel with technology. His characters fight the ship; his actors fight the special effects. Although the hardened treasure hunters may weep at the conclusion of Rose's story, the human dimension frequently drowns in this hi-tech retelling of the story. The effects win. Future historians may wonder that Cameron turned a sobering tale of technology's limits into a dazzling celebration of its capabilities, that the last great failure of the steam age could resurface as the first great triumph of the digital age, and that we bought it all.

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ROSEWOOD. Produced by Tracy Barone, Penelope L. Foster, and Jon Peters; directed by John Singleton; screenplay by Gregory Poirier. 1997; color; 140 minutes. Distributor: Warner Brothers.

THE ROSEWOOD MASSACRE: THE UNTOLD STORY. Produced by David Tereshchuk; narrated by Jack Smith. 1997; color; 59 minutes. Produced for the Discovery Channel by ABC News. Distributor: The Discovery Channel.

If historical films serve an important historical purpose, they do so not because they accurately reproduce the details of the past in ways that satisfy specialists; few do. Instead, films serve history by reminding audiences ignorant of, indifferent, and increasingly even hostile to considerations of past events, of the way people not unlike themselves lived in other times. By that standard, *Rosewood*, directed by John Singleton, is a very valuable effort indeed. The story of the destruction of a prosperous black township in northern Florida in early 1923 provides the occasion vividly to tell three stories remembered today by few Americans, black or white. The first is a story of black achievement in the face of overwhelming adversity in the Jim Crow America of the early twentieth century. The second story is of the bestial racial violence visited upon Americans of African descent, particularly in the wake of World War I. The final story, the most undertold of all, is black resistance to that violence, a resistance that frequently rose to heroic if often not effective levels.

Singleton weaves these interrelated stories together through the use of a fictional protagonist named Mann (Ving Rhames) placed, to an admirable extent, among the characters based on actual historical figures in the Rosewood tragedy. Mann rides on horseback into the town of Rosewood like the hero of many a Hollywood western. He is a World War I veteran still wearing his beat-up campaign hat. We will later learn in passing that he was the recipient of the nation's second highest award for valor, the Distinguished Service Cross. He

has come to settle in Rosewood, a small, all-black town whose residents have achieved a measure of economic stability through farming, working in the nearby lumber mill, and small business. The film also introduces us to characters based on historical figures such as Sylvester Carrier (Don Cheadle), a black man who died defending his family from a white mob, and John and Mary Wright (Jon Voight and Kathryn Meisle), white storekeepers who rescued many of the black residents of Rosewood.

The black folk of Rosewood had managed to carve out a relative measure of prosperity and contentment by the early 1920s, but that was all destroyed in the rampage of January 1923. A false accusation by a white woman that she had been sexually assaulted by a black man created lynch fever. Within a week, whites from the surrounding towns had destroyed the black village, killing or dispersing most of the residents.

It is in the depiction of that lynch fever that Singleton's direction provides its greatest value. *Rosewood* captures the culture of the lynch mob in a way few others, popular or scholarly, have been able to do. The sheer barbarity of the enterprise, its physical cruelty, is vividly on display. Most harrowing is the scene of the white father who drags his reluctant son to participate in a lynching as a kind of perverted rite of passage.

Yet Singleton also admirably resists the temptation to make his and history's white southerners one-dimensional. There are white heroes. The Wrights protect, at gunpoint, black families from a white mob. Railroad workers help spirit black women and children out of Rosewood to safety. An armed posse stops the lynch mob from entering a neighboring town, saying, "Our colored are law-abiding folks." These individuals are not anachronistically made into late twentieth-century liberals; instead, Singleton wisely allows them to be men and women who are shaped by the confining racial sensibilities of their time and place but who also at critical moments manage to transcend those limitations.

And *Rosewood* captures the often hidden story of black resistance to racial violence in the Jim Crow era. Central here is the fictional Mann, whose exploits are in the great Hollywood heroic tradition. Mann sends half a dozen members of a lynch mob fleeing for their lives as he fires at them with army-issue .45 caliber pistols in both hands, great catharsis if not exactly accurate history. Mann also manages a gruesome escape from his own hanging. Singleton is at his best, however, not in creating the legend of the superheroic Mann but in his depiction of the genuine courage of actual blacks forced to defend home and family from the inhuman fury of the mob. Sylvester Carrier defends most of his family, preventing their murder. In the film, he successfully escapes the mob. The real story had a less happy ending: Carrier was reportedly killed in Rosewood, but he did save his family through armed resistance. Both the real Carrier and his altered cinematic counterpart provide an important reminder of a time when the willingness and ability of African Americans to resist mob violence provided the only

real impediment to the ever-present rule of Judge Lynch.

*Rosewood's* dramatizations should be taken with a supplement, the Discovery Channel documentary *The Rosewood Massacre: The Untold Story*. This film tells how the history of the Rosewood massacre had been long suppressed until it began to be uncovered by investigative journalist Gary Moore in the early 1980s. The interviews with survivors of the massacre are particularly compelling.

The documentary also places the events in a broader context. With the help of historians John Hope Franklin and Daryl Scott, the filmmakers present the massacre against the broader background of racial tension in the rural South of the 1920s. This was the period of the revival of the Ku Klux Klan and heightened white southern fears of the black veterans of the American Expeditionary Force. Black veterans were feared because they had seen a world less confining than that of the American South and because many, like the fictional Mann, could fight. *The Rosewood Massacre* also informs us that state authorities knew of the events and refused to intervene.

The story of Rosewood is more than a simple story of racial violence in one small town. It represents an era when the law's failure and white envy combined to make black life precarious. That history has been obscured, not only for the town of Rosewood but for similar communities in other states. By bringing this history to light in a popular vehicle, John Singleton has done much to enhance the public's historical education.

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SEVEN YEARS IN TIBET. Produced and directed by Jean-Jacques Annaud; screenplay by Becky Johnston, based on the book by Heinrich Harrer. 1997; color; 139 minutes. Distributor: Sony Pictures Entertainment/TriStar.

KUNDUN. Produced by Barbara De Fina; directed by Martin Scorsese; screenplay by Melissa Mathison, based on the life story of the Dalai Lama. 1997; color; 128 minutes. Distributor: Buena Vista Pictures.

For over sixty years, the shadow of *Lost Horizon* has lingered over cinematic portrayals of Tibet and its environs. Ironically, James Hilton's 1933 novel of a secluded Himalayan utopia, and its many film, television, and radio adaptations, had little in common with concepts indigenous to the region. In place of such basic Buddhist doctrines as reincarnation, the inhabitants of "Shangri-La" have discovered the secret of longevity, led by a "High Lama" who is in fact a Christian missionary. Two new films relate in different ways to Hilton's vision: *Seven Years in Tibet* uses many of its narrative strategies, while *Kundun* sets aside all vestiges of *Lost Horizon*.

*Seven Years in Tibet* portrays the decade-long Asian odyssey of Heinrich Harrer (Brad Pitt), based on Harrer's widely translated 1953 book (which was first filmed as a documentary in 1956). Beginning as a ruthless member of a German mountain-climbing team, he is incarcerated as an enemy alien in India at the outbreak of World War II but escapes by crossing the Himalayas. Arriving in the Tibetan capital, Lhasa, Harrer begins to interact with the people and inculcate their philosophy. From correspondence, Harrer learns that the pregnant wife he left behind in Germany in 1939 divorced him and that he has been rejected by the son he has never seen. Harrer is asked to teach the Dalai Lama about Western life and finds him to be a curious child nearly the same age as his own boy. Although their friendship is only a relatively minor part of the narrative, the opportunity to compensate for his own filial failure completes Harrer's recognition of his shortcomings, beginning the transformation of his character. However, other relationships in Tibet are no more successful than those at home; Harrer's friendship with the fellow mountaineer with whom he journeyed to Tibet dissolves in jealousy when the latter marries a Tibetan woman and adopts the country as his new homeland (an episode that is the only major departure from Harrer's text). With the Chinese invasion, Harrer flees Tibet with the refugees, eventually returning to Europe, where he now feels that he has become a stranger.

The narrative follows the traditional pattern of an amoral white who achieves redemption through contact with a distant culture. This also allows Harrer to serve as an intermediary, easing the primary audience into the experience of a journey to a remote, Eastern land through a familiar Western viewpoint. By contrast, *Kundun*, made for less than half the 65 million dollar budget of *Seven Years in Tibet*, is purely the Dalai Lama's story (up to age twenty-four, when he fled into exile) and has been made with his authorization and assistance. Excluding whites, the cast of *Kundun* is made up of actual Tibetans, mostly nonprofessionals, many related to the individual they portray.

*Kundun* is told from the Dalai Lama's perspective. Although most films reduce wider issues by bringing them down to the personal level, here the reverse occurs, as the Dalai Lama's life becomes a metaphor for the fate of his country. (The title is translated as "The Presence" and is a term of respect used by Tibetans for Dalai Lamas.) Filmed with the restraint required of a spiritual central character, *Kundun* has a thematic complexity lacking in *Seven Years in Tibet*. For instance, *Kundun* depicts China's invasion as a process of tightening control, increasingly brutal repression, and such overwhelming force that violent resistance is impossible. After the Dalai Lama spends a decade trying to achieve an accommodation, even after the Chinese send his own brother to kill him, a visit to Mao Zedong—who tells him that "religion is poison"—signals the utter irreconcilability of their perspectives. By contrast, *Seven Years in Tibet* portrays

the invasion as a single act. The account centers on a particular monk who betrays the location of the Tibetans' arms supply to the Chinese, thereby simplistically implying that the Tibetans might have fought a guerrilla war in the mountains (analogous to the Afghans' struggle against the Russians in the 1980s).

Unlike the usual epic style used in *Seven Years in Tibet*, *Kundun* avoids traditional techniques of historical filmmaking. Instead, director Martin Scorsese's abstract, meditative approach and Philip Glass's score create an original form that embodies Tibetan culture and thought by straddling the boundary between experimental and mainstream filmmaking. The visuals and the script capture both the spiritual ideas of the Tibetan people (such as the key concept of reincarnation, essential to the child's selection as Dalai Lama) and the historical sweep of events. For instance, the shot of the Dalai Lama surrounded by the corpses of thousands of bloody, dead monks after the Chinese invasion is a perfect expression both of his personal nightmare as well as historical fact. However, such abstraction also has its perils. For instance, the Oracle's powers go unexplained, and he seems little more than a standard Hollywood shaman. A sequence in the last third of the movie edits together the Dalai Lama's harrowing journey across the Himalayas, evading the Chinese to reach India, with repetitive images that ineffectively symbolize the destruction of Tibetan culture and its re-creation in exile. And in the contrast of Tibet with China, the Dalai Lama's visit to Mao seems stiff and artificial.

Both *Seven Years in Tibet* and *Kundun* received a tepid response from critics. *Seven Years in Tibet* became embroiled in the "discovery" that Harrer had more extensive Nazi affiliations than he had previously admitted, although these connections, and their impact on his character, had been fully explored in the movie. In the case of *Kundun*, the high regard for Scorsese as a director did not benefit a film so divergent from the crime-filled urban milieus for which he is best known. As outlined in *Sight and Sound* (February 1998), many critics found a theocratic state inherently unpalatable or dismissed the subject matter as a celebrity phenomenon they labeled "Tibetan chic." While the adverse critical reaction tended to demonstrate that any such fashion was hardly widespread, it also effectively delegitimized the political concerns of *Kundun*.

Although *Seven Years in Tibet* received the most promotion, both it and *Kundun* have been commercial failures in the United States. The pressure unsuccessfully applied by the government of the People's Republic of China to compel cancellation of both productions (which did force using locations outside of India) proved not only unwise but completely unnecessary. American filmgoers apparently prefer the Shangri-La that never existed over two generally accurate depictions of the traditions, beliefs, and modern history of the country that ostensibly inspired the legend.

BRIAN TAVES

*Library of Congress*



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## Collected Essays

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These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

### GENERAL

ROBERT FOSSIER, editor. *La petite enfance dans l'Europe médiévale et moderne*. (Seizièmes journées d'histoire de Flaran.) Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail. 1997. Pp. 234. 138 fr.

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# Communications

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## ARTICLES

### TO THE EDITOR:

Sarah A. Kent's review article on the Yugoslav wars is typical of much of the recent writing on that part of the world ["Writing the Yugoslav Wars: English-Language Books on Bosnia (1992–1996) and the Challenges of Analyzing Contemporary History," *AHR* 102 (October 1997): 1085–1114]. Her gratuitous advice to "some" Serb victims of rape to seek redress in Bosnian courts (p. 1110) while non-Serb women are presumably entitled to the facilities of the International War Crimes Tribunal in the Hague is characteristic of the double standard that permeates her contribution to South Slav history. Books that do not reflect the Authorized Version of events are simply ignored. Her bibliography of forty-odd book titles does not include the works of Yossef Bodansky and Alex Dragnich.

A more subtle approach to Bosnian history would have prevented her from discovering "strength" in the thesis that "peaceful coexistence, not conflict, typified multicultural Bosnia historically" (p. 1093). Plenty of peasant proverbs, folk songs, and folk tales reflect a very different perception of Bosnian reality under Muslim rule. So do reports of Western travelers passing through Bosnia and of diplomats stationed there. Muslim mistreatment of Christians explains the popularity of outlaws in the Bosnian Serb community. The *hajduci*, who fought the Muslims in the mountains and on the highways, were highly regarded by their co-religionaries long before the "modern period" (p. 1093). In the nineteenth century, Muslim feudalism provoked Serb peasant revolts in 1806–1807, 1809,

1810, 1812, 1843, 1847, 1852–1862, and 1875–1876. According to the Austro-Hungarian census of 1910, 73 percent of the Serb population in Bosnia-Herzegovina consisted of serfs (*kmetovi*) who worked on estates mostly owned by non-Serbs. The same census reveals that 85 percent of the feudal lords (*begovi*) were Muslims. The shots that Gavrilo Princip, the son of a serf, fired in 1914 were his response to a system of gross exploitation and oppression that Austria-Hungary made no serious effort to resolve.

IVAN AVAKUMOVIC  
EMERITUS  
*University of British Columbia,  
Vancouver*

### SARAH KENT REPLIES:

In composing a review essay, an author must make difficult decisions about which books to include. I initially envisioned a more comprehensive essay, including not only Dragnich's book but also works by such authors as Susan Woodward, Lenard Cohen, Branka Magaš, and Mihajlo Crnobrnja. The sheer number of books published on the former Yugoslavia since 1992 has threatened to overwhelm even specialists in the field, and I was fortunate that Gale Stokes, John Lampe, and Denison Rusinow's "Instant History: Understanding the Yugoslav Wars of Succession" appeared in the *Slavic Review* (Spring 1996) in the early stages of the composition of my own article. Their comprehensive survey enabled me to narrow my focus to the problems in understanding the literature specifically on Bosnia.

As I state in the article, most of the English-language books that have been published specifically on Bosnia do not present a Bosnian Serb or Bosnian Croat side to the story, but the purpose of a review essay is to orient readers in a body of literature, not to give disproportionate emphasis to competing interpretations. The theme of "peaceful coexistence," for example, is not my interpretation but the interpretation that emerges from the four histories of Bosnia. These important and serious historical works merit reading, for they all contribute to our knowledge of the rich tapestry of Bosnia's past. As I point out in the

article, however, the authors wrote those books in the inflamed context of a conflict fueled by myths about Bosnian history. The authors were also therefore responding to the distorted characterizations that Bosnia and Hercegovina had no historical viability, that Bosniaks had no real national identity, and that a sovereign, independent, and multicultural Bosnia was an impossible state.

I want to thank Ivan Avakumovic for acquainting the readership of the *American Historical Review* with the rich and interesting details about the long tradition of the *hajduci* and the frequency of peasant revolt in the nineteenth century because they illustrate sources for the inscription of national identity in the modern period. The Ottoman Empire was in deep crisis by the nineteenth century, which made it an unpleasant place to live, especially for the subject peoples at the bottom of the social scale. Epic poetry and folk literature—much of it preserving the memory of the Ottoman conquest—were crucial elements in the construction of a Serbian identity that helped foster resistance to oppression, which nineteenth-century travelers such as Sir Arthur Evans and Lady Sebright brought to the attention of European readers.

The 1910 census indeed recorded that Orthodox Christians composed 73.9 percent and Roman Catholics 21.5 percent of the serf population in Bosnia. Muslims made up 91.4 percent of the large landowners with serfs and 85.4 percent of all landowners with and without serfs. What those commonly cited figures do not reveal is that only 13.4 percent of the Muslim population in Bosnia were landowners with and without serfs; the remainder were free peasants (82.7 percent) and serfs (3.9 percent). Certainly, the Serbs in Bosnia were the most disadvantaged of the three ethnic groups in 1910, but the post-World War I land reform altered socioeconomic relations in the Bosnian countryside, and former Serb serfs were among the chief beneficiaries.

Finally, I wish to assure Ivan Avakumovic and the readers of the *American Historical Review* that my comments on the legal situation of some Bosnian Serb women brutalized in the recent conflict were not intended as “gratuitous advice.” Rather, I was making an observation both about the lack of unity in Western feminist interpretations of the conflict and about one of the likely, but unfortunate, consequences of the indictments at the War Crimes Tribunal.

SARAH A. KENT  
University of Wisconsin,  
Stevens Point

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### TO THE EDITOR:

I very much appreciated Richard O. Collin's favorable review of my book, *The Aldo Moro Murder Case* (*AHR*

102 [October 1997]: 1187–88). Unfortunately, two errors mar the review, and these need to be corrected. He described the P2 scandal as “the story of Giorgio Galli, Michele Sindona, Lucio Calvi, and their rogue Masonic Lodge.” Two of these names are incorrect. Giorgio Galli is a distinguished historian and political scientist of broadly left-wing outlook, and he will be astonished to see his name linked to the reactionary P2 organization of Licio Gelli (the name that Richard Collin surely meant to cite here). Moreover, the Calvi in question is Roberto, not Lucio.

RICHARD DRAKE  
University of Montana,  
Missoula

I stand corrected.

RICHARD OLIVER COLLIN  
Coastal Carolina University

### TO THE EDITOR:

I am grateful to Robert L. Messer for providing “a wag’s” definition of a cult in his review of *Truman and the Hiroshima Cult* by Robert P. Newman (*AHR* 102 [October 1997]: 1253), but it might have been more useful to readers if he had provided Newman’s definition. Messer maintains that “if you are not a true believer in the orthodox gospel of the necessity and morality of President Harry S. Truman’s atomic bomb decision, you are a member of the Hiroshima cult” as defined by Newman. The reviewer paints with an awfully broad brush and, if taken literally, would have readers believe that Newman’s “cultists” include everyone from Barton J. Bernstein to myself. What Newman makes very clear, however, is that he is talking about a group of individuals whose views on the subject are so unalterably fixed that they have become immune to any evidence that might cause them to reexamine their beliefs. Indeed, a quick review of the literature finds that most if not all of the people who found *Truman and the Hiroshima Cult* to be sound—Norman Graebner, Robert Ferrell, Sir Michael Howard, Ferenc Szasz, and Michael Pearlman—have modified their views over time as additional documents have become available.

Messer’s own knowledge of this subject is decidedly thin, but, as he freely confesses in his review, he includes himself among the cultists and, remarkably, while charging that Newman indulges in caricature and *ad hominem* arguments, does so himself with great abandon. Messer says that Truman meant what he wrote in his diary about Japan “folding up” before Russia entered the war, and scoffs at Newman’s naïve notion that what Truman did is more important than what he said in his off-the-cuff remarks. Barton Bernstein has demonstrated convincingly that Messer is wrong; anyone inclined to believe Messer should read Bernstein in *International Security*, Winter 1991–1992. The review does, however, raise an important ques-

tion: why on earth give a book out for an objective review to an individual criticized in its very pages?

D. M. GIANGRECO

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ROBERT L. MESSER REPLIES:

I will make two points in this limited space. First, unlike D. M. Giangreco, I hope that the *AHR* editors continue to send books to reviewers who may not entirely agree with the author's views. Second, since I do not know him, I will not presume to pass judgment on either Giangreco's integrity or how "thin" may be his knowledge of the subject. But his reading of my review does seem a bit thick. Any objective reader would know that I do not "confess" and include myself in Newman's "Hiroshima cult." Newman applies that label to me and to others with whom I disagree. It is he who paints with a broad brush, smearing a variety of targets with a similar pinkish tint. To me, such treatment obscures more than it clarifies.

Indeed, the main point of the review, in which I agree with some of Newman's criticism of some revisionist arguments, is that *ad hominem* name calling does not advance serious scholarly discussion of how and why atomic bombs were dropped on Japanese cities in August 1945. In my humble opinion, those who defend the moral, military, and political correctness of the atomic bombings do their cause no service by stigmatizing those who disagree with them as members of a sinister, supposedly left-wing "cult."

As I state in the conclusion of the review, after more than fifty years of debate—scholarly and otherwise—neither side has "proved" its case. Final or conclusive proof is impossible because any argument must inevitably rely on various counterfactual, ahistorical scenarios of what might have happened if Franklin D. Roosevelt had lived, if the surrender terms had been modified or clarified, if atomic bombs had not been used, if an invasion would have happened.

Over the years, I, too, have changed my views on some of the issues as new evidence has emerged. According to Giangreco, such a conversion should absolve me of the sin of membership in Newman's cult. But apparently, my views have not changed in the way Giangreco considers "sound." For example, I have dared to point out that Truman, in contrast to his repeated denials after the fact, recorded—in his own quite legible hand, both in his diary and in private letters to his wife, that he believed that a Soviet declaration of war would finish the Japanese and that, as a result, the war would end a year earlier than expected. I also have pointed out that such a belief might well have been mistaken and that the discovery of this once-new documentary evidence (*circa* 1980–1983) did not close the case on why the atomic bombs were used. No one can know or "prove" if Truman's opinion at the time about how the war might end was

an accurate prediction of the future. The atomic bombings forever altered that future.

Unlike Giangreco, I do not consider such private, contemporary, direct documentary evidence merely "off-the-cuff remarks," especially when coupled with other evidence directly from the mouths or pens of those around Truman at the moment he gave the order to drop all available atomic bombs as soon as possible. Others may agree or disagree with my analysis of this evidence. Such differences are part of scholarly discourse. Character assassination is not.

Thus, lest it be misconstrued or misrepresented by my critics, let me here make clear my position. I contend that such insight into his thinking as Truman provides in his Potsdam diary and personal correspondence helps us to understand more (not all) about how, when, and why the bombs were used: *at least insofar as Truman was concerned*. I do not pretend to know the answers to the unanswerable "what if" questions. If, in the minds of the keepers of the orthodox faith in the purity of the atomic bombings, such thoughts be heresy, so be it.

ROBERT L. MESSER

*University of Illinois at Chicago*

TO THE EDITOR:

In light of Warren Treadgold's review of Peter Brown's *Rise of Western Christendom* [*AHR* 102 (December 1997): 1462–63], which highlights the book's lack of documentation, readers should know that a paperback edition complete with endnotes has been available since early 1997 and that the French, Spanish, and Dutch versions also contain references. These notes both signal to scholars the care and erudition that underlie Brown's interpretation and enable interested general readers (at whom the work, part of Jacques Le Goff's *Making of Europe* series, is also aimed) to identify and learn more about the sources around which he constructs his narrative.

Christianization in the late antique and early medieval West was a complex process. Some readers will disagree with Brown on points of fact, approach, and argument. Some will think him pro-Christian, others pro-barbarian. However, all will find in *The Rise of Western Christendom* an original, accessible, thoroughly researched, and evocatively presented study of Christianity as it developed in a range of diverse and changing environments over a period of 800 years. This seems enough to expect.

CAROL E. QUILLEN  
*Rice University*

WARREN TREADGOLD REPLIES:

Presumably, Carol E. Quillen is not objecting to my reviewing the edition of Peter Brown's book that I received, especially because in it Brown insisted on his lack of annotation: "To have provided each such

citation with a reference to the standard edition in which it can be found would have been to change the nature of this book: an essay in synthesis would have become a clumsy half-imitation of a professional handbook. This applies, also, to the translations" (p. xii).

By the time of the paperback edition, from which these words are deleted, I was happy to see that Brown had changed his mind, because his notes identify many otherwise unidentifiable sources. For example, in the hardback version, I had assumed that the anonymous quotation on page 15, said by Brown to describe the "double affliction of rent and taxes" of "the single imperial system" that included Gaul and the Mediterranean, was from a source describing the rents and taxes of the Roman Empire. But the note reveals the source as the Babylonian Talmud, presumably describing the rents and taxes of the Persian Empire, which by no stretch of the imagination formed "a single imperial system" with Rome. The translation quoted by Brown differs from the one he cites in various minor ways, as if he had paraphrased it.

Another note confirms my guess that the sentence on page 59 is mistranslated from the Anonymous of Valois 12/61. Although the note attributes the translation to J. C. Rolfe's Loeb version, Rolfe's translation is quite different and accurate, making none of the four errors made by Brown. Since I cannot believe Brown's Latin is nearly this bad, I assume that he was quoting from memory; but his carelessness is compounded by the fact that he left his text uncorrected after looking up the reference. Again, the actual quotation fails to support Brown's point.

Since the newly supplied notes refer only to quotations and not to any other information, I cannot verify my guess that on page 121 Brown's figure of "900,000 gold pieces" for the East Roman budget is based on misreading Michael Hendy, who actually estimates the budget at 5 to 6 million. Brown's number is in any case much too low. The other errors noted in my review also remain uncorrected in the paperback edition.

It would be hard for anyone to consider a book "pro-Christian" that repeatedly excuses pagans' killing of Christians but sees a sinister "use of force" in St. Boniface's cutting down a tree sacred to pagans (p. 5, not mentioning that the pagans permitted Boniface to cut it, as a test of their belief that it could not be felled). The right approach to understanding the complex process of Christianization is neither pro-Christian nor anti-Christian but balanced and well documented, like that of Ramsay MacMullen's recent *Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries* (1997), which makes some telling points against Brown's work.

Brown's book is indeed "evocatively presented," as I indicated in my review, but it is hardly "thoroughly researched," even with a few endnotes tacked onto it. Those who think history should be different from fiction do not consider originality, accessibility, and evocativeness enough to expect; they also expect a better attempt at accuracy than is made here—espe-

cially from a scholar whose prestige guarantees that his conclusions will be confidently accepted by many others.

WARREN TREADGOLD  
Saint Louis University

#### TO THE EDITOR:

In his review of my book *Labour, Science and Technology in France, 1500–1620* [AHR 102 (December 1997): 1492–93], William Beik notes that my "critique of the Annalists' fascination with immobile structures and of their failure to highlight class conflict is on target." At the same time, Beik invokes the ongoing reality of feudal structures to deny my argument that the French religious wars accelerated the process of primitive accumulation and thereby stimulated an incipient capitalism that strengthened the middle class. But if there was no such emergent capitalism, how can the Annalists' neglect of class conflict and sense of historical immobility be faulted? Indeed, far from questioning the Annales' viewpoint, Beik has fallen in with it. In his review, he anachronistically defines the beginnings of capitalism in terms of full-blown or mature accumulation. As a result, he cannot acknowledge the drama of initial or primary accumulation. Instead of realizing that the failure of a capitalist middle class in the first part of the seventeenth century is a problem to be explained, Beik denies the existence of this class. At the same time, the efforts of the landless or wage earners to maintain or, more important, enlarge their numbers are reduced to "wandering" or economically meaningless social protest. The consequence is a historical conception as stagnant as that of the Annales.

HENRY HELLER  
University of Manitoba

#### WILLIAM BEIK REPLIES:

As I indicated in my review, Henry Heller is to be congratulated for reviving the question of the extent of the French economy's development in the sixteenth century. But I think we should avoid going back to an older historiography that sees the rise of the bourgeoisie behind everything that changes. My problem is with the evidence. Heller deduces incipient capitalism from effects such as the learned fascination with mechanical contraptions, the existence of masses of servants and migrant laborers, and the acquisition of rural farms by urban buyers—effects that could have other meanings—and he never clearly defines what he means by bourgeoisie, capitalist rent, or primitive accumulation, terms he borrows from English history without noting the differences in the French situation (see pp. 141–42). At the same time, he ignores structural obstacles to capitalism that help explain France's distinctive experience. I would argue that a class analysis requires examination of both processes of change and societal impediments to change, along with the distinctive ways



they interacted, and I fail to see why stressing the impediments implies rejection of class conflict. It certainly does not plunge me into the camp of those who emphasize the immobility of history.

WILLIAM BEIK  
Emory University

TO THE EDITOR:

While I appreciate David Block's generally favorable review of my book *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540–1750* (AHR 103 [February 1998]: 204–05), I regret his misstatement that “coverage of South Asian and Far Eastern events derives from secondary literature” (p. 205). On the contrary, it rests on both secondary and abundant primary, especially archival, sources. As the prefatory abbreviations, the notes, and the bibliography amply demonstrate, discussions con-

cerning the Jesuits and their rivals in India rely on extensive use of manuscript materials in the archives of Goa, Lisbon, London, and Rome, as well as on published primary collections including the *Documenta indica* (18 volumes), the *British Factories in India, 1618–1669* (13 volumes), several Portuguese documentary collections, and numerous travel accounts. The primary sources consulted concerning Jesuit enterprise in the Far East include the famous “Jesuítas na Asia” collection of Lisbon's Ajuda archives, as well as manuscripts examined in several other Portuguese archives and especially the “Jap.Sin.” collection in the Archivum Historicum SI in Rome.

DAURIL ALDEN  
University of Washington,  
Seattle

David Block does not wish to reply.

THE EDITORS

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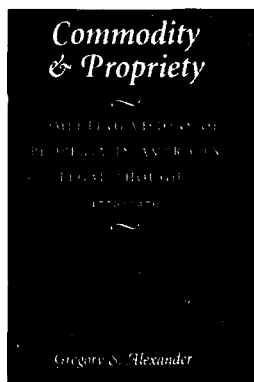
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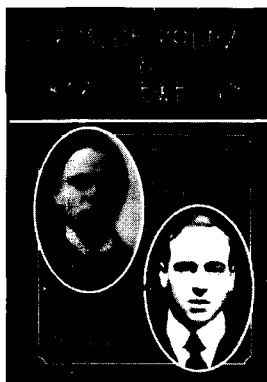
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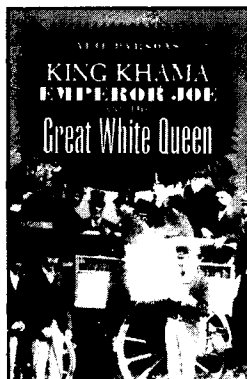
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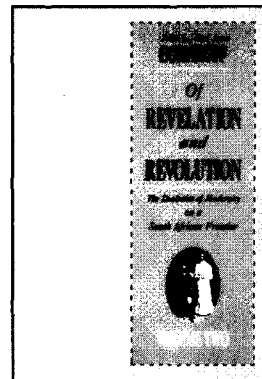
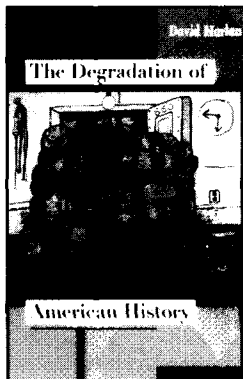
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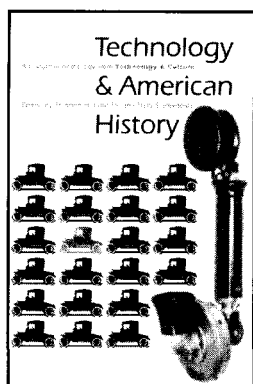
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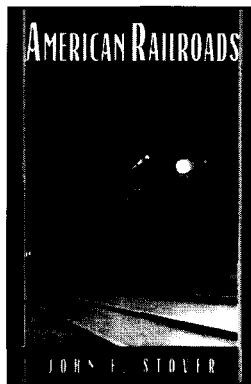
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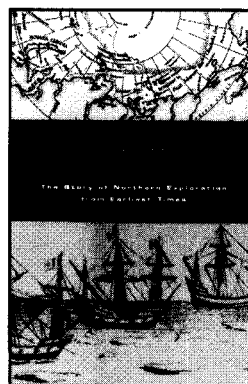
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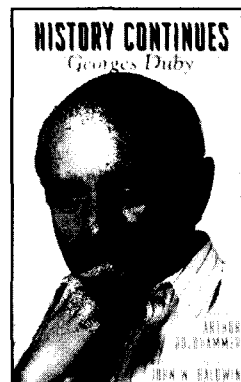
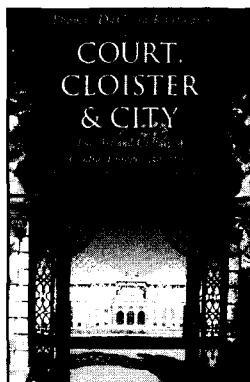
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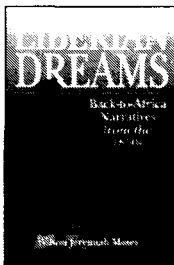
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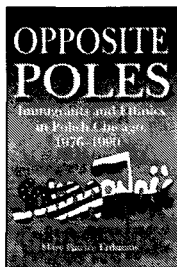
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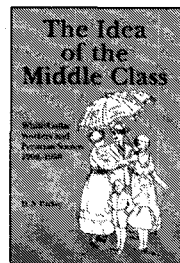
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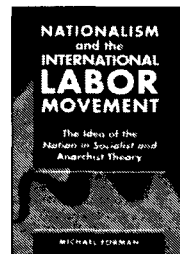
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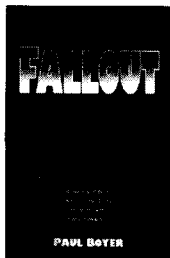
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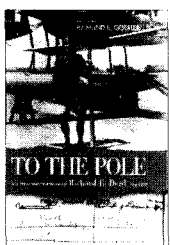
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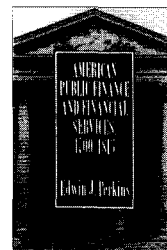
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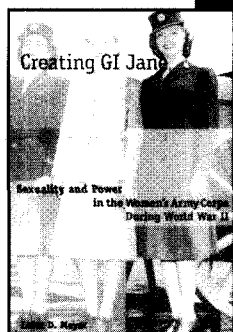
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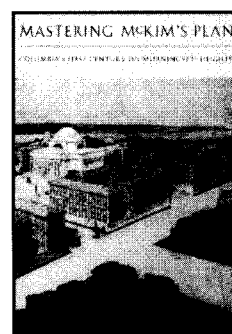
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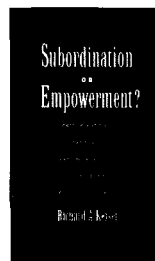
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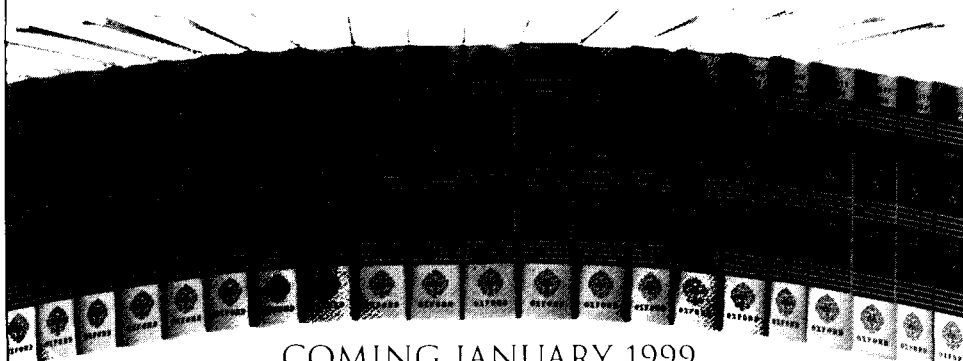
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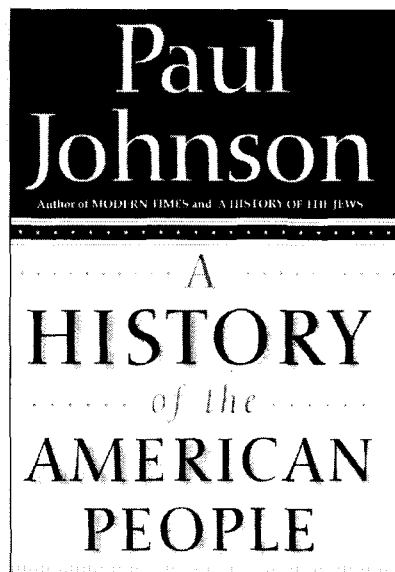
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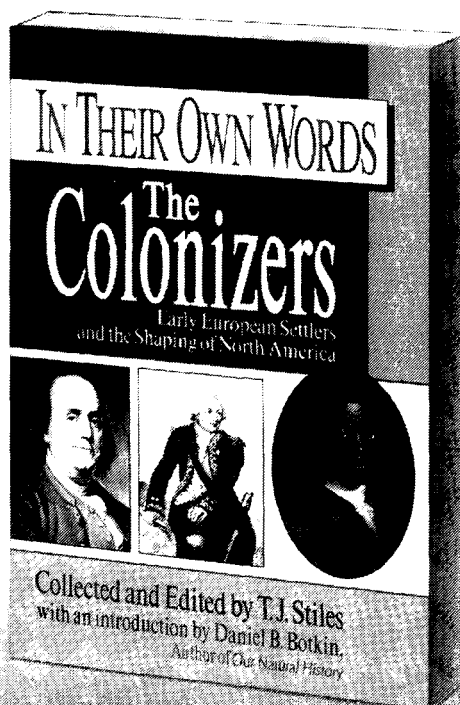
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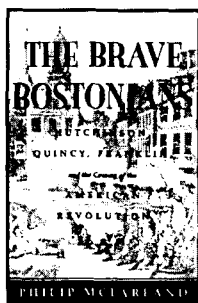
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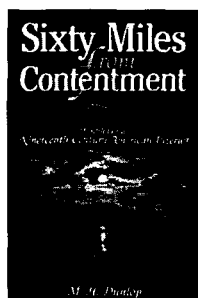
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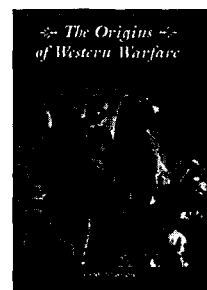
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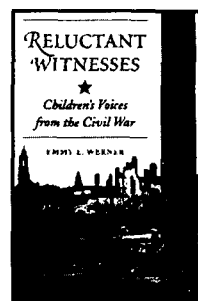
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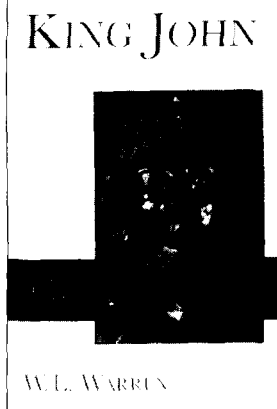
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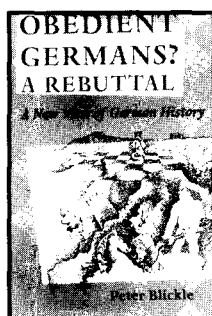
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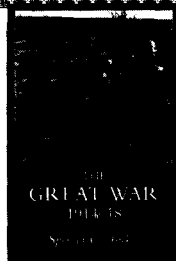
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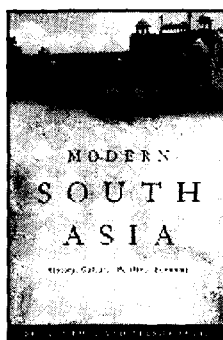
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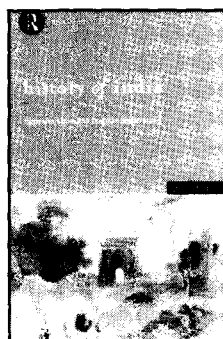
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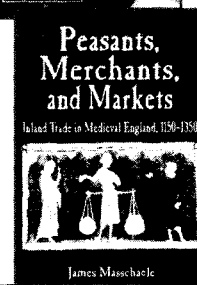
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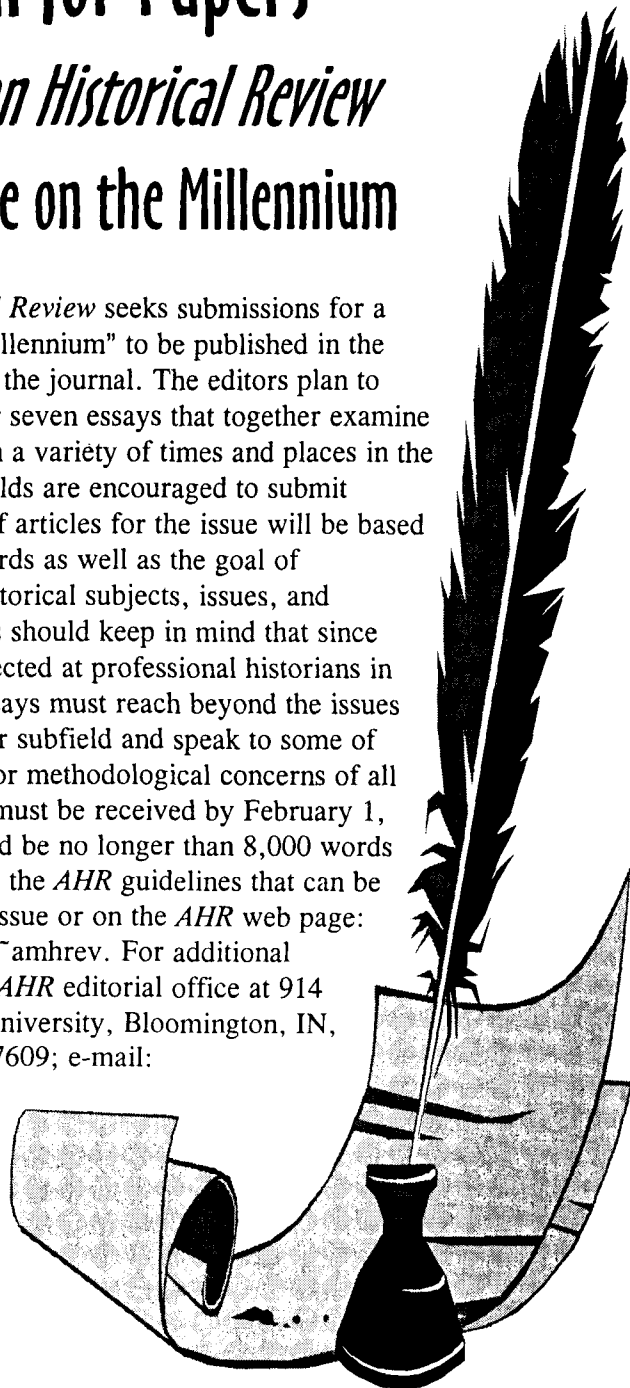
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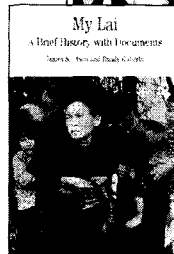
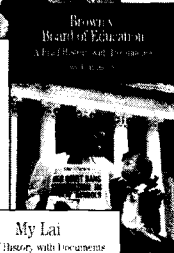
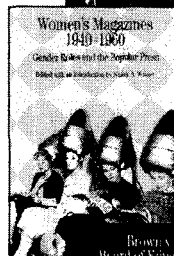
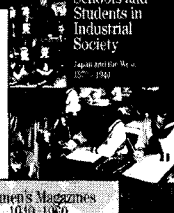
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